November 2, 1965

Dr. Richard D. Knudten
Associate Professor
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Knudten:

I am sorry that we don't have a printed copy of our style sheet to send you. We follow a style in regard to capitilization, punctuation, etc., somewhere between the rigidly formal and the overly informal; about the same level as most general publications. Normal length is around 3,000 words, but the subject matter and treatment, of course, can always justify exceptions in either direction.

We will be looking forward to receiving your manuscript. I wish you had said what it is about. I am sure you are familiar enough with the publication to know where our main interests lie.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

NEWBERRY COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1856
NEWBERRY, SOUTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 30, 1965

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a style sheet listing the general prerequisites for articles to be included in your journal. I have a potential article in mind and desire to set it in the correct format and length before submission to your attention.

If you do not have a style sheet, please send me the necessary information or lead me to the place where it may be found.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Very sincerely,

Richard D. Knudten

Richard D. Knudten, Ph.D.
Associate Professor

November 8, 1965

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
1945 Dorsey Avenue
East Point, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is as much of the material we discussed as I could get up today. More will follow.

As we discussed, the pay for your work on editing and rewriting for this first issue of New South quarterly will be $4 an hour. We didn't discuss it because I didn't think of it, but the work on writing this one article on civil rights compliance ought not to exceed the top price we plan to pay for articles -- which is $100. So, if you could, keep the work on the article within that limit. If this isn't feasible, let me know.

I am also enclosing a social security blank that we will need back for our records.

I'll keep in touch with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures

Deal

November 9, 1965

Dear Gene:

Following up on our conversation yesterday, here is the gist of what we need in a New South piece on justice:

"The events of the past year (shootings, trials, etc.) culminating in the effort for reform; appraisal of effect that real reform (i.e., jury system and desegregation of all the other agencies) would have on civil rights legislation enforcement and general conditions for whites and Negroes in the South; appraisal of chances of real reform."

We would need the copy by December 1, anywhere from 2,000 to 3,500 words. Pay, as I indicated, would be in the two-figure range, upon acceptance.

I sure hope you can do it or that you and Ray might collaborate again. We would prefer to have a byline but that, of course, is up to you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Gene Roberts
The New York Times
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dead

November 11, 1965

Mr. James K. Batten
Washington Correspondent
Charlotte Observer
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

I was very much interested in your story on diehard views of southern senators that ran something over a column in yesterday's Atlanta Journal and which was, in addition to being an unusually well organized and coherent piece, one of those obvious things of significance that nobody thinks of doing.

I wonder if it would be possible to get a copy of the original on the theory that the Journal may have cut it?

Also, I wonder if when you have some time to reflect on it, you would be interested in writing a general piece on the state of southern politics for our magazine, New South? We can offer pay on the scale of the poorer magazines of nbble intent and a forum for considerably unrestricted expression. I modify unrestricted because we do have a problem of being a non-partisan organization. In practical terms, this means we cannot take sides in a political race or on pending legislation.

Anyhow, think about it and keep us in mind on possible articles about the South in general or about specific situations of general significance.

It was good to see you the other day. Our research materials are, of course, always at your disposal, and I hope you will begin to receive our publications soon. If you don't, let me know.

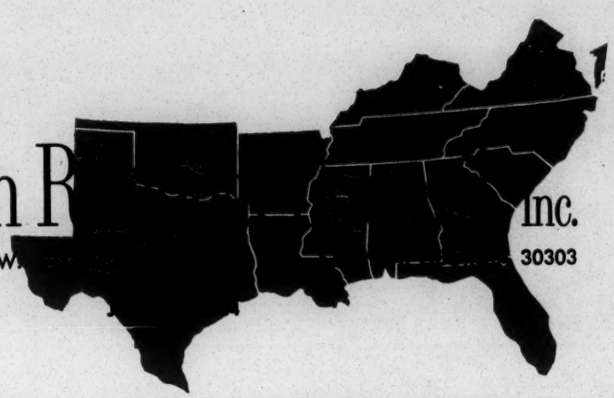
Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303



A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 19, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Here is the carbon of our transcription of your speech at the Annual Meeting. As I told you, I am sending the original to the printers to be set in type for the December issue of New South. We can make any corrections, deletions, or additions that you indicate on the proof. Please let me have any changes as soon as you can conveniently do so.

I don't need to tell you it is a good speech and its tone of warning, I fear, is an all too timely one. I am hopeful of persuading Paul to allow us to use his remarks to the first session as a companion piece in New South.

It was, as always, good to see you at the meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Dear Pat, I hope that this meets your [illegible]
John

November 19, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Here is the carbon of our transcription of your speech at the Annual Meeting. As I told you, I am sending the original to the printers to be set in type for the December issue of New South. We can make any corrections, deletions, or additions that you indicate on the proof. Please let me have any changes as soon as you can conveniently do so.

I don't need to tell you it is a good speech and its tone of warning, I fear, is an all too timely one. I am hopeful of persuading Paul to allow us to use his remarks to the first session as a companion piece in New South.

It was, as always, good to see you at the meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

October 21, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
P. O. Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

We want to carry your address to the Annual Meeting in the December issue of New South. Would it be possible to get a copy of it before the meeting, even as early as November 1? This would help in getting New South out on time; but it is not, of course, absolutely necessary. I am assuming that unlike me you write such things well ahead of your deadline.

If we do get such an advance copy, it will be possible to revise it after the speech is delivered, or for any late changes that you might make.

It was good to see you at the Executive Committee meeting, and I look forward to seeing you at the Annual Meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

December 10, 1965

Mr. Robert Sherrill
Knight Newspapers, Inc.
Washington Bureau
1290 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Bob:

Forgive me for not responding sooner. The piece is, of course, very good.

The problem of timing is going to be bothersome. It looks like now this issue will be coming out in February. I would guess that we would be able to update through the middle of January. I assume that the place you said to leave blank would be to take care of that. I'll be in touch with you, anyhow, about that. Thanks again, and keep us in mind for ideas and stories.

Along that line, I wonder if for some future issue there is any way to do a thoughtful piece on what is it with Novak and Evans as regards their coverage of race. I wouldn't, of course, think of suggesting doing a Novak and Evans job on them, but they sure do come up with some funny stuff. What do you think?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - $75 check

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: **SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS**
($75.00)

TO: **ROBERT SHERRILL**
Name

Knight Newspapers, Inc., Washington Bureau
Address
1290 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: **For article in NEW SOUTH**

(The Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE **December 9,** 19 **65**

REQUESTED BY: **Pat Watters**
Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Robert Sherrill

Dear Pat

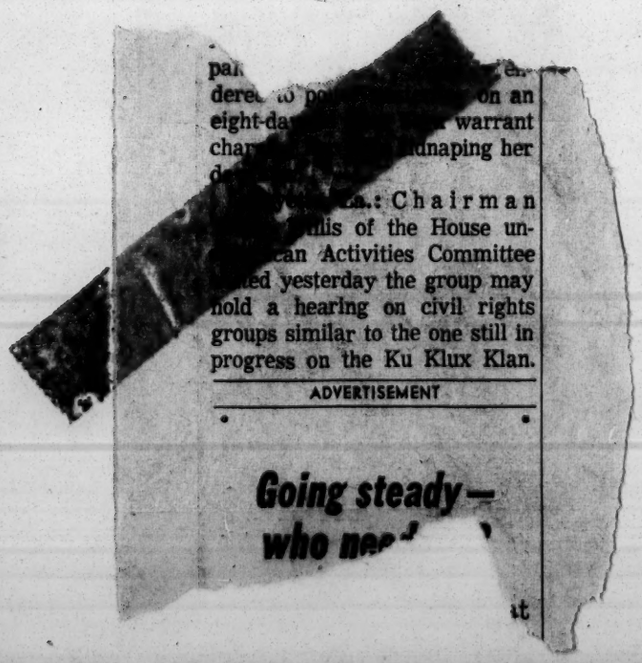
On page 13 that should read 95 years rather than 85.

The Montgomery decision certainly puts more emphasis on the case pending in Supreme Court.

Here is a clipping you may have seen in larger version.

Cheero

Sherrill


pa[illegible] en[illegible]
dere[illegible] on an
eight-da[illegible] warrant
cha[illegible]naping her
d[illegible]
[illegible]n.: Chairman
[illegible]nis of the House un-
[illegible]can Activities Committee
[illegible]ed yesterday the group may
hold a hearing on civil rights
groups similar to the one still in
progress on the Ku Klux Klan.

ADVERTISEMENT

Going steady—
who nee[illegible]

[illegible]t

Sherrill

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, INC.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1290 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

WASHINGTON, D.C. 34
PM
7 DEC
1965

U.S. CO
1790
ALWAY

VIA AIR MAIL

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS

($75.00)

TO: Mr. Jack Nelson
Name

Los Angeles Times - 10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30303
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article in NEW SOUTH

(The Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE December 23, 19 65

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Mr. Jack Nelson
The Los Angeles Times
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 10, 1965

Dear Jack:

Following up on our phone conversation yesterday, here is the way I had jotted down the assignment for the New South article on white attitudes:

> "A good reporter's catching of the way the white people of the South, in the cities and towns, ordinary people, big shots, politicians, are talking and thinking about "the problem" these days. What are the prevalent attitudes to increased desegregation? Are there hopeful signs? Impact of Klan probe? Is the old delusion of happy Negroes any less believed in? What tacts are the haters taking?

As I think I told you, this would be in an issue around the central theme of, "where is the South after the last couple of years of change and clamor?"

I sure hope you can do it for us. We would need the copy by December 1. The length anywhere from 2,000 to 3,500 words; the pay on acceptance would be in the two-figure range.

Let me know; thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Same letter sent to:

Mr. Jack Nease
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Mr. L. V. Overbea
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mrs. Margaret Dixon
Managing Editor
Morning Advocate
Baton Rouge, La. 70821

January 13, 1966

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
Editor
The Texas Observer
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

Thank you for acting so hurriedly and well on my late request. We will get in touch with you if later developments dictate a need for more work from you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosure - $20 check

CEASE FOUND

Memo

Letters. ..vouchers...and $20 each to

Mr. Ronnie Dugger, editor of Texas Observer

Mr. Jack Nease, St. Petersburg Times

Mr. L.V. Overbea, Winston-Salem Journal

Mrs. Margaret Dixon, managing editor,
Morning Advocate, Baton Rouge, La. 70821

WILLIAMS ATLANTA

WILLIAMS
Printing Company

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N. E. • ATLANTA 5, GA.
CEDAR 7-1684

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Jack Nease
Name

St. Petersburg Times
Address

St. Petersburg, Florida
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article in New South

(Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE January 13, 1966

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: **TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)**

TO: **Mr. L. V Overbea**
Name

Winston-Salem Journal
Address

Winston-Salem, North Carolina
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: **for article in New South**

(Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE **January 13,** 19**66**

REQUESTED BY: **Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research**

APPROVED:

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: **TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)**

TO: **Mrs. Margaret Dixon, Managing Editor**
Name

Morning Advocate
Address

Baton Rouge, Lousiana 70821
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: **for article in NEW SOUTH**

(Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE **January 13,** 19 **66**

REQUESTED BY: **Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research**

APPROVED:

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor
Name

The Texas Observer
Address

Austin, Texas
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article in NEW SOUTH

(Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE January 13, 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Department of History
284-7266

Jan 14

Dear Pat:

I have read over the galleys and have marked in red a few things that appear to be wrong. This has been a hard day and it is now late at night and I may not have done a perfect job. On page 6 be sure to change ML King to Ed King. The other minor mistakes you seem to have caught.

(Done MM 1/17)

I'm sure that Bill Goodman has written Maggie about some statement to the effect that this has been taken from the second edition of my book, from the new section entitled, "Revolution Begins in the Closed Society." If the NY strike doesn't interfere the book should be out in March.

Hope that everything is going well with you. I'm leaving here in a week or so for a semester at MIT and then I think I'm coming back to Notre Dame. I like it here.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

CR 1965 by James W. Silver

Note:
Jim Silver was not paid for his article. It was a reprint.

P

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 17, 1966

Rec'd 1-18-66 Air mail Special

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I am returning the galleys which arrived Friday morning. I am returning also to you enclosed the galley on Jack Nelson's article. I have marked one or two small places but everything looks pretty good except that here and there dashes have been used when omissions should be indicated. I have marked four such places on the first galley but I would appreciate someone looking through the whole thing again to see if there are others.

Encl. by mistake in mailroom. Sent to Nelson same day. [illegible]

I assume that the explanatory note I sent to you will appear somewhere.

Working on my stuff over the weekend, I had cause to be grateful to you for the editing you did. I think almost every point you raised in the margins is right and I am doing something about them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

January 10, 1966

Miss Elizabeth Case
Executive Editor
The University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Miss Case:

Thank you for the permission to use one of Dr. Dunbar's lectures in the winter issue of New South. We have decided to use the fifth one.

Appropriate credit will be given, including the statement that the lectures, with revisions, will be published in book form by the University of Michigan Press next fall. If you have a tentative title, we would of course like to use that.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

December 20, 1965

Miss Elizabeth Case
Executive Editor
University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Case:

I understand that Leslie Dunbar has discussed with you our desire to use one of his William W. Cook lectures in a forthcoming issue of our magazine, New South. This is to request your permission to do this.

We want to use either the first lecture or the fifth, and have scheduled it as the major article in the first issue of the magazine in a new and enlarged format. This first issue will appear about mid-February.

I realize this is not as close to the publication date of the book as you might wish, but it is important to us to have material of this quality in our first issue. Might we consider also the possibility of using other of the material in our summer issue to serve notice further that such a book is forthcoming? You may be assured that our readers will be interested in Mr. Dunbar's book regardless of when we run the material from it.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter, and I hope I may hear from you before the first of the year.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

December 31, 1965

Dear Les:

Here are the first and second chapters and something of an outline. As you can see, most of it is Reese's work. I have made some inserts in the first chapter. These are there more for the purpose of suggesting the tone of what I am sure will be different wording later. I am going to hole up for an indefinite time starting next week and try to come to grips with this thing.

We got permission to use your lecture in the New South. I think it will be the last one despite the misgivings your own misgivings give me.

Best wishes for a good new year.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW:jb

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

December 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

I am sorry to have taken so long with these, and I don't know that what I've got here is worth your waiting. Throughout I've put down marginal notes, questions, querelous and otherwise. They are largely mechanical. I think most are self-explanatory.

I still like the first one best. But for our purposes, the fifth one perfectly fits the more or less theme of the issue of New South we want to use it in -- which is, where are we? We are revamping the magazine, as you may have heard, changing it to quarterly publication and seeking out writers and articles. Your lecture in the first issue in the new format will help very much in setting the tone that we want. I do hope we have your permission to use it, and whatever clearance is needed. Can you let me know for sure next week? I have taken the liberty of copying all the lectures and am passing them around to the rest of the staff. You should be hearing from them.

That pitch done with, here for whatever they might be worth, are reactions more general than those I've jotted in the margins:

I think the second lecture is weakest in writing. Not in content. What happens -- or so it seems to me -- is the abrupt sort of transitions you use successfully

in the other lectures don't quite come off in this one. I've indicated some of this in the margins. If it were mine, I would do a mechanical rewrite, almost just copying it, but with attention to the flow of thoughtsand the transitions.

If I read the last two lectures right, be damned if you haven't done the very unfashionable, old-shoe sort of audacious thing you warned them in the first you were going to do. Not apologetically or defensively, but downright proudly. Stating the case of the despised white middle-class liberal. I hope the students appreciated what was being done to them.

This is the kind of writing and thinking I admire the most -- taking the most basic, most important facts of existence that people don't see because they are so basic (like breathing), and making them clear. The liberals are running things; it is a middle-class kind of a country we've got. (I would bicker about the importance of the middle-class in the movement. I think they were important like generals in the army, or elite troops. But they, including the turncoat middle-classers in SNCC, wouldn't even have been in the war had they not had their cannon-fodder -- as always, from the lower classes. Marching out of the churches.) I think in the last two lectures I would have felt more comfortable if you had fallen into a few of the standard criticisms of the varmint. You might want to look them over to be sure you're not letting him off too easy on the scores where he is genuinely less than perfect: the need you stated for values (I just heard W. E. Ferry talking at the Atlanta's peace on earth thing, holding forth on his triple revolution, and was persuaded by the feeling of what he had to say about people about to get a chance to find more of a reason for living than making a living -- new kinds of incentive), the capitulation so often to -- not cynicism -- but being too worldly, too savvy, too illusionless, and whatever else it is that makes for unwillingness to enter the swamps of the mind and soul.

It seemed to me you set the stage in the first lecture to comment in these later ones about what might become of the movement. Some things it could do, if it would, are implicit in your list of things that must be done. But beyond this, are we to a point where we don't need the willingness to wade right into the swamp anymore? Can the spirit that was there -- and again I find this more a product of

the Negro lower classes than middle-class -- not still be harnessed for good?

One more point: I do think if you're going to devote as much space as you do to the church-education thing, you ought to say more plainly what you think ought and ought not to be done.

Beyond that, I stand off from this thing with customary awe and respect. It's a beautiful job.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 5.

November 9, 1965

Dear Les:

I will get to your finished lectures right away. Here are the other drafts.

I hope very much we can get the necessary permission to use one of them in New South. I am sure the problem will be picking which one. We have a December 1 deadline for the issue in which it will go. Can you let me know by then if it is all right with the University of Michigan?

Will see you at the Annual Meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Enclosures - 3.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 8, 1965

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Here it is.

I would be grateful for your unsparing criticism.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

note!
Re lectures. They were returned at a later date.
JC

January 18, 1966

Mr. Robert L. Elder
2252 Castleman Drive
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Elder:

Thank you for acting so well on my request. We will get in touch with you if later developments dictate a need for more work from you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - $20.00 check

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Robert L. Elder
Name

2252 Castleman Drive
Address

Nashville, Tennedee
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for NEW SOUTH

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE January 18, 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research

APPROVED: _____

IN THE HEART OF TVA

MORNING-SUNDAY — ESTABLISHED 1812

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

AMON CARTER EVANS
Publisher

15 Jan. 1966

Mr. Sam Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Adams:

I hope this will serve the purpose which you described to Jim Leeson and which he passed on to me.

If you use it, please send me five copies of the issue, put me on your subscription list, and deduct the cost from my check.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Elder
2252 Castleman Drive
Nashville, Tennessee

$20

January 21, 1966

Dear Vincent:

We missed connections on the telephone, so this is the first opportunity I have had to say what a beautiful job I thought the "Lover's" article was. I am very pleased; we are going to have it in the first issue of the new NEW SOUTH.

When I get to where I can call my time my own again, I want to discuss it with you. It articulates a great deal that I have felt, but for various reasons have been unable to find words for.

Thanks again. Do you have other material and time to put so beautifully into words?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Mr. Vincent Harding
History Department
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia

Encl: $75 ck

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/~~100 DOLLARS

TO: Mr. Vincent Harding
Name

History Department - Spelman College
Address

Atlanta, Georgia
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for New South

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 1-21 1966

REQUESTED BY: _____

Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

December 23, 1965

Mr. Vincent Harding
~~English~~ Department
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vincent:

I meant to write you right after talking with you the other day to confirm our conversation. I think you know how pleased I am that you are doing this article for us.

As discussed, it would be a general statement on the present status of redemptive love and nonviolence in the civil rights movement. The length can be anywhere from 10 to 15 pages, more or less, double spaced. If we can get it by the first of the year, we will be in good shape. There will be payment for it -- modest, but at least something. Thanks again.

I hope the Christmas season is good with you all and I am looking forward to getting our families together.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

January 21, 1966

Mrs. Helen Howard
587 Rock Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Howard:

I want to thank you for your contribution to the winter issue of NEW SOUTH, and for the previous article that we published in the November issue. I hope you will continue to write and to allow us to look at what you write for possible use in future issues of the magazine.

What you have to say is important. I have expressed to Al and to Doris my admiration for the way you say it.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: $50 ck

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS~~ ($50.00)

TO: Mrs. Helen Howard
Name

587 Rock Street, N. W.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for New South
Winter, 1966 issue

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 1-21- 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: M. Robert Coles
Name

Coolidge Road
Address

Concord, Massachusetts
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for NEW SOUTH
(For Winter, 1966 issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE January 21, 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

January 21, 1966

Dear Bob:

I should have said so before now, but I thought the article you sent us was good in the sense that is the best of all; it gives meaning to things we see so often but cannot realize because they are so close that they are the most important things.

Thanks again. I hope you will let us have a chance at other of your impressive output. My respect for your writing (the things you say, I have always respected) grows. I think you have managed to integrate what I have come to discern in my own writing as SRC-cathedral beautifully into a style that expresses complexities with simplicity but without losing any meaning.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - $75.00 check

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Encl: $75 ck

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

January 14, 1966

Rec'd 1-18-66
Pat mail Spec Del

Dear Pat.

Here is the proof-page back. I changed one comma into a semi-colon.

Happy New Year. I suspect I'll be down there later in the year.

Best regards,

Bob

H-54

December 10, 1965

Dear Bob:

It was good talking to you this morning. And in the pattern of repeating a thing a hundred times to convey that a Southerner isn't just -- as he so often is -- being polite, that he means it, I am very pleased you are going to do this piece for New South. And appreciative that it will ruin your holidays or part of them.

The numbers of the situation as discussed are: Anywhere from 2500 to 4000 words or more or less. Whatever it takes. Deadline January 1. (Two or three days before would be wonderful.) A small amount of pay; I have been saying in the twofigure bracket.

We are excited about what might be done with a bigger magazine. The South seems to be, still, a thing unto itself as, now, a sort of laboratory for trying out programs and measures, as well as in the old days, including the dream of the two races learning to live together. There's so much written about it that misses the mark; surely a magazine close on to it can get closer to its truth. One of the main aims is to get people who are living the things that are happening to write about them. I am close to SNCC and Moses Herzog (always have been) in believing this is where a kind of truth is that doesn't get into the better styled, better phrased stuff (mine and yours excepted). Anyhow, having a piece from you in the first one will distinguish it, and, I think, contribute to the encouragement of getting people of all kinds with truth worth saying to write for it.

I hope you all have a good Christmas and a good year next year.

Your letter in answer to the query from Reese and me was very helpful. We will be in touch with you on that. I am rapidly getting into a real time-bind on it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

no ltr sent with ck.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: Jack Patterson
Name

1375 Peachtree Road
Address

Atlanta, Georgia
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for NEW SOUTH
Winter, 1966 issue

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE January 21, 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:

November 9, 1965

Mr. Jack Patterson
Business Week Magazine
1375 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jack:

This is to follow up on our recent conversation about a piece for New South on the economics of desegregation.

As I had set the assignment out, it went like this:

> "Influence of business, business conditions on South's desegregation efforts, as in Mississippi. What are trends that impinge -- agricultural evolution continuing? Industry seeking? Government contractors? General improvement in economy? Labor more active?

You brought up some other points, including the attitude of business toward local custom, and the difficulties otherwise qualified Negroes have with personnel interviews and other social situations. You also indicated that the big role played by business in Mississippi might be a focal point for the piece. It should include some general stuff about the rest of the South, though.

We would need the copy by December 1; 2,000 to 3,500 words. The pay on acceptance will be in the two-figure range.

I do hope you will do this. We would prefer using your by-line but will, of course, do whatever you wish.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Dead

January 24, 1966

Dr. George M. Fredrickson
Harvard University
Department of History
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear George:

It is a mark of not so much southern lethargy in these matters but a terrible onset of frenzied Yankee-type expansion and extra activity around here that has delayed my answering your good letter.

Part of the expansion involves New South. We are revamping it and making a quarterly out of it. I hope you will seriously consider writing something for it -- whether out of your research or your impressions on excursions down here.

We are flexible enough in the new format to handle almost any kind of article, including parts of a dissertation. Just so it has to do with our region and its problems, or the various varieties of those problems elsewhere. Anyhow, I hope we can keep in touch and that you will let me hear from you about the possibility of writing something for us.

Best wishes,

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

LD ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
NM ✓ ch nm.
Ret PW

September 3 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

This is a belated note to tell you how much I enjoyed my visit to the Southern Regional Council and to thank you for your many favors. I found our conversations very stimulating and enlightening and the published materials you made available to me will give me food for thought for many months to come. What impressed me most about the Southern Regional Council was the spirit of calm dedication and measured optimism--the perfect combination of Southern geniality and liberal tolerance--reflected by the all the members of the staff whom I met. I believe that you are doing invaluable work in an open-minded, non-doctrinaire way. As reformers, you have never lost sight of the need for continuity and community. In short, I was mightily impressed with what you were doing and the way you were doing it.

I hope that I will be able to keep up with the work of the Regional Council. I have suscribed to the NewtSouth and hope that you will send me any special publications that you can spare. Please give my regards to Paul Anthony and Margaret Lang and to Les Dunbar, if he's still around, and convey my thanks to them for their help and kindness during my stay. I hope I'll have a chance to see you all in the near future, and I'll keep you advised on the progress of my work on Southern identity. Tell Margaret I'll let her know if I get an idea for

Nobbing

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

an article in the New South (something historical perhaps on interracial liberalism in the South--change and continuity on the ideological plane).

After leaving Atlanta, I went on to Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi and had interesting interviews with people like Lillian Smith, Clifford and Virginia Durr, Walker Percy, and Hodding Carter III. I think I can still say, however, that the highlight of my trip was the week I spent in Atlanta taking up the valuable time of all of you at the Regional Council. Once again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

George

George M. Fredrickson

Dell

January 31, 1966

Dr. Kenneth Clark
501 West 150th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

It was certainly good to have you and Mrs. Clark at our table during the Lane Bryant Annual Awards. I wish I had had my copy of Dark Ghetto so you could have autographed it.

I am enclosing a copy of the November issue of New South which I hope you will find the time to examine critically. I'd appreciate hearing any comments you may have.

Both Elenora and I send warmest regards to Mrs. Clark. Remind her that you belong to the whole nation and we still would like you to spend some of your speaking and working time in our region. But we know of no "home" substitutes that might replace the Ken Clark during any trip South. The solution might be to bring Mrs. Clark along should you come.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

P. S. New South is changing its format and will need the services of top writers like you. The modest amounts we will be able to pay for articles range up to about $100. I am sure Pat Watters, former Atlanta Journal city editor, and Margaret Long, New South editors, would love having you on our list of writers.

Dear

January 31, 1966

Dr. Arnold Rose
Department of Social Psychology
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Rose:

I have heard only two of your lectures since my student days at the University of Minnesota. I hope you will find more time to spread your talent and knowledge in the South. One way of doing that might be through articles in New South.

The magazine has just been changed from a monthly to a quarterly. It is bigger and different. I am sure Pat Watters, director of information, and Maggie Long, New South editor, would love having you on our list of writers.

The main purpose of this letter is to ask for your critical comments on the lead article of the enclosed November issue of New South.

I am finding the latest book by you and Mrs. Rose ho be both interesting and useful.

Give my warmest regards to Dr. Robert Jones and others at the School of Journalism.

Best.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosure - 1.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI
210 South Lamar
Jackson, Mississippi
948-6516

February 1, 1966

File

Rec'd 2-2-66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your letter. The check for $50.00 was a surprise and I will turn it over to the Child Development Group of Mississippi. It will be most helpful in deferring some of the expenses in preparing for our new Headstart project.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

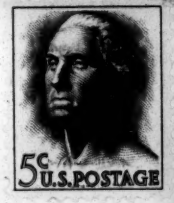
John Mudd

John Mudd,
Acting Director

JM/maw

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI
BOX 348
EDWARDS, MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON
1966
PM
FEB
MISS.



Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 21, 1966

Mr. John Mudd
Acting Director
Child Development Group
of Mississippi
P. O. Box 348
Edwards, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Mudd:

We are carrying an explanatory note which says in effect that your proposal is printed exactly as it was written -- not for publication -- as an example of the quality of thought that goes into countless such proposals in the South, many of which never get acted upon and none of which get read outside the small circle concerned.

I am very grateful to you and the others for allowing us to use it in this way. I will be interested to hear any reaction you get from publication of it, and will send on to you any that we get.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl- $50 ck

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($50.00)

TO: John Mudd
Name

Child Development Group of Mississippi PO Box 348
Address

Edwards, Miss.
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for New South
Winter, 1966 issue

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 1-21- 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Directof of Information

APPROVED: _____

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI
P. O. Box 348, Edwards, Mississippi

January 19, 1966

Rec'd 1-21-66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

When I wrote the draft of this proposal it was intended to be simply a few quick notes to provoke discussion among a few interested people. If you feel that a wider circulation would be appropriate I think that there should perhaps be some introductory note to the effect that this was not intended to be a finished product.

I wish there was time to do a great deal of revision and development of the proposal, but unfortunately with Miss Marian Wright out of the country and my present involvement with CDGM, this is impossible.

If I can be of any further help to you please let me know.

Sincerely,

John Mudd

John Mudd,
Acting Director

JM/maw
enclosure

no ltr

Ck mailed 2/4/66

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($35.00)

TO: Mr. Finley Campbell
Name

863 Fair Street, S. W.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For poem written for NEW SOUTH winter issue, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT _____ EXPENSE.

DATE 1-28- 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Ck Mailed 2/4/66

No PEW

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTEEN AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($15.00)

TO: Ms. Esta Seaton
Name

1116 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For poem written for NEW SOUTH winter issue, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 1-28- 66 19

REQUESTED BY: Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:

GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30332

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Dear Pat,

Everything is in order except that I think that it isn't clear that the title is the title. More space has to be left between the title and the first line; I tried to indicate that on the copy, but if I didn't do it correctly, would you take care of it for me. Would a slightly darker type for the title be possible? Or a slightly larger type?

And what do you think of our boy Julian Bond? Oi oi oi vay! He should have paid more attention to All the King's Men when he read it in my Am. lit course!

my best,

Esta

(Seaton)

Rec'd 2-17-66

PO Box 1492
Austin, Tex.
Feb. 14, 1966

Dear Mr. Watters,

A certain circumstance, which I could not have anticipated when I sent you the fill-in on Texas, may now intrude on my doing further pieces for New South.

A Goldwater Republican, John Tower, is our senator, and to my dismay I began to realize no one was going to oppose, for the Democratic nomination against Tower, the conservative Democrat, Waggoner Carr (whose record on segregation, incidentally, is quite dramatically dismal through the fifties, once he even going onstage during a Citizens Council rally Griffin addressed in Houston). Last Monday, I filed my intention to run as an independent against these two birds for the U.S. Senate in the November election in Texas.

This is likely to take most my time. I shall continue to edit the Observer until the early summer.

Ronnie Dugger

January 24, 1966

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

First off, Sam Adams asked me to ask you to plan to give us another excellent fill-in on Texas for our next New South roundup. If you can, we will send word on a deadline as soon as we know what it is.

Mainly, though, I wanted to express my pleasure at your suggestion about "letters from a Texan to the South." I don't know how five or ten would work out on our publication schedule, which is quarterly, but I very definitely would like to have you writing for the publication. I have long admired your work; a piece of yours in an anthology last year about East Texas got into layers of thought about the culture of the South that almost never gets caught in language. I don't see enough of what you write; I think there is a hang-up about our receiving the Observer. Anyhow, if you can let me know more specifically what you have in mind [redacted] letters, and if you would indicate any other ideas that might suit your needs, I would be grateful.

We are still feeling our way along with New South in a new format and the new quarterly publication thing. We are offering payment for articles in the range of the lowest paying magazines of good intention -- with which I am sure you are all too sadly familiar.

To you, I can't even offer what I feel is an incentive to most southern writers, which is editing that strives to

avoid the worst ignorances and inanities of our friends in New York. You have already got that. But I guess I can cop out with a rousing assertion of what an influential and sensitive southern audience we reach.

Mainly, I would just be very happy to have your good writing in our publication. Let me hear from you when you can.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

The Texas Observer

An Independent Fortnightly

EDITORIAL & BUSINESS OFFICES

504 WEST 24TH ST., AUSTIN

Ronnie Dugger

Saturday Jan 66

Dear Mr. Adams,

Obviously I can do much "harder," that is, more specific work than this. You did not give me time; with my other work this is all I have time for this weekend. I have tried to make it analytical of the structure of the facts, exclusive of my opinions of the facts; I gather that's what you had in mind, although of course there's an under-premise that the civilized position is integrationist. If you want me to go on with this please tell me and tell me the deadline pattern. I am further interested in writing five or ten "Letters from a Texan to the South" and wonder if your organization might be interested in these. I'd probably submit them to someplace East but they might simultaneously be distributed in the South. My thought is that the great neglected function, in the attempt to modernize the South, is communication with Southern whites of either incipient or extant good will.

Ronnie Dugger

PS I do not do my work for money, I would do it anyway; but the pay matters to me, I write for a living.

Please let me know if it would be contrary to your wishes if I ran some of this in the Observer.

RD

2/18/66

We are enclosing a complimentary copy of the winter issue of NEW SOUTH in which material you furnished us is printed. Please be advised that we will depend on you for supplying us with news of your state for the coming spring issue. The absolute deadline for this material will be April 1.

Samuel L. Adams

The above note was sent to the following "roundup" contributors:

Jack Nease, St. Petersburg Times, Fla.; Mrs. Margaret Dixon, Morning Advocate, Baton Rouge, La.; Mr. L. V. Overbea, Winston-Salem Journal, N. C.; Robert L. Elder, Nashville, Tenn.

The following sentences were substituted for the last 2 above and sent to Ronnie Dugger, Texas Observer, Austin, Texas. (First sentence the same.):

We are sorry you will not be available for doing additional roundups for us; can you suggest someone who can? Good luck in your forthcoming venture!

Note: Manuscript in SA's possession

Dead

February 18, 1966

Dr. David E. Day
Emory University
Division of Teacher Education
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dear Dr. Day:

I just received your February 16 letter and the Head Start manuscript, but I must delay my response as to whether we will publish the manuscript. Meanwhile, if there are conditions and/or costs involved in such an undertaking, please inform us. Budgets, other commitments and interest in the subject will influence our decision on publication.

I certainly appreciate your offering it to us and offering to help re-work it for possible publication.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

February 16, 1966

Rec'd 2/17/66

Mr. Sam Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

You will recall we spoke on the phone yesterday about the enclosed manuscript regarding the perceptions of HEAD START teaching teams.

You will notice that it has not been written for publication; it is simply a report of the study and an incomplete discussion of the issues. I would be happy to rework the paper if you think the content would be worthy of publication.

Your consideration is appreciated.

Sincerely,

David E. Day
Assistant Professor

DED/mc
Enclosure

Note: Sent to all State Directors except Florida, Louisiana, and North Carolina.

February 21, 1966

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

It was a pleasure meeting you when you and the other State Council people were in Atlanta February 2. From my point of view, your get-together couldn't have been timed better since that was my first day with SRC.

The winter issue of New South is in the mail now and should be reaching you within the next few days. We want to thank you for your response to our request for state news and remind you that we intend to make this a regular feature. With the spring issue ahead, the new deadline is not far away. We'd like to have your news report on past quarter events by March 21.

As Pat outlined in his December memo, the report should cover important developments in the fields of poverty, politics and voting, law enforcement, education, agricultural stabilization and conservation service elections, industry, and conditions in general concerning race relations. You needn't write it out in polished or finished form; just the facts. If something happens after the deadline which you feel needs to be included, give us a call and we'll make every effort to get it in under the wire.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Same letter sent to all directors of state councils.

November 19, 1965

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on
Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

This is to follow up on the discussion at our Annual Meeting on exchange of information between our offices. I think we established groundwork for what can be a most exciting and mutually beneficial development.

I want to recapitulate the part of the discussion dealing with the quarterly roundup of important events for New South. This will be a listing and brief interpretation of the most important things that have happened in your state during the past three months that involve or impinge on race relations. This covers just about everything from politics to new industries. But it is from our special point of view -- not just that an earthquake occurred or a prominent citizen died, but what this means for race relations. The key word is important. This has to be your judgment. It can be one thing or many. Err on the side of too many. Reports don't have to be in any kind of finished writing form. Just a straight telling of the events is all we need. Clippings are optional. They will be rewritten and if need be, we can call for further details, amplification, etc. If something really big happens after the deadline, call us. More than likely we can get something in about it.

One point that came up during the discussion that I didn't feel we dealt with fully was the question of whether to include things that might not be in the papers or take the form of a news event. This would be everything from

trends that you know about to things you know may happen or did happen behind the scenes. By all means, include such things -- so long as publication won't do any harm.

I am enclosing for guidance and your possible use a sort of check-sheet. The first deadline is December 15, and thereafter it will be every three months. Please show on your first report who will be responsible each time for it. I am looking forward very much to seeing what we come up with. If you find you can't file a report for December 15, please let me know as soon as possible.

It was good being with you at the Annual Meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

File

Dead

BENJAMIN MUSE
Post Office Box 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA 22110

March 2,1966

Rec'd 3/3/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council

Dear Pat:

I am delighted with the new NEW SOUTH. The size and shape of it inspire respect in the first place and the content is admirable.

I think continuations detract. That from page 1 to page 94 may have been a make-up exigency. And as a Maggie Long fan I am loath to hit this one, but if the National Urban League has 2, 300, 000 members there must have been a colossal development in recent months of which I had not heard. A 1962 newsletter of the League describes it as a nonmembership organization with "some 8,000 volunteers and staff members throughout the nation." Whitney Young wrote in the January 1965 Annals of the American Academy of Polit - ical and Social Science: " A paid staff of more than 600 carry out the day-to-day activities backed by more that 6,000 volunteers who serve as board and committee members." No larger figure memntioned.

But I am in no mood to be critical. I am enthusiastic. The new magazine seems made to order for me. It contains summarized material that I have to wade through many publications to get and some that I would not otherwise get at all. But I am sure that it will appeal to many without my specialized need. I see a lot of periodicals nowadays and I don't know of any that covers the course of the civil rights movement so comprehensively and well.

Incidentally, I note a certain extension of focus to the national picture--without forgetting that the South is SRC's chief concern. Which I think is fine.

You asked about using an excerpt from my prospective book. There is much time to think about that, probably more than you thought: we now plan publication sometime in 1968. (The Indiana University Press, with which I am now working, wanted an extension of the period covered.) Publication of something from my book would have greater advertising value two years hence, but I would be glad to accomodate earlier. There may also be copyright complications. Do you know the procedure in this connection?

I have doubts too about the interest NEW SOUTH readers would have in any part of my book standing alone. Probably in the next month or two I shall complete a revision of the first seven chapters. If you wish, I will send this along to you, with the understanding that there will be no embarassment if you find there is nothing in it suitable for your purpose.

Don'T forget to let me know whenever you come to Washington with time to spare, and let me fetch you out here for a meal or a week-end.

And three cheers for NEW SOUTH. Sincerely,

Ben

December 14, 1965

Dear Ben:

I will make every effort to get your chapter read by all of us and back to you before you leave. That sounds like a wonderful way to spend January.

I look forward to accepting your kind invitation the next time I do get to Washington -- which somehow doesn't seem to be too often.

I hope you and Mrs. Muse will have a good Christmas and that the coming year, with the completion of your book, will be a good one for you.

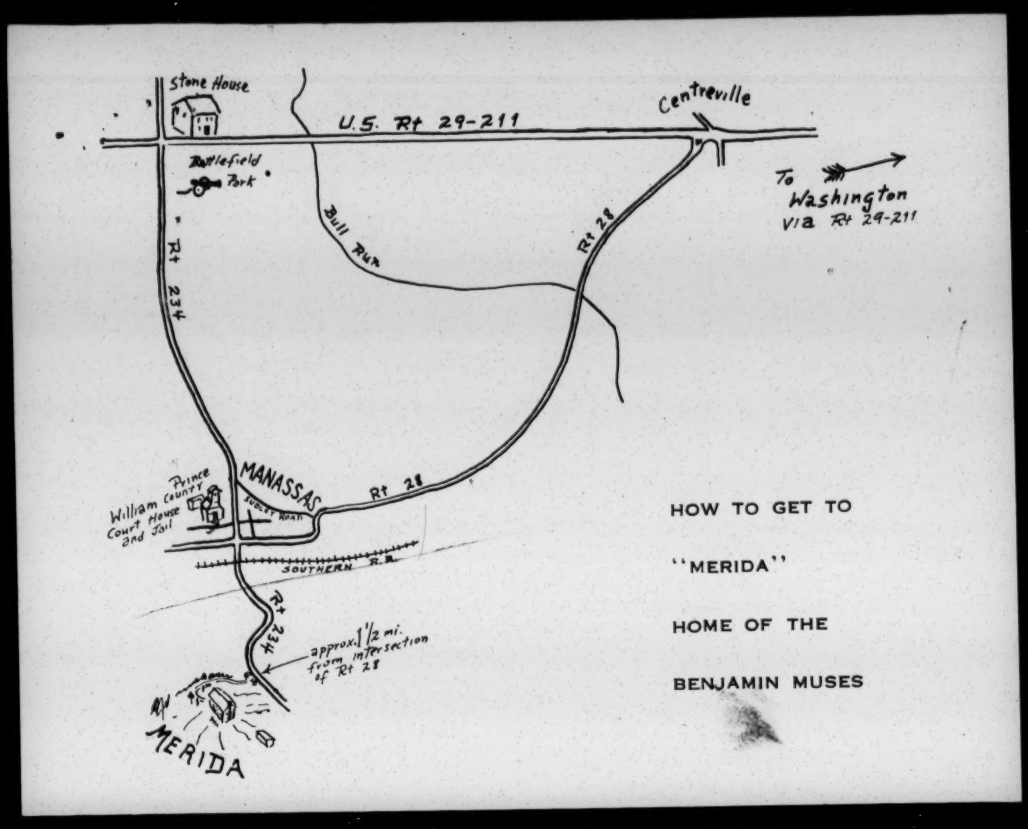
Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

P. S. I hope you will be thinking about letting us use a chapter of the book in the expanded New South. When you feel like you are at a stage to do something like this, you can let me know.



BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

November 27

Dear Pat,

For your kind perusal. Maybe Emory Via would also give this a going-over — and Jean Adams. To this chapter in particular I would like to have Maggie Longs reaction, if she will be good enough to read it.

If anything should bring you to Washington with a little spare time, I wish you would come to us for a meal or overnight. I can pick you up in Washington, or tell you about transportation. (We shall be away during the month of January — in Mexico.)

Best regards.

Ben Muse

Houston Chronicle Bldg.
Rm 729

March 10, 1966

Mr. Martin Waldron
Bureau Manager
New York Times
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Waldron:

Beginning with the winter issue, New South, quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council, began a state-by-state round-up of significant civil rights activity taking place in the South, and we're looking for a knowledgeable reporter to do the job for Texas in future issues. Sam Adams, our Director of Research here, suggested we contact you. To give you some notion as to length and general content, I'm enclosing a copy of our winter issue inviting your attention to the round-up on page 77.

Actually, while we do want the hard news as indicated in these reports, we are interested in good, interpretive reporting. Sam recommends you as a good man for that. If you could undertake this, I'd appreciate your letting us know as soon as possible. The deadline for our spring issue is March 25.

Also, I might say, we are always looking for feature articles, and if you have anything working that -- from looking through the rest of the magazine -- seems to fit our editorial interests, we'd like to see it. From time to time we might like to call on you for special apsignments, if you would be interested.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js
Enclosure - 1.

Peter

March 11, 1966

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Peter Kramer
Special Consultant for
Evaluation and Research
Community Action Fund
Migrant Program
300 31st Street, N. Suite 417
St. Petersburg, Florida 33731

Dear Mr. Kramer:

It was a pleasure meeting and talking with you the other day on your Atlanta visit. I was wondering if perhaps your series on the migrant farmer which you did for the paper might be expanded into an article for us. We have about three weeks until our next deadline and if you could do it in that time, we'd like to have it.

In the meanwhile, could you let us have a copy of the series itself?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

No response

March 24, 1966

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. McGill:

We are delighted that you can do a piece on southern writers for New South and, of course, we understand the previous circumstances of last deadline.

You mentioned space, but I think we'll leave it up to you. Start with 1,500 words on up. The deadline we discussed, I believe, was April 1.

Many thanks to you for undertaking this, for I know it will be a significant asset to our spring issue.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

December 10, 1965

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
P. O. Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Thanks again for agreeing to undertake an article for New South in its new format.

As we discussed, I will leave it up to you what to write about. The length also is up to you; from a thousand words on. We need it before January 1, and we can offer a small, inadequate, but at least professional footing sort of payment. I don't think I need to tell you that what you have to say will distinguish this first issue.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

FROM THE DESK OF

ROBERTA E. BLACKWELL
Office Manager

March 16, 1966

TO: Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Our quarterly news report will be forwarded to you on Friday, March 18.

Thank you.

Rec'd 3/17/66

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Dead

April 4, 1966

Mrs. Lillian McGill
P. O. Box 25
White Hall, Alabama

Dear Mrs. McGill:

I don't know whether you remember me, but I spoke with you in Atlanta last November at the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting about the possibility of your writing something about your experiences with the movement for our magazine.

I still would very much like to have such an article from you. It could be as long or as short as you want to make it, and you could say whatever you feel like should be said.

If you can take time out to do this, I think it would mean a lot to the many people who would get to read it. Please let me know whether you can. I don't know that it does any good to say so, but I have a great deal of admiration for you and the work being done there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: Winter issue, New South

Dead

April 4, 1966

Miss Margot Thomas
c/o Mrs. Dorothy Wright
Box 226
Lisman, Alabama

Dear Margot:

I hope you will forgive me for not having answered your good letter sooner. I have been holed up at home writing a book.

I tried to call you unsuccessfully in January to find out the name of "C. W," whose poem we picked up and used in the enclosed issue of New South. I have been very impressed with "C. W.'s" contributions and if he or she would submit any other poems or writings that didn't get in the Freedom News, I would be very interested in seeing them.

I would also give anything to get from you an account for use in New South of what all has happened since you went to Choctaw County last summer. You could write it as long or short as you wanted to and "tell it like it is." We can pay up to $100. Please take some time and do this. In our next issue, we are running a report by the two sociologists who did the great questionnaire thing with you all. I think you will find the findings interesting.

Do let me hear from you and keep sending the Freedom News. It is wonderful.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Carol. Winter issue, New South

c/o Dorothy Wright
3993683
Lisman

January 3, 1966

Dear Pat,

I thought you'd be interested in what's going on in Choctaw County since the summer. Bond Perry & I are working here as SCLC staff members now and are very excited about the progress that's being made.

We're hoping that the Freedom News will develop into more & more of a locally operated endeavor, & perhaps that it can even become a real newspaper in time. [The initialled articles are all by local people.]

We are almost certain to get a Negro on the Commissioners Court this year & are watching the school situation with interest since the Justice Dept has notified the school board that it may file suit if the school isn't integrated by the beginning of the second term. Choctaw is one of the counties that withdrew its compliance plan in September at the urging of the Klan.

Best wishes for 1966.

Sincerely,

Margot Thomas

February 18, 1966

Ms. Margot Thomas
Choctaw Friendship House
Box 226
Lesman, Alabama

Dear Ms. Thomas:

I tried to call to tell you we wanted to use the poem from the paper, but could not reach you. Anyhow, here it is.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.
<u>New South</u> winter issue.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dead

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

File: NS Prospective Writers

April 6, 1966

Dr. W. Phillips Davison
Coordinator
Russell Sage Program
Columbia University
Graduate School of Journalism
New York, New York 10027

Dear Dr. Davison:

Thank you for your promptness in sending the material I requested. Your letter of April 5 also indicated that Professor John Foster would be in Atlanta on Saturday, April 16. Since the office will be closed, I can be reached at home, 781 Braemar Avenue, S. W., Atlanta. The home telephone is 344-1541.

Meanwhile, I will review with the editor of New South the papers presented at the Arden House Conference to determine our interest in possible publication. However, we will not undertake publishing without authorization and proper remuneration to the writers.

I gained much from the conference.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Note: original ltr to Dr. Davison + cc in Personnel: Samuel L. Adams, Personal folder

IS

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

March 28, 1966

Rec'd 4/7/66

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Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

As requested, we are enclosing herewith a report on the conditions in Alabama during the last quarter.

Several news clippings are enclosed. We would appreciate your returning them to us when you have finished with them.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder
Associate Director

BV:llr

Enclosure

Dead

April 7, 1966

Mr. Chandlee White
Route 1, Box 3
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. White:

Al Ulmer passed on to me your eloquent letter to the editor of the New Republic. It is not quite the same kind, but we publish a magazine here, and wondered if you would be interested in expanding what you have set out to about 10 or 15 pages, double spaced, as an article for it. About all it seems to me you need to do is include details and maybe some anecdotes within the framework of what you say in the letter.

Also, maybe describe the "progress" in more detail to show how the locale has an undeserved reputation and to emphasize that as bad as it is, it is better than most. All in the good angry tone of the letter.

If you are interested, please let me know. We can pay not as much as it is worth, but enough to make it more than a letter to the editor-type blowing off steam. Namely, something under $100. I sure hope you will do it.

I am enclosing a copy of our latest issue.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003 / ALgonquin 4-5865

"Education for Increasing Democracy in Our Economic, Political and Cultural Life" *Founded 1905*

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Harold Taylor
Norman Thomas
Frank N. Trager
Ted Velez
Rowland Watts
Mina Weisenberg
Preston Wilcox
Pearl Willen
Charles S. Zimmerman

(continued on reverse side)

Rec'd 4/11/66

April 7, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed, somewhat belatedly, is the revised speech for New South.

I hope you can make out clearly where the inserts go. I would have had the whole thing retyped except that our staff is up to its ears in preparations for our Annual Conference.

I assume a note will accompany the article indicating that it was given as a speech.

Again, forgive my delay.

Sincerely,

Tom Kahn

TOM KAHN
Executive Director

TK:gdg
oeiu 153
encl.

P.S. I noticed that the bibliography in SRC's Special Report, "A City Slum -- Poor People and Problems," listed Mike Harrington's two books. A handier item is his LID pamphlet, The Politics of Poverty, which I have enclosed for your interest.

Contributions to the LID are tax-deductible / LID is officially accredited to the United States Mission to the United Nations

April 15

Edgarth Martin
Thomas

National Observer

School district did not

Mark Arnold

M

301

Silver Springs Maryland
622-2900

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LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027
Phone: 666 - 8241
Robert Curvin, Director

March 14, 1966

Mr. Tom Kahn
League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kahn:

We are pleased that you can add a few revisionary paragraphs to your student movement speech, and shall look forward to hearing from you shortly. A week, certainly, will be convenient for us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003 / ALgonquin 4-5865

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Charles S. Zimmerman

(continued on reverse side)

Rec'd 3/14/66

March 11, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Forgive me for the delay in responding to your letter of February 24th.

I would like to add a few paragraphs to my talk on the student movement. I shall try to have the revised speech in your hands in about a week if that is convenient.

I am delighted that New South wants to print it.

Sincerely,

Tom Kahn

TOM KAHN
Executive Director

TK:gdg
oeiu 153

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February 24, 1966

Mr. Tom Kahn
Executive Secretary
League for Industrial
Democracy
112 East Nineteenth Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Kahn:

We have a copy of your fine speech, "The Student Movement - A New Social Force," which you delivered last October. As I think Pat Watters or Margaret Long has told you, we'd like to publish it in a forthcoming issue of New South, hopefully in the spring number. We wondered, though, since it has been nearly six months since you wrote it, if you might have some further ideas you would like to develop on the subject -- a few paragraphs or so by way, perhaps, of updating?

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

Dead

May 11, 1966

Mr. Joseph McKelpin
Director
North Carolina College
at Durham
Bureau of Educational Research
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKelpin:

We would be interested in seeing for possible publication your report on the study of county commissioner candidates' reactions to education issues. Thank you for offering it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

May 10, 1966

Rec'd 5/11/66

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Waters:

Today I talked with Mr. John Wheeler here and in reaction to a concern I have he suggested that I contact you. My concern is with the chance that you as editor of the New South may be interested in examining a report of a study I just completed as a potential article for some forthcoming issue of the New South.

Recently I completed a report of a study of the reactions of nine candidates for county commissioner here to nine education issues in the Durham area. Actually many of the issues are meaningful throughout the southern region. The report study was done for the Durham Council on Human Relations and the report consists of the results of the analysis of the empirical findings as well as some action implications for the local Council to improve the quality of human relations.

If you feel that you might be interested in examining the report I should be pleased to send a copy to you.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph P. McKelpin

Joseph P. McKelpin
Director

JPM/m

cc: Mr. John Wheeler
Mr. William Jones

Same letter with enclosure also sent to:

Jack Nease, Martin Waldron,

June 6, 1966

Mr. L. V. Overbea
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Overbea:

We are enclosing a copy of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH in which the material you sent us for round-ups appeared.

The summer deadline is rapidly approaching -- June 22 -- so please mark us on your calendar.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA, Jr/js
Enclosure - 1.

No covering ltr

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY and 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. L. V. Overbea
Name

Winston-Salem Journal
Address

Winston-Salem, NC
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for round-up article in Spring Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 5/16/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:

April 4, 1966

Mr. Martin Waldron
New York Times
Room 729
Houston Chronicle Building
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Waldron:

Thank you, indeed, for your news round-up which arrived in good time for the spring issue. The summer deadline will fall in the last week of June, so keep us on your calendar.

Enclosed is a small check which I hope is satisfactory.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Enclosure - $20.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS~~ ($20.00)

TO: ~~Mr. Martin Waldron~~
Name

~~New York Times, Room 729, Houston Chronicle Bldg.~~
Address

~~Houston, Texas~~
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: ~~News round-up for NEW SOUTH, Spring Issue~~, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE ~~4/4/~~ 19 ~~66~~

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor
SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____

April 4, 1966

Mr. Jack Nease
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Nease:

We appreciate so much your news round-up from Florida. Payment is enclosed.

The summer deadline will fall in the last week of June, so keep us on your calendar.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - $20.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Jack Nease
Name

St. Petersburg Times
Address

St. Petersburg, Florida
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: News round-up for NEW SOUTH, Spring Issue, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 4/4/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:

Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor
SRC Publications

APPROVED:

June 7, 1966

Mr. August Meier
c/o NDEA History Institute
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35206

Dear Augie:

Under separate cover we are mailing twenty-five complimentary copies of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH to you. We are also in the process of having your article copyrighted separately.

Enclosed, as you requested, is the statement of calls and a check in the amount of $32.56 to cover same.

Let us hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosures - 2.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY TWO AND 56/100 DOLLARS ($32.56)

TO: Mr. August Meier
Name

c/o NDEA History Institute
Miles College,
Address

Birmingham, Alabama 35206 (Temporary address).
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Telephone calls - SRC business.

Correspondence and bill attached.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 6/7/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

June 4, 1966

Rec'd 6/7/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

The telephone bill came early this month, but I am leaving town early in the week so I don't think I'll get a chance to make a xerox copy. Accordingly I would appreciate having the statement of calls returned to me.

The call to New Orleans was to Richard Haley, of CORE
The call to Washington was to Wiley Branton, dept. of Justice
The calls to New York were to John Marsell and Herbert Hill, NAACP
The call to Columbia S.C. was to Lode Quincy Newman.

On the last call the amount ($2.00) is incredibly low---I spoke to him for about an hour. Unless they catch their error on the next bill we'll let it stand.

The total is $29.60 plus $2.96 (10%) tax, --- making grand total of $32.56.

Please send check to me at
c/o NDEA History Institute
Miles Colleges
Birmingham, Alabama, 35206.

Pat, for some reason I have not yet received any copy of the magazine. If they have not yet been sent out please send them to me at Miles College.

I am looking forward to being in Alabama, partly because I can study the situation there more closely (I trust time will permit this), and I also hope since I'm so close to Atlanta I'll be able to get to see you too.

Cordially,

August Meier

New Jersey Bell Telephone Company

1 - 152 9875

Statement of Calls and Telegrams

DATE	PLACE CALLED	AREA	TELEPHONE NUMBER	AMOUNT	CODE
	CREDIT	CARD	152 9875		
414	DE KALB ILL		756 9103		
	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	380	4
415	NEWORLEANS LA		523 7625		
SRC	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	825	3
415	WASHINGTON DC		RE7 8200		
SRC	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	620	3
415	NEW YORK NY		BR9 1406		
SRC	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	745	3
415	NEW YORK NY		BR9 1406		
SRC	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	570	3
415	COLUMBIA SC		256 4356		
SRC	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	200	3
421	CINCINNATI OHIO		281 5163		
	CALL PLACED	FROM	CHICAGOILL	485	3

CODES

STATION CALLS

1. DAY RATE
2. EVENING RATE
5. NIGHT RATE

PERSON CALLS

3. DAY RATE
4. NIGHT RATE

* PARTY LETTER OMITTED

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

note: Original bill never ret'd to us. re his pe guess? JS

June 3, 1966

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Meier:

In response to your request, the spring issue of New South was mailed today to the forty individuals listed in your recent letter to Mr. Watters. Each is marked with your compliments.

If we can be of further assistance to you, you have but to ask.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

Recd 5/23/66

May 19, 1966

Dear Pat:

First of all let me do something I overlooked to do in my last letter, and that is to thank you for your helpfulness in connection with seeing that our library gets NEW SOUTH and SRC literature. I have informed Mrs. Marjorie Keenleyside, our librarian, of this, and she is very pleased. I for one will find the material very useful when I teach Negro History here again; and I am also going to see that our sociology people are informed about it.

Follows is a list of people, chiefly academic, whom I would like to see get marked copies of the forthcoming issue:

1. Prof. Lawrence Levine, Dept. History, Univ. of Calif, Berkeley
2. Prof. Leon Litwack, History, Univ. of California, Berkeley
3. Prof. Louis R. Harlan, History, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
4. Prof. Roger Daniels, History, Univ. of California, Los Angeles
5. Prof. J. Rogers Hollingsworth, History, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison
6. Prof. William Leuchtenberg, History, Columbia Univ.
7. Prof. ~~Richard~~ Robert Cross, History, Columbia Univ.
8. Prof Michael Aiken, Sociology, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison
9. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr, Director, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison
10. Prof. N. J. Demerath, III, Sociology, Univ. of Wisconsin
11. Joseph Gusfield, Sociology, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
12. ~~W~~ Walter Johnson, History, Univ, of Chicago
13. Arthur Mann, History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
14. C. Vann Woodward, History, Yale University
15. Prof. Alan Anderson, ~~Chi~~ Divinity School, University of Chicago
16. Prof. David Donald, History, Johns Hopkins University
17. Dean Leonard Levy, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
18. Prof. Charles Hamilton, Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa.
19. Prof. Herbert Gutman, History, University of State of New York at Buffalo
20. Prof. Hugh Hawkins, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
21. Prof. Harvey Wish, History, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
22. Prof. Louis Filler, History, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
23. Prof. Howard Quint, History, Univ. of Mass., Amherst, Mass.
24. Prof. William Harbaugh, History, Bucknell Univ, Lewisburg, Pa.
25. Prof. Edward Pessen, chairman, history, Staten Island Community College, New York, N. Y.
26. Prof. Samuel Surace, sociology, Univ. of Calif, Los Angeles
27. Prof. Gloria Marshall, Sociology & Anthropology, New York Univ., New York, N.Y.
28. Judge Robert Watts, 1 Charles Center, Baltimore, Md.
29. Dr. Furman Templeton, exec. sec., Baltimore Urban League, 2404 Pennsylvania Ave., Baltimore.
30. Prof. Preston Valien, sociology, Brooklyn College.
31. Mr. Gerald McWorter, National Opinion Research Center, 5720 South Woodlawn, Chicago, Ill. 60637
32. Prof. Robert Bone, English Dept, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.
33. Prof. Elliott M. Rudwick, Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ., East St. Louis, Ill., 62201
34. Dean Albert N. Whiting, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md. 21212

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

35. Prof. Paul Puryear, Sociology, Tuskegee Institute

36. Mr. Robert Curvin, Northeastern vice chairman, CORE
106 Huntington Terrace
Newark, New Jersey

37. Richard Haley, Director, CORE Southern Regional Office, New Orleans 2209 Dryades St. (DRYADES)

38. John Morsell, NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York, N. Y. 10018

39. Bayard Rustin

40. Floyd McKissick, national director, CORE

Thanks so much for taking care of this.

Sincerely yours,

May 24, 1966

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Auggie:

Your response on the check confirms my estimation of you as a gentleman as well as a scholar.

We got the list and will take care of the mailings as soon as we get the magazine.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

May 16, 1966

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Augie:

Thanks again.

I will take care of the request on publications for Roosevelt University.

Be sure and forward the other phone bills when you get them. Enclosed along with your check for the article is a check for expenses.

The magazine should be out before the month is up. We will send copies to you.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

Chs for $149.70 (expenses)
+ $75.00 (for article)

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3380 AREA CODE 312

May 18, 1966

Rec'd 5/19/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your letter of May 16, and prompt handling of checks enclosed.

I appreciate the check for the consultant fee very much indeed, but as I said when we first discussed the possibility of my doing the article, that as a matterof policy I prefer not to accept money from civil rights organizations. Indeed, doing the article and the research for it, was a great opportunity for me, as I learned a great deal. Accordingly I enclose herewith the $75.00 check; I hope you will understand my point of view in doing this.

Given to RAA same date.

I will send the list of people whom I'm suggesting for marked copies, in a day or two.

Cordially,

Angie

August Meier

Ck rec'd

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~SEVENTY FIVE AND 00~~/100 DOLLARS (75.00)

TO: ~~Mr. August Meier~~
Name

~~Roosevelt University~~
Address

~~430 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60605~~
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: ~~for article in Spring Issue of NEW SOUTH.~~
(1966)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 5/16 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Taken care of

Requested Donation

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

May 13, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I now have the telephone bills up to the middle of April. There are some other calls--including the most expensive ones (esp. one to Rev. Newman), but this will come on the bill that won't be sent out until after I leave here in June. This will create a big delay, particularly because my mail is not going to be too regularly received, since I will be in Birmingham part of the summer, before I go East for my year's leave of absence. I would appreciate it therefore if you could process the bill already sent in ($124.52), and the enclosed telephone bills (xerox enclosed), which I compute at totaling $25.18.

A word of explanation about the tel. calls. The one to NYC on 2/24 was to John Morsell; the calls to Clarksdale of course were to Aaron Henry; the call to Atlanta 3/8 was to a friend of mine who kept me overnite (thus saving hotel bills of 2 or 3 nights while in Atlanta); the 3/9 call from Chicago to Edwards, was made on my credit card by a friend of mine here who put me in touch with some FDP people in Miss; the call from Birmingham to Jackson was to Kenneth Dean, I believe; the call from Montgomery to Jackson was to make a hotel reservation.

I trust this explains everything.

Please have check mailed to me here at Roosevelt. If it does not get here before I leave (about June 10), it will be forwarded to an address where it will not get lost.

Will the next issue be off the press soon?

Could it be feasible for you to send marked copies to a list of about 40 people, mostly academic people? I could bear the charge, if necessary. Let me know, and I'll send a list.

I would also like a dozen copies for distribution here, if they arrive here no later than the first week in June. (Please bill me).

Fianlly: Pat, we are trying to build up our Negro materials in our library; as you know Roosevelt has rather slender financial resources. We are wondering if it would be feasible or practicable for the library to receive the following as a contribution:

1) past files of NEW South;
2) a continuing subscription to New South;
3) copies of SRC's Special Reports past and future.

Will appreciate consideration of this.

Sincerely,

August Meier

Auge

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

May 5, 1966 (Thursday)

Dear Pat:

Galleys came this afternoon. Will get to them tonite, and airmail them special delivery late tonite or first thing in the morning.

Sincerely

August Meier

April 27, 1966

Mr. August Meier
Hotel Netherland-Hilton
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Augie:

This is the way we sent the manuscript to the printers. We still need to check what the Dallas County Voters League (p. 17) finally did in the sheriff's race. But that can be handled in the proofs.

I think the following are the only changes of any half-way substance that we made here:

p. 3 - tense change on "settled", second paragraph;

p. 3 - inster of "in Alabama", last line;

p. 4 - addition of last sentence;

p. 7 - change on legislative chances in second paragraph next to last sentence. This is based on Chuck Morgan's reading of the legislation and court decrees.

p. 9 - last paragraph, all of our recollections here and our secondary sources say 1964 was the first year of Negro office-holders in Tuskegee. If you have it otherwise we can of course change back.

- change in last sentence: out of an abundance of caution not to seem to be necessarily agreeing with this position. White men

in the government there were not extreme racists but for Alabama, extreme moderates;

p. 10- eliminated racist on same basis and out of what it sounds like to my Southern ears;

p. 14- last complete sentence addition which may very well be off. But something is needed there;

p. 16- last paragraph out of an abundance of leaning over backwards are you sure on racist campaign in first sentence?

pp. 17-18 - on Alabama race - to make it less awkward on p. 18 in last paragraph sentence deleted because it is not quite this in Georgia anyhow. Maybe you will want to insert something a little less blanket; next sentence: your copy read "in the state". I changed it to "Georgia". S. C. has an umbrella group.

p. 19- second paragraph the names put in. You may not like the phraseology of the addition to the sentence but I think the neo-Populist angle in that race is worth a glancing mention.

p. 21- second full paragraph, I really think some such modification is needed on Republicans, especially as regards Georgia and Tennessee.

There are also the changes we discussed over the phone on pages 7 and 11.

Again, my humble appreciation for what you have achieved here in wrapping up so much and making sense out of it in such short space. I am too close to the subject matter to get its impact as of now. But I'm sure this will be strong as will the awareness and insight, say five years from now.

I will process the expense account as soon as I get your phone bill.

Thanks again. Don't hesitate to correct any of our corrections as well as any further fixing that time will allow. I will send galley proofs as soon as I get them;

Yours Truly,

Pat Watters

PW:jb

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

April 22, 1966

Dear Pat:

1. I enclose several more changes, most of them minor corrections, to be made in my MS.

2. I still want to do something that will heighten the discussion of the impact of SNCC third party politics in Alabama, but I am not sure how to phrase or just where to put it; if I can decide on this over the weekend I will let you know ~~fixxxx

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

Rec'd 4/22/68

April 20

Dear Pat:

Just one more minor correction--which I discovered in reading over the MS earlier today.

On page 18, line 16, "merged" should of course be changed to "emerged."

Sincerely,

August Meier

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

Home
EA 46769

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

April 20, 1966

Dear Pat:

On the basis of recently received information, I would appreciate having the following changes made in my article:

1. NY Times reports SCLC's political action arm in Alabama is called Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations. I assume that this is correct; so please make appropriate changes on
   page 2, lines 17-18;
   page 6, 3rd line from bottom of page
   page 6 A, line 5
   (and anyplace if I have not caught all the instances).

2. Footnote to be indicated by asterisk at end of first paragraph on page 5:
   "In recent weeks SNCC workers have stepped up their efforts to encourage Negroes in otherBlack Belt counties, notably Dallas and Wilcox counties, to boycott the primary election and organize a separate party to run candidates in the general election."

3. page 7, 10., should read:
   "SCLC has, of course, done extensive voter-registration work in many rural counties, but quitelogically it has deliberately etc.et.cetc."

4. page 17, , fourth line from bottom:
   Omit the words "said to be"

5. page 17, last line should read:
   "reported as more inclined to support etc.etc."

6. page 18, line 17 , should read:
   "in Alabama over the past twenty years may disintegrate."

   At this point a footnote should be inserted as follows:

   "Since this article was written both the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, and--after a bitter fight-- the Alabama Democratic Conference have endorsed Flowers.

7. page 19, line 4, insert the following before the last sentence in the paragraph (i.e. before the sentence starting"Yet even they..."

   "The impactof the Negro vote, was reflected also in the sizeable number of Negro delegates at latest State Democratic Convention, and resolutions passed at this convention backing a compulsory school attendance law and outlawing racial discrimination in theparty."

(cont next page).

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

4/19/66

Dear Pat:

As I said feel free to make any grammatical changes etc. — since the style is still rough in places. —

All the best
Angie

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

FA 4 6769

April 6, 1966

Rec'd 4/11/66

Dear Pat:

I have finished a very crude and altogether very much too long first draft---about 40 pages. I still have problems of organization and assimilating the large amount of data, not to mention the questions that arise where there are gaps in my data.

What I think I will do is put the MS aside for 2 or 3 days, and then come back to it with a fresh look over the weekend. Will let you know how I come out early next week.

Sincerely,

August Meier

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

March 27, 1966

Dear Pat:

I have finished typing notes on interviews, and have read over the somewhat bulky mimeographed matter I collected in the course of my travels. In general I know the points I want to make (though I feel that are lacunae that I hope I can mitigate somewhat by a few telephone calls). I have not yet settled upon an organizing theme--that is giving me some trouble, but I think things are starting to jell for me, and I should have an outline ready in a few days. If time permits I will try to send it on to you for your comments.....

Meanwhile there are a few things I think your office can do:

1. Barbara _____, was to send me the rest of her state county-by-county breakdowns of of voter-registration, 1962-1966. She had Miss. and S.C. done before I left, and gave me copies of same; but I have not yet received copies of her computations for the other states.
2. As I told you the data on office holding do not give me a base line back as far as 1960; but on looking them over I think that what I have gives me the general idea well enough--and anyhow I will have to be writing on a fairly high level of generalization, so I think I can make do with what I have.
3. On officeholding I am intrigued by data supplied me that in 1962 and 1962 a Negro was elected to Forsyth Co. dem. exec. comm (Winston-Salem); but I find no reference to this in listing for Nov., 1965--- can facts of this be ascertained?

   Otherwise it would seem that Negroes are on county exec. committees of dem. party only in Ga. and Ala.

   Is this so? Are there no Negroes on democ exec committees in Tenn. for example? or perhaps Va.? Can this be confrimed one way or the other?

   Also information given me indicates that only Ga. has Negro representation on state Democ Exec Committee? Is this correct?
4. Can you give me date of Benjamin Muse's report on Memphis? — Smith
   I do not find any date on the title page of this special report.
5. Can your research dept. tell me if the MFDP candidates in 1964 (for congress) attempted to run in Democ Party primary, and then ran as indepedent candidates in general election? Or what was the situation? I found extraorindary confusion on the matter among people I spoke with in Mississippi. Can you have this cleared up? (Perhaps in 1964 they just ran in the mock election ?)

4/1/66 Joan came of by GB.

This takes care of the questions I have for now. If I have any specific problems that come up as I get down to writing, I'll be in touch with you.

Cordially,

August Meier

P.S. recent newspapers give me data I wanted on poll taxes; but I would still like other data I requested about state disfranchisement dev

3/25/66

File

Mr. Meier:

As promised to you in my note of March 23, enclosed is the material Mrs. Patterson compiled in accordance with your request.

I hope it will be of help to you.

Janet Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

Encls.

note: material mailed same date.

3/24/66

Dear Mr. Meier:

Your note of the 22nd will be referred to Mr. Watters.

I have sent our Winter Issue, 1966, of New South to Mr. McWorter as per your request.

Janet Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

Pat: This was given to Bob for his attention. JS

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

Rec'd 3/24/66

March 22

Dear Pat:

I will be sending under separate cover today half a dozen copies of my Martin Luther King article; I will also enclose ~~xxxx~~ offprints of some other things that you or people at SRC may find of interest.

Would you please send a copy of the latest NEW SOUTH (the ~~xxx~~ first one that came out in the new format) to Mr. Gerald McWorter,
c/o NORC
5720 S. Woodlawn
Chicago, Ill. 60637

Sincerely,

August Meier

March 23, 1966

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr. Meier:

Thank you for your letter of March 21.

Mr. Watters is still working at home on the VEP book, and he asked me to inform you that it is perfectly all right with him and Mr. Anderson for your article to arrive in this office about April 4 or 5. Mr. Watters also asked that I convey to you his appreciation for your undertaking this task.

I have asked Mrs. Barbara Patterson, Research Assistant for the current voter project, to gather the information you requested, and I will forward it to you as soon as it is completed.

It was a pleasure meeting you. Perhaps it will not be too long before you once again visit with us.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

Return to JS

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

March 21, 1966

Mr. Pat Waters, SRC
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Rec'd 3/23/66

Dear Pat:

Ck Bob on

Over the weekend I have typed up well over half the notes on my interviews. If everything goes OK, without unexpected interruptions, I should finish this chore on Friday, and get to working on the article over the coming weekend. I do not see how it can be finished this coming weekend, and am wondering if I can finish it the first weekend in April--and sent it to you about April 4 or 5. Let me know if this will be OK?

What I am doing is spending 3 full days a week on the SRC article--and four days a week on my classwork (which has fallen very far behind; and since I am teaching 2 graduate courses I have not taught before I am kept very busy with my teaching too). I feel class morale has fallen somewhat due to my being away; and so I think it important to get both them and myself back on the track--and this can only be done if I am well prepared.

Let me say that the trip was a splendid one--except thatit was too short. I feel I have a pretty good grasp of what is going on in Ala. and Miss., and something of a feel for Louisiana. I apologize for not having called you Sunday nite from Jackson--but I had driven from Mt. Beulah to Tougaloo rather latein the evening to spend a couple hours with some old friends, and somehow it escaped my mind. I apologize for the trouble it caused you.

I will be writing or call you to see if your research dept. can give me some more information, once I go through all the materials I have.

However one thing I would appreciate having now, if it is not too much trouble is a list of the states requring poll taxes for state and local elections at present time; and a list of states requring literacy and/or other qualifications at the time the 1965 voting rights bill was passed. (in several places I found discussion of the poll tax as a barrier to participation in local politics).

YB

Since I last spoke with you, and beforeleaving the south, I had first-rate interviews with Claude Ramsay, Aaron Henry, Art Thomas, Richard Haley, Charles Evers; also Kenneth Dean was quite illuminating --though his vantage point is rather different from the others. I got one good interview with an FDP staff person, and also a long talk that was most revealing with Charlie Cobb (SNCC). Jesse Morris did not want to see me--but that is about what I expected, after having spoken with Al Ulmer. There were others I spoke with also--but the above were the ones of most help.

Cordially, Angie

228

January 24, 1966

Mr. August Meier
617 Highland Avenue
Newark, New Jersey 07104

Dear Mr. Meier:

Your letter in all particulars is very good news. I think the end of March will be all right from this end. Sooner, of course, is always better, but I see no real need for you to push for earlier than that time.

Let me know when you can about the travel plans and cost.

I hope you realize how pleased I am that you are going ahead with the piece. The questions about strategy become increasingly important.

So, God's speed and I will be listening to hear from you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

January 18, 1966

Rec'd 1-21-66, via airmail

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your Dec. 16 letter. I have postponed writing until I could be definite. Let me say that things now shape up about as follows:

I have interviewed 2 SNCC workers from Alabama who gave me some good insights; I hope I can grab Andy Young or ML King sometime during their numerous trips in & out of Chicago; I will be in New York for the next two weeks, and while there will speak with Rustin, with NAACP national staff, and Floyd McKissick (who is scheduled to be in New York about that time) and Farmer.

As things look right now, the first time I will be able to go South will be the last weekend in February. Tentatively I would like to plan two such four day trips (I teach only Tuesday & Thursday, which gives me long weekends), -- one to Atlanta, Birmingham, and perhaps an Alabama Black Belt County; and one to Mississippi. These would be last weekend in February and first weekend in March. As I said this is tentative.

I think this would mean an article in your hands by the end of March. How does this sound? I suspect it may be after the deadline for the spring issue. If so, I will try to juggle some dates around up here, and see if I can't put more time in on it in February. Incidentally, what is the deadline for the spring issue?

I very much appreciate your suggestion regarding the financial costs. Before exploring this aspect further I suggest we wait till I come back from New York, as I will know then better how much time I should spend in the South. (My own feeling is that some actual direct touch with the southern field is essential, no matter how well informed national officials may be but I may need less than I now anticipate).

Looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

August Meier

August Meier

P.S. From Jan. 21 to Feb. 4, I will be staying with my parents in Newark, N. J. (617 Highland Avenue, Newark, N. J. 07104; Tel: 483-7735, area 201).

December 16, 1965

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Meier:

I was disappointed, of course, from your call the other day, but certainly understand and respect your decision. I do hope we might be able to work something out for the spring issue.

One thing I should have pointed out over the phone is that we would be happy to pay for phone calls and share in the cost of travel.

Anyhow, I hope you will let me hear from you upon your return from California, and in the meantime, if you should make some breakthrough that would allow going ahead with it right away, I would be more than happy.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

December 3, 1965

Mr. August Meier
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Meir:

It was good talking with you. I hope I expressed how grateful I am that you will undertake an article, and how pertinent what you outlined is to what we want to do with this first issue.

As discussed, it would cover strategy, current political and economic issues, and your appraisals of them.

It would be good to get it by December 20, but any time this month will be fine. I hope you will give us a note on the two books you are working on if you want us to mention them.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P. S. The enclosed is something we are to release next week on the kind of education problems you were talking about.

Meier-- Dilemmas of Negro Protest Strategy

page 6 A--line 10

change "Coordination Organizations" to "Confederation."

page 7: Pat, Please check accuracy of my statement , line 10 from bottom, ~~xxgarding~~ that ~~the~~ legislative district lines are so drawn that difficult to plce Negro from rural areas in legislature in alabama. -- Might it be better to say that ~~x~~ only a few ~~x xxx~~ can be elected, or that possible to elect Negro to lower House, but not to upper House? I have interview material saying it is "impossible to elect Negro to legislature from black belt rural counties; but I have seen SNCC stuff which says that they intend to do so. Please check on this, and revise to make it accurate.

Check

p. 17 = Dallas Co Voters League & Frank Wilson?

~~page 7, xmxxx

PA

Let's Discuss

June 7, 1966

Mr. Finley Campbell
863 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Under separate cover we are sending you five complimentary copies of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH, which contains your article. You should receive them shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

as covering ltr

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: Mr. Finley Campbell
Name

863 Fair Street, SW
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article in Spring Issue of NEW SOUTH, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 5/16 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

April 7, 1966

Dear Finley:

Dos Pasos, hell! This is the first original reading I have done since I got to wearing this grinning article-buying mask. Don't mess it up; I've got the original, anyhow.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 2.
Mr. Finley Campbell
863 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

February 21, 1966

Mr. Finley C. Campbell
863 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Pat Watters, SRC's Director of Information, has already talked with you, I know, about doing a piece for New South on the general subject of Negro anger. This is just a note to let you know we are still most interested in your writing such an article for us -- for the spring issue, if possible. Do you think you could?

I have, by the way, heard many good comments about your poetry in this current issue. We would like to see more.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

November 9, 1965

Dear Finley:

To follow up on our conversation last night, here is the assignment as I had jotted it down on the sotry for New South on Negro anger:

> "From black nationalism to everyday frustration and less simple things in between an honest account of Negro anger in the South today. Is it like that of the North? Is it different in quality now as compared with a few years ago?"

This is simply to suggest a vague notion of what we want. I would, of course, hope you would handle it just exactly as you think it should be handled, ignoring entirely the assignment if they don't fit.

As we discussed, the deadline for the next edition would be December 15, at the latest. For the issue after that, probably it would be February 15. The pay would be in the two-figure range upon acceptance of the story.

I am looking forward very much to seeing the poetry and the chapter of your dissertation. Also to hearing from the sociologist about Negro family life.

Also looking forward to seeing you as soon after November 31 as we can arrange.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PWLjs

Mr. Finley C. Campbell
863 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Note: Relating correspondence in Paul Anthony's file.

June 7, 1966

Dr. Eli Ginsberg
Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Ginsberg:

Under separate cover we are sending you five complimentary copies of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH which contained a summary of informal remarks by you at the Columbia University Seminar on Labor last December. It makes, we think, a distinguished contribution to the magazine.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

June 7, 1966

Mr. Gordon G. Henderson
Special Assistant
Office of the Governor
of Arizona
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Mr. Henderson:

The spring issue of NEW SOUTH containing your piece "In a Time of Passage," is out now, and five complimentary copies are on the way under separate cover to you. You should receive them shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl: $75 ck

January 21, 1966

Mr. Gordon G. Henderson
Special Assistant
Office of the Governor
of Arizona
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Gordon:

I was not disappointed. The material is eloquent in the way only the concrete can be eloquent. And your handling of the translation from spoken to written is sensitive and intelligent. It has the ring of authenticity.

I am not certain at this point, but I may decide to hold it for use in the spring issue. The main reason is circumstance. We are using a portion of Jim Silver's new book which deals with Mississippi; we are using a proposal of Marian Wright's for reforming rural agriculture in Mississippi, and now some late copy has come in on a piece about southern business which deals in length on the role of business leaders in Mississippi.

All of these are too current to postpone. I don't think your material will be hurt by holding it. Indeed, I think it would have more impact in an issue with less of the material about Mississippi.

At any rate, I am very pleased that we have the article, and know that it will be a valuable contribution in whichever of the two issues we use it.

Thanks again, and please let me hear from you on ideas for future pieces.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: Gordon G. Henderson
Name

Office of the Governor - State Capitol
Address

Phoenix, Arizona
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for NEW SOUTH
Winter, 1966 issue

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 1-21 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Pat Watters, Directof of Information

OFFICE OF
THE GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA
SAMUEL P. GODDARD

THE CAPITOL
Phoenix

EXECUTIVE STAFF

January 17, 1966

Rec'd 1-19-66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I am returning the proof of the article. It looks good to me. I suggest for the part on the second page of the proof that your marginal note indicates is not clear the following change of punctuation:

> I think it's apathy . . . . the best word that would apply to the overall situation. That is the immediate factor.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon G. Henderson
Special Assistant

GGH:mm

Enclosure

November 22, 1965

Dear Gordon:

Thanks for your letter, and the opportunity to read (and decipher) the Van Doren letter. You ought to feel good about what he says about the piece, opinions in which I concur. It is an important contribution.

Forgive me for not having sent extra copies when the October New South came out. They are enclosed. If you need more, or have people we might send it to, let me know.

I'm excited about the forthcoming thing on the tapes, and am led by the tone of your letter to think that I am rewarded in my cranky sort of writer's notion that an assignment put in the loose terms of this one will make for a more creative approach. I have this crazy idea that a piece conceived by the writer has more integrity than those by strait-jacket assignment.

Anyhow, it was tood to see you -- as you say, at last, and I look forward to seading what people are saying.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Gordon G. Henderson
Office of the Governor of Arizona
Phoenix, Arizona

OFFICE OF
THE GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA
SAMUEL P. GODDARD

THE CAPITOL
Phoenix

EXECUTIVE STAFF

November 14, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat,

In our conversation about that piece I am to do for New South you did say December 1, and I see no reason at this time why I should not be able to meet that deadline, or at least a close approximation of it.

I still have not really given much thought to the organization of the piece though I have thought of a number of passages from the interviews I should like to put in. I agree with you, however, that the piece should be largely excerpts from the interviews themselves and that's what I'm heading toward.

I am enclosing a copy of Mark Van Doren's letter, the one I mentioned to you in which he comments on Notes on Mississippi and tells the story about his Pentagon friend's efforts to get a Faulkner marker put on the outskirts of New Albany. I hope you can read his writing. I'm as used to it now as I'll ever be but still have some trouble with it sometimes.

When the October New South comes out, do you think you might ask someone to ship me a few extra copies of it. Four, or five or six is what I have in mind. My mother and so forth, you understand.

Glad the Southern Association gave me the chance to meet you at last.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon G. Henderson

November 9, 1965

Dr. Gordon Henderson
32 East Keim Drive
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Gordon:

This is to confirm our conversation the other day about a New South article based on materials in your taped interviews. As I said, I'll leave it up to you what format and what theme you want to develop. I did express some interest in what the white Mississippians might have been saying. But if you think of some better approach, by all means do it. Maybe just a random sampling of all the diversity of people and opinion. I do think nearly all of the piece should be the people talking. Little or even no interpretation would seem necessary, if the sample of the interviews in the other piece is any indication. Anyhow, use your own judgment.

One other point that might help in your selection of what to use: The issue it will likely be used in will be one on the general theme of where is the South now after these last couple of years of change and clamor. There will be separate articles on everything from enforcement of the new laws to Negro anger.

We will need the copy at the latest by December 15. I can't remember whether I told you December 1 or December 15. December 1, of course, would be best. From 2,000 to 3,500 words. The pay, on acceptance, will be in the two-figure range.

It was good meeting and talking with you. I am curious to see how you will handle the problem of

translating the language as she is spoken to the conventions of writing.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Falls Village
Connecticut
August 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Thank you for Notes on Mississippi, which I have read and reread with growing admiration. It is political science of the finest sort: personal, warm, witty, specific, full of color (local and otherwise), and therefore convincing. I/ you have a minute for the finger, sometime I'd like to hear what its reception at the church.

Of course when I say personal, etc., I don't mean to ignore the deep, searching social analysis you performed. I merely mean ~~that~~ this analysis is (rare thing) somehow at once believable; I feel I am there, and know my way around. It would be a good State to know, especially now ~~that~~ it is getting ready to be like all the others — worse luck, perhaps, since so much in it is lovable and unique. Yet these precious things can't all disappear — fragments of it in Faulkner. I'm sure they'll stay.

Speaking of Faulkner, I got last week a copy of some correspondence about a proposed sign at the entrance to New Albany saying he was born there. So far, it seems, the town doesn't want such a sign, since it has doubts of Faulkner; but the man (Bob Sargent) who is promoting the project has faith that it will eventually succeed. The final sentence of his letter will interest you: "My state will some day come back to us all, and will furnish great leaders and statesmen." Sargent, incidentally, works in the Pentagon!

Thank you so for my part in your dedication, and for the quotation with which you began. I am deeply touched by this; and again I am grateful.

My best to you and Mississippi.

Sincerely,

Mark Van Doren

Dead

June 8, 1966

Dear Reese:

I've got two things worrying at me to the effect of it being worth writing you about:

First, we want to develop here at the Council a piece (whether for NEW SOUTH or as a special study) on the state of coalition in southern politics. This will, of course, be one of the things you will be looking for after the November election for our erstwhile book. Would you be interested, for reasonable compensation, in doing the piece for us sometime after November?

Second, whenever you can, let us know what the needs are in terms of money and bodies for the study of southern newspapers; we are ready to try to fulfill them.

Trust your vacation was a good one.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
51 Peachtree Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Encl: New South spring issue

Dead

June 9, 1966

Mr. Robert Hughes
Boston University
School of Theology
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Following up on our conversation the day before yesterday, I would very much like to get an article from you describing your experiences with racism and totalitarianism in the South and southern Rhodesia. It seems to me just an informal essay setting out the obvious similarities and the implications would have considerable impact: anecdotes and feelings, personal experiences perhaps should be emphasized.

These are just general indications of what strikes me; I would leave up to you entirely the thrust and tone. Our average length is ten pages, double spaced. However, deviations that run upward or downward do not disturb us. We pay less than $100, I am sorry to say.

Our next deadline is July 1, and the one after that will be sometime in September. I don't think there is any big rush but I would, of course, like to get it as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

June 9, 1966

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Department of Social Psychology
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Pettigrew:

I was delighted to hear from Paul Anthony that you had promised him "on a stack of Bibles" to contribute an article to our magazine, NEW SOUTH.

Within the rather wide limits of our interests, the choice of subject matter is entirely up to you. We like to think of our average length as ten pages, double spaced, but deviations above or below this norm do not bother us at all. Our next deadline is July 1 and after that, some time in September.

I am looking forward to hearing from you. It was good to meet you in Washington.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl. N. S. Spring issue.

June 13, 1966

Mr. Robert L. Combs
Executive Director
Virginia Council on
Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Bob:

Thank you for sending on the additional material regarding the textbook project. I'll be getting on to it this week and hopefully, together we can hammer out an impressive piece. Any other additional information that you think helpful will be welcomed.

Regards.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

June 15, 1966

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Henderson:

At the risk of being a real nuisance, I want to send this along to underscore our conversation this morning about the piece for NEW SOUTH. The subject would fit so perfectly into our next issue.

If we can be any help here on mechanics, just let me know.

As I told you, July 1 is when we'd like to have it; July 15 would be when we've got to.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

6/15/66

Mr. Nelson:

The enclosed paper was inadvertently left out of your letter of June 10. Please excuse error.

Secretary to Mr. Anderson

June 10, 1966

Mr. Harold A. Nelson
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Nelson:

We have read with a good deal of interest your paper "People, Power, and Poverty," and think you have made a sound point forcefully, even eloquently. But we wonder if it is not -- in its present shape -- too general for our audience which doesn't need to be persuaded, yet would relish a hard, research article on the same subject. A profile, for instance, of poverty in Tuscaloosa including a look at employment opportunities under Title VI -- housing, school segregation -- really the whole spectrum, all of it bound up in your general thesis that society doesn't care.

Waht I'm saying is that while we like your piece, we would want to see it expanded. If you would be interested in doing this, we'd like to hear from you further.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

DIRECTOR
OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

Department of Justice

Washington 20530

June 14, 1966

Rec'd 6/16/66

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

The Attorney General has asked me to thank you for your kindness in forwarding the complimentary copies of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH.

He was pleased to have this issue and we have passed the copies on to the appropriate officials in the Department.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack Rosenthal

Jack Rosenthal
Director of Public Information

June 7, 1966

The Honorable Nicholas Katzenbach
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Katzenbach:

Enclosed are five complimentary copies of the spring issue of NEW SOUTH which contains the speech you made in Atlanta February 28 before members and guests of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosures - 5.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Rec'd 6/17/66

June 10, 1966

Mr. James D. Henderson
2513 Wabash
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Enclosed is a reprint of a recent article in DISSENT about the Bogalusa situation which I thought might be a useful reference for you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

Dissent
MAY-JUNE, 1966

Vera Rony

BOGALUSA: THE ECONOMICS OF TRAGEDY

The press has done justice to the woeful catalogue of demonstrations, shootings, and court injunctions suffered by this paper-mill town in the past year. There has been little exploration, however, of the causes of Bogalusa's agony: automation, economic frustration, and civic myopia. For Bogalusa is no redneck hamlet, dominated by musty tradition and the paternalism of an entrenched and locally controlled industry. Until recently the town has prospered under the influence of a progressive national corporation and strong Northern-based unions. Yet it was here that the economic urgency of the civil rights movement has most clearly come into focus: Negroes and whites fighting for the same jobs in a work force drastically reduced by technological change.

Bogalusa's anguish was not inspired by the economic demands of its Negroes. It began in December, 1964, when six prominent white residents became concerned because the town's public facilities were still segregated five months after passage of the Civil Rights Act. They invited former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays, a racial moderate, now associate director of the Community Relations Service, to speak on the experience of Southern communities in complying with the new law.

When the invitation became public, a cross was burned in front of the home of Reverend Bruce Shepherd, a signer of the invitation, in whose church the meeting was to be held. Several thousand handbills with the following text were distributed door to door:

> [the purpose of this meeting] is to convince you that you should help integration by sitting in church with the black man, hiring more of them in your business, serving and eating with them in your cafes, and allowing your children to sit by filthy, runny-nosed, ragged, ugly little niggers in your public schools. We will know the names of all who are invited to the Brooks Hays meeting and we will know who did and did not attend this meeting. . . . Those who do attend [will be] dealt with accordingly by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

A few days later, the vestrymen of St. Matthews Episcopal Church voted seven to one against opening the parish hall for the Hays meeting;

their insurance did not cover bombing. And on January 5, the invitation to Hays was withdrawn. "We searched our souls day and night," said Shepherd, a former combat bombardier in Korea. "Cars filled with Klansmen kept going by our houses. We didn't want to give in to the Klan. But we had no one with us. We didn't have labor, business, city officials, or the law. We were just six guys bucking the whole town."

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Why was it that Bogalusa, like Sodom, could not produce ten good men in a crisis? A partial answer is to be found in the brief but contradictory history of the town itself. In 1906, the Great Southern Lumber Company decided that Bogue Lusa—Choctaw for "smoky water" —would make an ideal location for the world's largest sawmill, to be surrounded by a town "laid out with . . . care and provision for the future." This care and provision included company houses, utilities, hospital, YM- and YWCA. But within fourteen years the monster mill, consuming fifty acres a day, had almost depleted the surrounding forests. Great Southern responded by instituting the first large-scale reforestation program in the history of the Southern lumber industry. By 1938, however, the local timber resources proved inadequate, and the company sold out to the Gaylord Container Corporation, a paper-products firm that in 1955 merged with the much larger Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

Crown knew little about the South when it came to Bogalusa. Its headquarters are in San Francisco and its 26,000 employees are scattered for the most part across the Pacific States. Since 1955, its sales have risen 58 per cent, to $622 million, making it the second largest paper-products manufacturer in the country. But in this highly competitive industry, this means only 4 per cent of the market. It also means continual plant modernization to keep pace with the industry's rapid technological change; by 1957, Crown had already built a new bag plant in Bogalusa.

Bringing the same progressive spirit to bear on its relations with the community, Crown began divesting itself of such utilities, houses, and stores still under traditional company control. But in 1960, the demands of competition collided with those of communal harmony. As Board Chairman Reed O. Hunt later explained: ". . . to make the mill fully competitive in the industry it had to be extensively modernized. . . . It was also clear that the mill was greatly overstaffed and that the work force would have to be reduced. . . . We made every effort to explain the situation to the union but tension inevitably developed."

This tension erupted in August, 1961, into a strike that lasted seven months. The company insists that, while it was a costly strike for all concerned, there was no residue of bitterness. But Paul Phillips, inter-

national president of the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, which maintains white and Negro locals in Bogalusa, hotly disagrees: "All that consultation stuff is malarkey. The company made those decisions unilaterally—that's why we struck. Our people felt the rug had been pulled out from under them."

Between 1961 and 1965, Crown spent more than $35 million on plant modernization and laid off 500 Bogalusans, black and white. There was no program, city-, company-, or union-sponsored, to attract new industry or to retrain displaced workers. They were merely placed in Crown's pool of unassigned labor, known as the Extra Board, where from time to time they could find temporary work. Since the Extra Board was segregated in 1961, displaced Negroes had access only to the most menial jobs. Nevertheless, unemployed whites were shocked to find themselves confronting Negroes in the same predicament—and in the context of a civil rights movement determined to destroy the social equilibrium upon which they depended.

In this tense social climate Crown Zellerbach confronted Executive Order 10925, signed by President Kennedy in March, 1961, requiring all firms under government contract to provide equal-employment opportunities for their workers. Crown waited more than a year before it moved, and moved, by its own admission, only its mouth. "We were aware that this was the first initiative in Bogalusa to alter the accepted pattern of race relations in the community and that we were taking it after a prolonged labor dispute," Chairman Hunt recalled for the stockholders. "... We felt it was essential to move ahead on the basis of a patient and thorough explanation. . . ."

In doing so, Crown ignored the experience of other Southern firms which have desegregated without incident: namely, that once a policy of integration is announced, a clear-cut procedure pursued with reasonable speed is far less inflammatory than a "patient and thorough explanation" —particularly if it lasts a year and a half! This lengthy study period was not, however, entirely Crown's responsibility. The other major parties were the white paper unions; their sentiments were immovable. When the company invited Victor Bussie, president of the Louisiana AFL-CIO Council, to assist in these discussions, these Unionists told him to go home. Bussie, one of the South's most effective labor leaders, was somewhat nonplussed by the United Papermakers and Paperworkers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers, who share jurisdiction over the 2,900 workers at Crown and another 13,000 in the state: "The state council has managed to keep the allegiance of most locals throughout the integration crisis, but not the

paper unions; 45 per cent of them have disaffiliated. Most of these locals are in small towns, and the bulk of their membership consists of farmers who quit the land recently or one generation back. It's the most fundamental kind of Southern conservatism, the hardest kind to reason with."

There was another, though silent, partner to this company-union talkathon which lasted from the spring of 1962 until December, 1963—the General Services Administration, which had awarded several lucrative Federal contracts to Crown. During this period, the agency completed twenty-four reviews of the company's fair-employment practices and found them in compliance with government policy. GSA obviously based its approval on the company's *plans* for integration, since the plant remained totally segregated. But finally, in early 1964, Washington began to prod Crown into action.

Separate plant entrances for Negroes and whites were abolished, along with separate drinking fountains (which now have long spouts and paper cups). The toilets, always a hazard, were integrated but with partitions between the white and Negro sections. Only after violence erupted last year did the company try to desegregate its restaurant. But no sooner did the Negroes arrive than the whites left, and the private concessionaire was forced to close. The integration of time clocks was delayed until 1965, and, although the signs have been removed from the pay windows, Negroes are still to queue up at their old windows.

However, Crown's most significant act was to integrate its Extra Board in May, 1964, enabling Negroes as well as whites to be assigned to jobs on the basis of seniority. But the company frankly concedes that the impact of this innovation was limited: "Due to the manpower situation in the mill, the labor turnover since the policy was put into effect has not been great. Consequently, few Negroes have been able to obtain permanent jobs in progression lines formerly set aside for whites. Few whites have moved into jobs formerly held by Negroes."

To the white workers the integration of the Extra Board, after three years of reduced employment caused by automation, was the nightmare of Negro competition come true. The Klan lost no time exploiting the fear of job loss to Negroes; its ranks increased during 1964 to an estimated 800 members in a population of 22,000, reportedly the highest concentration in the South. And to job anxiety was added the agitation for civil rights legislation, the national outcry at the murders of Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman, and finally, the passage of the Civil Rights Act, Title VII which guaranteed the widening of the fair-employment breach so cautiously opened by Crown Zellerbach.

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About noon on July 3, 1964, the day after the Civil Rights Act became law, two Negro girls, about twelve years old, sat down at the lunch counter of Woolworth's and requested service. Within an hour, a hundred white men had assembled in front of the store; they remained there until dark, although the children had long since fled.

In the rare, fortunate Southern community, a danger signal like this is promptly answered by a firm call for law and order from the powers that be. Here, the mantle rested on Crown Zellerbach, whose $19 million annual payroll provides 70 per cent of Bogalusa's income and which employs two of the town's four commissioners and several of its councilmen. But the company chose to remain silent. So did Mayor Jesse F. Cutrer, the protégé of Vertrees Young, a prominent local moderate and retired Crown vice-president. The resounding stillness extended into December before it was broken by the ill-fated invitation to Brooks Hays. When the Klan responded by intimidating the entire community, it ignited the racial confrontation that still continues.

At the time, the vigilante victory in forcing the withdrawal of the invitation was complete—inside Bogalusa. But the Hays episode was widely reported by the press, and Crown's switchboard in San Francisco was soon deluged with calls from news media, irate citizens, and government officials. The company no longer hesitated to make its influence felt; a few days later Mayor Cutrer notified the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League, which represents the Negro community, that his police would provide full protection for the testing of public accommodations, starting on January 28, 1965.

The first day of testing went smoothly, and Mayor Cutrer, clearly relieved, declared the tests successful—and concluded. But the Voters League, fired up by indignation, publicity, and hope, scheduled a rally to launch a systematic assault on all of Bogalusa's segregated facilities.

"That was February 1st, and the [Negro] Union Hall was packed. People in the aisles, in back, everywhere," Jacqueline Hicks, a leading militant, recalls. "Bill Yates and Steve Miller of CORE were telling us how much we could do in Bogalusa if only we stuck together and kept fighting. . . . We never had a meeting like that in this town before."

Meanwhile equal excitement was stirring on Columbia Road, the town's main street, where white men were assembling and talking about the two white "outsiders" from CORE bringing trouble to Bogalusa.

Yates and Miller had arrived at the Robert Hicks's home on East Ninth Street, where they were to spend the night. At 11:15 p.m., Chief of Police Claxton Knight came to inform them that he could no longer guarantee their safety in Bogalusa; he advised them to leave at once.

It was a paralyzing moment for the Hickses: their two youngest children were at home, and it had not been easy to finance their pleasant, sprawling ranch house. "But we didn't even have to remember Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman. We just knew that if Yates and Miller left our house at that moment, we would never see them alive again," Bob Hicks recalls. Informed that the two CORE workers would stay, Chief Knight took his leave with a parting warning: "We have better things to do than protect people who aren't wanted here."

While CORE, alerted by Yates and Miller, reached out frantically for help from Washington, word of the impending siege at the Hickses flashed through Jewtown, Poplas, Moden Quarters, and other widely separated Negro sections. Within minutes, carloads of armed Negroes poured into East Ninth Street. Now the rumors began to travel the other way; the Klan never came near East Ninth Street. The Movement had finally arrived in Bogalusa.

•

These events still did not elicit a law-and-order statement from Crown or the unions. Not until April 2 did the local Crown manager speak out against violence and intimidation, a reticence the company explained by insisting that civil rights is a community responsibilty.

The international unions made no statement at all; nor did their locals take advantage of the mediation efforts of the AFL-CIO's Bussie, who returned to Bogalusa in April to help establish communications between the town officials and the Voters League, now under new leadership.

This changing of the guard is a frequent occurrence in the civil rights struggle. The old preacher-teacher-insurance-agent leadership of the Voters League lacked the nerve for the aggressive enterprises of Bogalusa's aroused Negroes. By April, A. Z. Young had assumed the presidency and Bob Hicks the vice-presidency of the organization. Both men had developed their skills in the service of Local 624, the Negro wing of the Pulp, Sulphite Union: Young was the local's president for a decade; Hicks was a trustee for years. Their union experience equipped them to voice those fundamental economic grievances that do not surface in every civil rights battle but could hardly be surpressed in Bogalusa, where the median income for Negro families is $2,200 a year.

The Voters League launched a vigorous campaign for more and better jobs—whose thrust was naturally directed at Crown. The League pounded away at the statistics: 9,000, or one out of three, Bogalusans are Negroes; yet of Crown's 2,900 employees, Negroes account for a mere 390, or one out of seven, and they are grouped in the poorest paid and

least skilled jobs. At Crown as elsewhere, the demand for more jobs is inseparable from that for better jobs, since Negroes cannot hope to become a significant part of the work force without access to skilled jobs.

The Voters League's first proposal was jobs for women, who presently lack any alternative to working as maids for $18 a week. Crown which employed 200 white women, did not have a single Negro woman on the payroll. But the League's fundamental demand was access to better-paid skilled jobs. "I came to Crown in 1950," said Otha Peters, the current president of Negro Local 624, "the same time as Hilton Beard, the president of our white local. I couldn't go beyond porter, so I make $2.16 an hour, while Hilton, who is a millwright, makes $3.45. Sometimes we talk about it, and Hilton says, 'You should've been born a white boy.' "

When Chairman Hunt announced the integration of the Extra Board, he acknowledged the limitations imposed on this policy by the low labor turnover, due to automation and reduced sales, which left the plant operating at half capacity. And he did not mention that only nine Negroes had moved into formerly white job lines during the first year of integration. Pedro Mondy, official of Negro Papermakers Local 189A, said it could hardly be otherwise: "Take the recovery room in the paper mill. There are twenty-two jobs; before '64, the top seventeen were restricted to whites, the bottom five to Negroes. Now supposing that after the company announced the integration, the senior Negro wants to move into a white job, which he knows how to handle 'cause he's done it in emergencies. He's got to leave *his* job, give up his seniority, go into the Extra Board, pass a tough test, and then wait his turn on the Extra Board. If he does get the job, he'll be the first one laid off. And if it's more than six weeks since he left his old job, he can't go back—he's out of luck."

•

Repeated conferences during the first half of 1965 between the company, the unions, the Voters League, and local officials failed to produce a single new job for a Negro in Bogalusa. The pace of demonstrations accelerated, as did the physical attacks by white men and the jeering by their women and children. On June 2, Washington Parish Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore, a Negro, was slain by night riders. On July 8, Henry Austin of the black Deacons for Defense shot a white man who attacked a Negro child during a demonstration. Nearly 100 people were arrested during those hectic weeks. And on July 10, CORE obtained a Federal injunction ordering the police to provide full protection to civil rights workers (subsequent injunctions have been issued

against local officials, the Klan, and individual members of the police).

Five days after the injunction, Crown Vice-President Francis M. Barnes flew from San Francisco to confer with the Bogalusa Voters League. It was a pilgrimage at least partially motivated by the prodding of the GSA, which had just awarded Crown a new $12 million contract.

Confronting Barnes were three Negro women who had applied at Crown and "been turned around so often" that they kept asking local plant manager Roy Ferguson to repeat his assurance that henceforth the applications of Negro women would be accepted. Next followed an illuminating exchange between management and Bob Hicks:

> *Ferguson:* "All jobs are open, Mr. Hicks, at this time. They may not have been open in the past."
>
> *Hicks:* "Not all jobs are open because they have some jobs for colored and some for whites as of today. My job is predominantly colored. I put in for this other [paste machine operator] my experience. I had done this job for a number of years before this automation came in. These [white] men had no experience, yet they were selected and put on that job. And then the same thing . . . you must take a test. It doesn't require a test for a man to do work that he has been doing for years. And in the department where I work, they bring white men in on these jobs that have training in other departments . . . yet we have to show them or they can't make it. . . . But the job I'm in, no white men have ever worked in it. . . . Yet and still, you turn right around and hire these [white] men that did not pass the test to come to work in the job that is especially for Negroes. Now these are the facts."
>
> *Crown Lawyer:* "Would you go over that again?"
>
> (The tests that Hicks referred to were instituted in January, 1963, after the company's announced intention of complying with Presidential Executive Order 10925.)
>
> *League Lawyer:* "An employee told me that an examination for a manual labor category contained a question: 'If a man was fishing for two hours and caught three fish, if he fished the next day for five hours, how many fish would he catch?' "
>
> *Barnes:* "What did he use for bait?" (Laughter)
>
> *Hicks:* "Since the white man was hired before the test [was instituted] and promoted in the line of progression and wasn't subject to a test, why subject a man to a test now because he is black?"

As Robert F. Collins, one of the League's attorneys, said in summation: "The real issue is what, if anything, the company is willing to do to compensate for the past discrimination. To merely say that at this point you are going to be fair is not enough." This is the view that most appalls the company and the white unions.

No company answer was forthcoming or expected at this meet-

ing, although Negroes credit it with two improvements later negotiated with Local 624: Negroes need no longer leave their old jobs and enter the Extra Board to apply for formerly white jobs, and they retain seniority on their old job in the event of return. But later, Delos Knight, Crown's public relations officer in Bogalusa, spoke quite frankly about the League's demands: "Papermaking is still an art. Despite all the new machines, men still have to hold the paper up to the light to see if it's okay. You can't turn the whole plant upside down and fire the people already working for you in order to right the wrongs of the past. There is no instant solution. This company cannot be expected to solve these problems by itself. The government will have to lay down industry-wide guidelines." President Phillips of the Papermakers put it in even stronger terms: "Even in all-white plants in the North, the top machine jobs take five years of training. You can't do more than start Negroes and whites in *all* job lines.... If you try to place every man according to seniority, you'll have to shut down the mill. The whites won't stand for it."

Thus the economic tragedy of Bogalusa, planted by automation and nurtured by the indecision, delay, and timorousness of Crown Zellerbach and the unions, has become by default the problem of the federal government. Until recently, the voices of Knight and Phillips seemed to echo more loudly in Washington than those of Bogalusa's Negroes. Despite warm expressions of interest from the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices, the last five months of 1965 saw no increase in the number of Negroes in white job lines at Crown. On December 18, the commission finally acted. Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., conferred in New Orleans with top officials of Crown and the Negro and white locals of the United Papermakers. He extracted a pledge from both locals to accept full integration of functionally related job lines, according to seniority, without bars to competent Negroes.

Though the details remain to be settled, the agreement appears to be a major triumph for law enforcement and for Bogalusa's Negroes. But this triumph may be more apparent than real. "Sure," the agreement sounds good," says Bob Hicks. "But three days after it was made, a Negro recently promoted into a white job line found twenty hooded Klansmen waiting for him in the company parking lot, about ten yards from the mill entrance. They told him he'd better quit, and he did. The company said it couldn't do a thing about it. A few days ago, a Negro high school senior in a formerly all-white school was beaten up for the third time; he wants to quit, too. But Crown still won't discuss any community problems with the Voters League. And as long as the Company keeps these attitudes, Bogalusa's troubles will continue."

June 10, 1966

Mr. James D. Henderson
2513 Wabash
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Enclosed is a reprint of a recent article in DISSENT about the Bogalusa situation which I thought might be a useful reference for you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

May 24, 1966

Mr. James D. Henderson
2513 Wabash
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

Dear Mr. Henderson:

By all means let us see your article about Bogalusa. It sounds as though you may have the handle on a significant piece of work. Let us know how it's progressing, and if I see anything else of consequence being written about the situation there, I'll send it to you.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managigg Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

P.W.

File — NEW SOUTH ARTICLES

2513 Wabash
Fort Worth, Texas 76109
May 20, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson
Managing Editor, New South
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Last week I noticed your magazine in the library at Texas Christian University, and decided to ask if you are interested in considering for publication an article I hope to complete by the end of next month. At the end of this semester I plan to temporarily discontinue my Ph.D. work in American history and return to my home in Bogalusa, Louisiana, to begin work on an assessment of the recent civil rights activity in that town. Because I worked in California with individuals who were, six months after I left, to be prime movers in Bogalusa racial activity (members of N.A.A.C.P., S.N.C.C., C.O.R.E.), and since I know many of the native white "segregationists" of the town, I feel that I could make a positive contribution to the literature of the Southern freedom movement. The article, and larger work that I am contemplating, would be largely concerned with recent changes in the economic and social status of the Bogalusa Negro, as well as with his prospects for further advancement under the leadership of Negro and white activists.

At this time I have gathered a large quantity of information on the Bogalusa agitation, and have been promised interviews with a number of local citizens. If you are interested in looking over the article upon its completion, or if you have some suggestion to make concerning it, please contact me as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

James David Henderson

James David Henderson

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOODS, INC.

One Charles Center, Baltimore, Maryland 21201 • Area Code 301 - 727-5010

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Rec'd 6/23/66

June 21, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I am sorry that I have not been able to complete the promised article for NEW SOUTH. Life is more hectic and the days shorter than I anticipated. However, I can assure you that it will be in your hands next week.

Sincerely,

Ed Holmgren

Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director

ELH:s

Telephoned 7/6/66 by BA by
Promised manuscript 1st week, July 11

June 16, 1966

Mr. Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
One Charles Center
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mr. Holmgren:

I hope everything is moving smoothly on the article for NEW SOUTH. We are in the process now of lining up firm material for the summer issue and I thought I would touch base with you to check the status of your piece. Do you think you will be able to have it to us by, say, the first of next week?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr;js

File

April 27, 1966

Mr. Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
One Charles Center
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mr. Holmgren:

As Moreland Smith has already indicated, we are excited about the possibility of your writing us an article for NEW SOUTH on neighborhood organization in Baltimore. I would think, for our purposes the piece should run approximately ten pages. Since I understand a comprehensive, three-part series including histories of your organization plus the ones at Mt. Airy and Washington is contemplated, perhaps our article should be confined to some specific areas, maybe, for instance, (1) resistance and how it is being overcome, (2) the forces you feel are prerequisite to a successful organization, (3) how these forces can be marshalled, (4) your philosophy in dealing with the problems of integrating housing within a metropolitan area, (5) structuring metropolitan leadership. Or perhaps you have some other viewpoint that you think more significant. Right now we are beginning to start work on the summer issue and are working toward a mid-June deadline.

Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor

REA/jdg

May 5, 1966

Mr. Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
One Charles Center
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Dear Mr. Holmgren:

We are so glad you can undertake the article. The page length I gave you could be taken as a rule of thumb. We wouldn't hold you to it to the letter. Let's say approximately 2,500 words.

Thank you for the quick response.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr.:js

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Rec'd 5/4/66

May 2, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for the letter of April 27th, which spells out the requirements for the article on the Baltimore experience. Everything is clear, except a more precise indication as to how long ten pages might be. Is a "page" that of 8 1/2" X 11" paper; double-space or single space; margins? I think I would be in a better position if you would tell me the desired word length of the article.

Following receipt of the above information I will get busy and should be able to meet the mid-June deadline.

Sincerely,

E L Holmgren

Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director

ELH:s

File

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS
UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47808

June 23, 1966

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for giving me a preview of your plans regarding future New South articles and possible SRC Special Reports. In my opinion, there is considerable readiness for explorations in connection with capital punishment specifically, and sentencing and correctional reform in general. Consequently, your plans would seem to be both appropriate and timely.

Public education regarding the total correctional process is badly needed (i.e., regarding 1. law enforcement; 2. prosecution and defense; 3. judicial processes, and 4. corrections, which is responsible for administering the assigned penalties). I will enter on duty on July 18 and, shortly after I arrive, I would like to talk with you about possible New South articles and Special Reports which might provide an appropriate base for a continuing public information and education program in the area of corrections.

Sincerely yours,

John O. Boone

John O. Boone, Chief,
Classification - Parole

June 8, 1966

Mr. John Boone
Route 1, Box 524
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mr. Boone:

It was good meeting and talking with you on your recent visit to SRC. I am happy to hear, too, that you will be joining the staff here.

The other day -- in a grandiose fit of long-range planning -- we discussed some ideas for future NEW SOUTH articles and possible SRC special reports. A couple of these were in your area of interest and I thought perhaps it would be well to tell you the things we were considering for purposes of expansion and refinement and also, to seek your own suggestions for article subjects.

My rough notes on the discussion here follow:

> Prisons. How is North Carolina's plan working? Is general theory of incarceration particularly in southern prisons still that of extracting "an eye for an eye?" How much progress -- if measurable -- is being made toward rehabilitation -- on both state and federal level?
>
> Capital punishment. Are there any discernible signs of a trend toward elimination of? Document the use of capital punishment as a means of racial intimidation.

As I say, these were just some preliminary, exploratory possibilities subject to all sorts of modifications and additions, general suggestions, inviting elaboration from knowledgeable sources. When you are settled in here,

maybe we can explore them further.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

See covering letter.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Ray Jenkins
Name

The Montgomery Advertiser
Address

Montgomery, Alabama
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For news round-up to be published in the summer issue of NEW SOUTH.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

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REQUESTED BY: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor
SRC Publications

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NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28202
AREA CODE 704-376-6833

June 24, 1966

Rec'd 6/27/66

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Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed is our news round-up for the summer issue of NEW SOUTH.

I am very sorry to be late getting this report to you, but the information was late coming to me. Hope you will be able to use the report, although it is past the deadline.

What about the spring issue of NEW SOUTH?

Sincerely yours,

Roberta E. Blackwell

Roberta E. Blackwell
Office Manager

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

Rec'd 6/9/64

Dear Bob:

I'd be happy to do the piece on Alabama for you along the lines of those reports carried in the spring edition. I gather you want three to five pages of copy as tightly-written as possible with little intrepretation. I expect I would dwell largely on Wallace's fight on the school guidelines and his exertion of his political muscle in this direction. Next in importance, I suppose, would be the fate of the Negro candidates in local races. (Incidentally, Fred Gray is preparing a court suit, I hear, to challenge his defeat)

I'll have you something by June 22.

Yours,

Ray

Ray Jenkins.

manuscript rec'd 6/22/64

June 6, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins
The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

It was a pleasure meeting you and your wife during my recent trip to Montgomery. I want to thank you again for your courtesy and hospitality.

We spoke briefly, as I recall, about the possibility of your doing a piece now and then for us. I wondered if you might want to undertake the Alabama news round-up section of NEW SOUTH in the future. I'm enclosing a copy of the spring issue to give you an idea of the contents. The Alabama round-up is on page 80.

We pay a modest, two-figure fee to keep the thing on a professional basis. If you think you would like to do this for us, please let us know. Deadline for the summer issue is June 22. The time spread of events should run from about April 15 through June 15 and, as you can see, covers civil rights, justice, employment, politics, poverty -- the whole gamut.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Enclosure - 1.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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William Pollard, *Treasurer Youth Educational Services*

Rec'd 6/9/66

June 8, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I have your note reminder us of the deadline for the news round-up for the summer issue of NEW SOUTH. We will make every effort to meet that deadline.

Has the spring issue of the NEW SOUTH been released? If so, we have not received a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta E. Blackwell

Roberta E. Blackwell
Office Manager

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

Same ltr sent to state council directors of:

Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia.

June 6, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on
Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

Just a note of reminder about the news round-up for the summer issue of NEW SOUTH. We would like to have these by June 20. As always, of course, we can get in significant late breaking news as much as five days later, which would be the 25th.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Mailed 7/5/66
no covering ltr.

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PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~SEVENTY FIVE AND 00/100~~ DOLLARS (75.00)

TO: Mr. William Mahoney
Name

c/o SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article to be published in NEW SOUTH; date undetermined.

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REQUESTED BY: _____
Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____
Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Designated account: _____

July 5, 1966

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Dear Mrs. Beittel:

Thank you for your good letter. By all means send the Christmas writing. I will be looking forward to it.

My regards to Dr. Beittel.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Rec'd 7/5/66

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

July 1, 1966

Dear Pat Watters:

I was most happy to receive your kind letter, and the enclosed check yesterday. These poems mean so much to me that I am glad for the opportunity to share them with others. Thank you for your correction about the place of the origin of the lonely march described in JUST WALKING. Certainly you may use Chattanooga.

I know I address you most informally, but I feel you are a personal friend. And so I feel free to ask if a little later I may send you a piece suitable for Christmas reading. It is not what most people would call a poem, but it depends what one means by a poem. Anyway, it is called MERRY CHRISTMAS YOU-ALL, and I think it is poetic in nature. It has another virtue--it is brief.

Dan Beittel joins in sending you all good wishes personally, and for THE NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Beittel

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($35.00)

TO: Mrs. A. D. Beittel
Name

1666 Lelia Drive
Address

Jackson, Mississippi 39216
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REASON FOR PAYMENT: For poems to be published in forthcoming issues of NEW SOUTH; dates and issues undetermined at present.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

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REQUESTED BY: _____
W. P. (Pat) Watters
Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

June 24, 1966

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Dear Mrs. Beittel:

I hope you will forgive me about the earlier poems. They came at the time I was winding up a two-month session of day and night forced writing, and I tucked them away meaning to come back to them. Obviously, I never did. I have them now and along with the longer poem you just sent, we will publish them in forthcoming issues of NEW SOUTH.

I like the latest one best; perhaps this is because I covered the subsequent march. It was possibly the most beautiful and at the same time, discouraging episode of the movement. Everything that is happening today could have been predicted after that event of 1963. Your poem captures the good and evil, and universal tragic overtones.

In the first statement of the "Just Walking," the historical walk was from Chattanooga rather than Nashville. May I change that?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: $35 check.

Rec'd 6/24/66

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

June 22nd

Dear Pat Watters:

Dan Beittel said you asked him about some poems I promised you -- I believe this was at the recent White House Conference.

A letter from you dated Feb. 28, 1966 says you are considering some poems I sent you in mid-February. These were titled "Memorial -- 1963, - Aug. 28th and Nov. 25th."

I enclose still another

poem about marching, but it is only slightly revised to contain a most contemporary allusion. I must confess I like better the poems I sent you in February, but that this one also was pertinent.

I thank you for being interested in my poetic efforts.

Sincerely,

Ruth Bettel

February 28, 1966

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Dear Mrs. Beittel:

Thank you very much for the poems. The return of the originals, as I am sure you understood, did not mean they were being rejected. Indeed, they are topmost on the pile of those being considered for the next issue.

I hope you and Dr. Beittel are getting along fine.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Note: attached poems in PW's possession as of 6/24/66
JS

February 25, 1966

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Dear Mrs. Beittel:

Thank you for your letter of February 23.

Mr. Watters is working outside the office for the next few weeks, but he comes in regularly to check the mail and attend to other pertinent matters. When he comes in again, I am sure he will be pleased to find your correspondence and the poems awaiting him.

Since you enclosed a self addressed envelope, I am assuming you want your original copies returned. They are enclosed; I have made xerox copies for us to keep.

You may expect a personal reply from Mr. Watters shortly.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

JCS

Enclosures - 2.

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Rec'd 2/25/66

Feb. 23rd

Mr. Pat Watters
The New South
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Watters:

I hope I have your name spelled right. I have not forgotten our brief conversation at the Southern Regional Council meeting last November relative to possible material for THE NEW SOUTH in its new format. So, having just returned from the Friends (Quaker) Conference and Vigil for Peace in Viet-Nam, held in Washington, I feel moved to send these poems to you. I thought you might possibly find use for them this summer or next fall.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth F. Beittel

Ruth F. Beittel

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~[illegible]~~ TWENTY FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($25.00)

TO: Mr. Charles Cobb
Name

c/o SNCC
360 Nelson Street, SW
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article submitted for publication.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/27/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E.Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

July 27, 1966

Mr. Charles Cobb
c/o S N C C
360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Cobb:

As Bob Anderson discussed with you on the phone, we were unable to use this for New South. I appreciate very much your rushing to get it in. If we hadn't started so late and there had been time for revisions, I am sure it would have worked out. The main problem was that it wasn't clear always when you were quoting Stokely Carmichael and when you were giving your own views. Also, we were able to tape record the discussion by Mr. Carmichael and Randolph Blackwell out at Spelman, and this provided much more out of the horse's mouth, so to speak.

Anyhow, thanks. And I hope you will do something for us again. I think one of the things people like you are maybe uniquely qualified to do is to write about the underlying and deeper beliefs and principals that undergird the living of the Negro people of the South. I don't mean on-the-surface stuff, but the tradition of values, of survival mechanisms, of strength that is handed from one generation to the next, maybe unconsciously, a lot of it. DuBois talked about back in 1910 how little of this was known, had been reported; I think no more is known today. It is the kind of stuff that only sustained intimate experience in a culture can produce. There would be superficial differences, I would guess, between town and city and farm Negroes. But are there common assumptions, basic beliefs that come

out of a shared previous existence -- that of a mainly rural, exploited people, and before that, of course, of an enslaved people? Assuming this, and assuming such a historical difference of experience from most Americans has produced a tradition that is essentially different -- what are some of the differences? Or what out of this essential southern Negro culture informs and shapes such a notion as nonviolent redemptive love, and such a seemingly different notion as black power? (Are these two expressions of the same thing?)

Put another way, I think what I am asking is in the form of such questions as this? Do the Negro poor have more in common with the Negro middle class people than they do with the white poor? And vice versa? Do city Negroes have more in common with rural Negroes than with city whites?, etc.

If this strikes you as a valid subject, could we talk about it? I am aware that one could spend a lifetime on it and write ten books, not just a magazine piece. But out of the kind of experience you have had, the things you have seen and have been told, it seems to me some important insights and truths could be put in the form of a magazine piece. Let me know what you think.

Again, thanks.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encl. - 2.

Manuscript
$25 check.

No response

Dead

July 27, 1966

Mr. Dudley Morris
Citizens Crusade
Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dudley:

As discuseed, I'm returning this with the hope you can focus it more on the program, with specific examples. I still think, too, on rereading, a fuller explanation is needed of the concept of supporting groups. Why they are necessary, despite poverty programs.

Again, thanks for rushing on it, the time involved, etc. I'm sorry we started so late, something you of course couldn't help. If we'd had a normal amount of time, we could have gotten it in this issue. I am going to count on it for next issue.

Regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: 1

to Conerington

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Jack Nease
Name

St. Petersburg,Times
Address

St. Petersburg, Florida
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For news round-up for summer issue, NEW SOUTH 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Robert E. Anderson, Jrs
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

20 Cornwall Ct.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Martin Waldron
Name

New York Times; Room 729, Houston Chronicle Bldg.
Address

Houston, Texas
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For news round-up for NEW SOUTH, summer issue, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
R obert E. Anderson, Jr.,
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

To coming Ctr.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. L. V. Overbea
Name

Winston-Salem Journal
Address

Winston-Salem, North Carolina
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For round-up article for summer issue of NEW SOUTH, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: ~~Robert E. Anderson, Jr.~~
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED:
Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS~~ ($50.00)

TO: The Rev. John B. Morris
Name

ESCRU - 5 Forsyth St., NW, 2nd Floor
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30303
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article to be published in summer issue of NS, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor
SRC Publications

Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

June 9, 1966

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director
E S C R U
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
2nd Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

This is to make formal our discussion of a piece for NEW SOUTH on your ideas about the relevance of the South African situation to the South's situation, and vice versa.

You expressed some distaste for a July 15 deadline. I remedied that; I discovered that the deadline for the summer issue is July 1; but I want to make the strongest plea possible that you find time to do this for the summer issue.

This may not be as time consuming as you think. Actually, our standard length is about ten pages, double spaced, but we can go longer or shorter with no difficulty. If you are like me, you could write it longer, faster, than shorter, but either way, how about writing it by July 1? We pay handsomely in comparison with the Atlanta Journal Sunday magazine.

Can you let me know within a day or so? And, as I said before, I wouldn't object at all to using your original statement with amplification and more about the implications for the South.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

File

August 4, 1966

Dear Bob:

You work mighty fast! I expected the galleys in October or November . You do not operate like professional political science journals.

Your editing surely improved the quality of the paper. My ego would not have been crushed had you given it the full treatment in surgery.

UCLA is quite a place, and we are enjoying it.

Thanks for everything--including the great surprise of a check.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel DuBois Cook

August 2, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

I thought ~~you might~~ like to see a copy of the article by Sam Cook that we talked about the other day. ~~It has~~ been edited a bit now for publication but only to eliminate a few repetitious paragraphs.

It was good talking with you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

August 2, 1966

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission
on Civil Rights
800 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Holman:

Sam Cook has asked that we forward you the enclosed copy of an article he has written for NEW SOUTH on "Black Power."

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

August 2, 1966

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Political Science Department
University of California
Los Angeles, California

Dear Sam:

Here are the galleys of your article. Your expeditious review will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA, Jr/js
Enclosure - 1.

Mail check to:
The Dept. of Political Science
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif.
Sent via air mail 7/29/66 p
re coverage etc.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS

TO: Dr. Samuel D. Cook
Name

736 Beckwith Street, SW
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article to be published in the summer issue of NS, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

August 9, 1966

Dear Charlayne:

I assure you this is not one of those things you were telling me they do on that other magazine you write for, but we have held up your piece again.

The basic problem is that nobody around here has learned how to estimate copy length and we keep winding up overset. After we eliminated from the elimination process all the topical stuff we had this time, the choice was between holding your piece and one we had held through the winter and spring issues. So, we gave it priority with a fine sense of justice. I promise you yours will be in the winter issue; it is one of the finest things we've had. But it will hold, as I'm afraid an analysis of the Meredith march we've got this time wouldn't have.

Michael Cass called the other evening and we are hoping to get together this weekend. I am doing a lot of writing on these various books. There is a weariness to such long-rangedness; you never see anything in print. But I guess that is not a gripe I should be making in this particular letter.

Please let me know when things you have done are in the New Yorker. I don't get it regularly (I'm sure I should), but I am interested in what you write.

My regards to Walter. Is the strike or whatever it is ever going to end?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mrs. Walter Stovall
215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

June 8, 1966

Mrs. Charlayne Hunter Stovall
215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

Dear Charlayne:

With all the profound mysticism of magazine editing, we have decided to hold your piece until our summer issue which, hopefully, will be out in August. I am enclosing the spring issue and will, of course, send copies of the one with your piece in it as soon as it comes out.

I still have this strong hope of some day getting to New York.

Let us hear from you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

April 4, 1966

Mrs. Charlayne Hunter Stovall
215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

Dear Charlayne:

I just got back to the office and read the version of your intermarriage piece that you and Bob worked up, and wanted to say that I think it will distinguish our next issue. Thanks again.

I hope to be up there some time in May and even hope to bring Cecile with me. We'll holler.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: Winter issue, New Sauce, 1966

March 11, 1966

Mrs. Charlayne Hunter Stovall
215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Stovall:

Thank you so much for your good comments on New South and also for your quick response to my last note. I'm sorry I haven't replied sooner. Everything is moving fine with your article. You might, if you would, just drop me a little note including some biographical material that we could use in a brief, introductory line.

I don't believe, either, that the financial arrangments were ever specified before, but I hope the enclosed check is satisfactory. Don't forget us for future editions, and please drop by for a visit when you are in Atlanta.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js
Enclosure - $75.00 check

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: SEVENTY FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: Mrs. Charlayne Hunter Stovall
Name

215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
Address

New York, New York
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article (New South Spring Issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 3-11--- 19 66

REA

REQUESTED BY: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____

February 16, 1966

Mrs. Charlayne Hunter Stovall
215 West 75th Street, Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Stovall:

Pat Watters has turned over the two versions of your article to me asking that we combine them into one. The results -- at this end -- are enclosed. It was mainly a matter of rearranging and, in places, cutting. I felt, for instance, that for our purposes the interviews with the southern couples would more appropriately fit toward the front. One of the names, by the way, I changed from Smith to Gray to avoid possible confusion with Dr. Smith. I also thought we would cut back a little on the legal aspects.

If you would look this over and let us have it back within the next week I'd appreciate it, for we are at work on the spring issue now and feel that your piece will be a most valuable asset to it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

Enclosure - 1.

February 2, 1966

Mrs. Charlayne H. Stovall
The New Yorker
25 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Charlayne:

I told you the only thing I could promise was a quick response, and here I've even failed on that.

The stuff you sent is, of course, quite good. Here is what I would like to suggest -- that I turn both manuscripts over to Bob Anderson who has just joined us here as managing editor of all creations (the magazine and our other publications), and that he put them together, following your suggestions and our needs, and submit them back to you with the results. Then you do any fixing, adding, substracting and the like you feel necessary. We've got plenty of time; I would hope you would hear from him in about a week. If all goes well, we can use it in the spring issue which comes out in May.

I very much liked the two pieces from the New Yorker, especially the one on the graveyard. You sound like the New Yorker, but also get the feeling of the Georgian down in the language -- no small trick.

Thanks again and I will be in touch.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

September 8, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JCS

Please send five (5) copies of the summer issue of NEW SOUTH to the following contributing writers:

1. Miss Jerrilyn McGhee
   203 Ice Street
   Troy, Alabama

2. Dr. Samuel D.Cook
   Political Science Dept.
   U. of California
   Los Angeles, Calif

3. Mr. Paul Good
   515 East 24th Street
   Brooklyn, N. Y.

4. Mr. Worth Long
   31½ Franklin St.
   Selma, Alabama

5. Mr. Stokely Carmichael
   SNCC
   360 Nelson St., SW
   Atlanta

6. Mr. Randolph Blackwell
   Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
   Southern Rural Devlpmt. Proj.
   50 Whitehall St., SW
   Atlanta

7. Mr. Reese Cleghorn
   51 Peachtree Way, NE
   Atlanta

8. Dr.K. U. Smith
   Director
   Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory
   U. of Wisconsin
   Madison, Wisc.

And two (2) copies each to:

1. Mr. Jack Nease
   St. Petersburg Times
   St. Petersburg, Fla.

2. Mr. Ray Jenkins
   Alabama Journal
   Montgomery, Ala.

3. Mr. L. V. Overbea
   Winston-Salem Journal
   Winston-Salem, N. C.

4. Mr. Martin Waldron
   NY Times
   Houston Chronicle Bldg.
   Room 729, Houston, Tex.

Also, please have five (5) complimentary copies delivered to Rev. John Morris, ESCRU, on the 2nd floor, and two-hundred (200) for promotional purposes.

Labels attached.

Thanks.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Ray Jenkins
Name

Alabama Journal
Address

Montgomery, Alabama
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: News round-up for summer issue NEW SOUTH

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 9/9/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

September 9, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins
Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

Enclosed is our long overdue payment for your news roundup. My deepest apologies for the unscionable delay.

The deadline for the fall issue is September 28, so keep us on your calendar.

Regards,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.- $20.00 check.

September 13, 1966

Mr. Jack Nease
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Jack:

Just a note of reminder about our fall NEW SOUTH deadline. We'll need your copy by October 1.

Best regards,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

September 13, 1966

Mr. Martin Waldron
New York Times
Houston Chronicle Building
Room 729
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Waldron:

Just a brief note of reminder about our NEW SOUTH deadline. We'll need your copy by October 1.

Best regards,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

September 13, 1966

Mr. Luix V. Overbea
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Luix:

It's that time again, believe it or not. Our fall deadline is October 1, so mark us down on your calendar.

Have you been able, by the way, to find out any figures on school desegregation?

Best regards,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

September 13, 1966

Mr. Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
One Charles Center
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Dear Mr. Holmgren:

I suppose by now you've given up hearing from us again, and I couldn't blame you. Moreland thought I was writing you and I thought he was and -- as you certainly know -- neither of us did. I'm terribly sorry and I hope you can forgive us.

Now, as for your article. The concensus here was that while it was satisfactory for what it set out to do -- we wondered if it should not do more, if, indeed, Baltimore, Washington, and Mt. Airy did not belong together rather than separately and if telling your story in the limited space that we imposed on you was quite fair. So what we've finally decided on was to produce a special report on neighborhood associations including the individual problems of each city and the individual ways in which they have been worked out. We have been in contact with a Washington free lance writer -- Mrs. Margaret Price, who is closer to the subject than any of us here, and she has agreed to undertake the project. Your manuscript, of course, will be an invaluable research document for the Baltimore portion of the report and I am forwarding a copy of it to Mrs. Price. I hope, too, that the enclosed check -- inadequate as it is -- does recompense you somewhat for your time and trouble.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encl. - 1.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($35.00)

TO:
Name Mr. Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Address Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
One Charles Center
City and State Baltimore, Maryland 21201

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For manuscript to be used as research source for Baltimore portion of special report on neighborhood associations.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT _____ EXPENSE.

DATE 9/13/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____

APPROVED: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

Sent to all state councils except Florida and Texas.

September 14, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on
Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36838

Dear Mr. Valder:

Just a note of reminder about our fall NEW SOUTH deadline. We'll need your round-up by October 1.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

DEAD

September 19, 1966

Miss Louise Blackwell
Route 3, Box 218
Tallahassee, Florida 32301

Dear Miss Blackwell:

I'm embarrassed. I was certain that we had acknowledged receipt of your manuscript, asking that we be allowed to keep it awhile since our summer issue was then already full, but after checking it looks as if I simply didn't turn the note I had written you over to my secretary. Please accept my deepest apologies for the oversight. I've no defense to offer save negligence. No malice aforethought intended.

It seems to me that you have a good story here -- but one that needs a bit of fixing. Since I've already been this remiss, I'm going to take further advantage of you and ask that you let me give it another thorough reading and then write you how I think we can sharpen it up.

Again, my apologies.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/bs

PS. Are there any Negroes working in clerk or secretarial jobs in Atlanta City Hall?

Rec'd 9/23/66

September twenty first

Dear Pat...

Thanks for your note. I suppose the tone of my missive to you was testy and if so, please forgive it. The obtuseness of various editors here and their indifference to the current racial realities have driven me half crazy, and I wrote to you from a trough of frustration. The absence of response from your end seemed to close down one more avenue where ideas could be exchanged. I wasn't soliciting praise, only dialogue. However, all that is so much ancient history. The check and copies all have arrived, looking fine. I was interested in your treatment of the Washington Conference since I had only read Rovere's piece and felt instinctively that it was terribly shallow. The condition of American reporting, whether in newspapers or magazines, is so bad as to constitute a threat to the nation. That it reflects prevailing white thinking is no excuse. Look, Life, Sat Eve Post, Reporter--I have about given up trying to write for them because they lack the essential grasp on the Negro condition and the Washington attitude which is basic to examinations of Black Power, Viet Nam protests and all the other phenomena of our perilous age. The voices of the Washington Conference you recorded went unheard because editors, in their arrogance and slipshod attention to duty, preferred to chronicle generalities or use an occasional quote to grind an ax against. My only quarrel with your piece is the ending with its hope that someone in Washington will go to the transcript to learn. If they aren't learning from Hough, Grenada and Atlanta, they aren't going to learn from a transcript.

I was out to Chicago for The Nation recently and had an article in the last issue. King did not sell out but I feel he bailed out. In Chicago and elsewhere I believe we are in for one of two things: slippage into a platitudinous status quo with major Negro problems merely nibbled at by the various powers-that-be, or the beginning of terror campaigns. It will probably be a mixture. The talk of terrorism in New York I get from some pretty dispassionate guys convinces me it has to come. The absurdly friendly press the city of Atlanta received in the recent troubles keynotes the white mood and the tactic will be to isolate the Stokelys, taking out on them all the pure racial prejudice seeking outlet. Only the Stokelys ain't gonna stay isolated.

This is a singularly dreary letter, Pat, so let me end it. Perhaps things aren't as bad as they seem to me. I may be doing a series on American cities for The Nation and have suggested Atlanta as one. In which case we'll be able to see each other and compare notes written in a madhouse.

Best regards...

Paul Good

Paul Good
515 E 24 Street
Brooklyn - N.Y.

September 15, 1966

Dear Paul:

I was distressed to get your letter. I'm sorry for my negligence; I hope the letter from Mrs. Shortt explains it. But my main concern is whether or not you got our check for the march piece. It was mailed on July 29, 1966. Please let me know.

The piece was quite good, as you well know. I think the fact we used it as the lead in the magazine indicates what we thought of it.

Let me hear from you about the check. And -- unless you've written us off -- any ideas for future pieces.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Paul Good
515 East 24th Street
Brooklyn, New York

September 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Good
515 East 24th Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Good:

Thank you for your letter of the 6th.

Mr. Watters, for the past few weeks, has been working at home on the voter book due to be published in the very near future. This arrangement has left him little time for the many things he should get done, and the periods he spends here in the office are all too brief. In addition to this, unavoidable printing delays of NEW SOUTH have caused us considerable chagrin; we have just received the summer issue, and your complimentary copies are on the way to you under separate cover. In the meantime, I hope the enclosed copy will suffice until the others reach you.

Please accept this apology extended in Mr. Watters' behalf, and be assured that you will be hearing from him personally very soon.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

Encl: - 1.

Rec'd 9/8/66

September sixth

Dear Pat...

This is a fairly unpleasant letter to write so I'll try to at least make it brief. It concerns the strange (to my mind) reaction in Atlanta to the piece I did on the march. Now God knows, you and others may have thought it was a bad effort, a misjudgment or what have you. But I did take a week out of an economically precarious life to do it and only out of the desire that prompts us all to aid the cause of sanity.

To date, I've never received a copy of New South or even word that it definitely appeared. A four line note from Bob Anderson requesting a return of galleys was the only word I've had on it from SRC in seven or so weeks. We're all big boys and if the effort didn't strike you I would have welcomed your critical thoughts. But I don't fathom the kind of non-response we've come to expect when we leave our number at SNCC to be called.

Aside from all that, I hope things go as well as things can go in this peculiar environment where all will soon be worse confounded.

Paul Good

Paul good
515 east 24 street
brooklyn new york

paul good
515 east 24 street
brooklyn new york

BROOKLYN N.Y. 19
PM
1966

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street ~~NX~~ NW
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

PAR VIA AREA
PAR AVION
BY AIR MAIL

7 b

August first

Dear Mr. Anderson,

I've caught a few typos in these proofs but the majority of the corrections represent some second-thoughts. I hate to do this but it would be worse to mislead readers who may be puzzled enough by developments or to misrepresent forces in the movement. On proof 14 things like the word "interpreted" are added so that the article is not passing such severe judgment on Black Power. Later, a similar change has been made where I first called it a "baleful and inchoate" cry. I think "aggressive and ambiguous" says it better. The other changes on proof 14 make the meanings more precise.

The only other major change is on the final proof. The paragraf ending "is not at all reassuring" hangs there without pinning it down more and I think it's important to point out how Stokely and Co. are fast becoming whipping boys for those who have just been looking for some excuse to trot out their reactionism. The last sentence seems better amended.

I hope this does not create too many troubles for you. Thanks for your thoughtful editing....

Sincerely,

Paul Good

no covering ltr. per
with ck.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~NINETY AND 00/100 DOLLARS~~ ($90.00)

TO: Mr. Paul Good
Name

515 East 24th Street
Address

~~Brooklyn, New York~~
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: ~~For article to be published in the summer issue of NS, 1966~~

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 7/29/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

File

Sunday

Dear Bob Anderson..

This very hurried note is written on the fly to get the piece off. You will see it is quite long and needs editing. I felt it best to put as much as I could to give the full tone of the march and let you excise what you dont want at your end...really dumping the ~~xx~~ problem in your lap. If I had some time I would try to trim up here but there have been hellish complications which I won't burden you with..a couple of corrections I saw in re-reading. All through, the city Grenada is misspelled. They pronounce it Gren-eh-da and trapped me into a phonetic mistake. Sly dogs. Also the Shakespear quote is from memory and I know not correct. If I catch any more on a more careful inspection I'll call. As I told Pat, if you find the piece not to your liking don't hesitate to discard it. I'm glad to have tried and only hope it fills the bill...

Hurriedly

Carl Good

Department of Sociology THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Social Science Building Madison, Wisconsin 53706 Telephone (608) 262-2921

Rec'd 10/3/66

September 30, 1966

Bob Anderson, Managing Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Alas, it looks like the re-prints are out of the question and we are chagrinned. I gather that the problem is that they weren't provided for in the intial run of the issue. As much as we'd like them, I guess we'd better forget the whole thing. Thanks anyway and give my best, as ever, to dear Maggie.

Sincerely,

Jay Demerath

Jay Demerath
Associate Professor

Department of Sociology THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Social Science Building Madison, Wisconsin 53706 Telephone (608) 262-2921

File

June 17, 1966

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Unless the one hundred reprints of our "Conscience and Confrontation" piece would cost over $50.00, by all means send them on. It comes out of departmental expenses and not our pocket.

The publication is gratifying. The old New South is now most handsome and spritely. My fondest regards to Maggie.

Sincerely,

N.J. Demerath III.
Associate Professor

June 7, 1966

Dr. N. J. Demerath III
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Mr. Michael Aiken
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Mr. Gerald Marwell
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

Under separate cover we are sending five complimentary copies of the spring NEW SOUTH to each of you.

In your last letter, you mentioned the possibility that you might want a hundred reprints of your study. I'll get an estimate for you on both that quantity and more, if you like. Let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

May 23, 1966

Mr. N. J. Demerath III
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Demerath:

Thank you for your prompt reading of the galleys. All of the points you make are valid and, in fact, have been incorporated into the article. The title we chose is "Conscience and Confrontation." Footnotes will run on the appropriate pages rather than at the end.

We will be delighted for you to have extra copies of the magazine. I will check out for you the price of article reprints with our printer. I would think just off the top of my head that you could get as many as five hundred for only a little more than you would have to pay for one hundred. Let me know if you think you could use that many.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

May 16, 1966

Dr. Jay Demerath
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Demerath:

The enclosed is for the SCOPE article. It is for all three of you -- however three people split up $50.

Thanks again.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - $50.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($50.00)

TO: Dr. Jay Demerath
Name

The University of Wisconsin
Address

Madison, Wisconsin 53706
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article in Spring Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 5/16/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Jas. File

The University of Wisconsin

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

May 2, 1966

Bob Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Here are the corrected galleys for the SCOPE article. There are a couple of things that concern us in addition to our marks in the margin.

First, the note of credit at the top of the first galley sheet should be a footnote at the bottom of the first page which is denoted not by a number but by an asterisk placed at the end of the paper's title.

Second, the galleys do not include the title. I trust that the finished copy will.

Third, the galleys have systematically omitted the section titles throughout the article. In our view, these are most important and should be re-inserted. Perhaps you intended to do this all along.

Finally, I"m not clear whether you intend to bunch all of the remaining numbered footnotes at the back of the paper or whether you intend to run them at the bottom of the apporpriate pages. I would opt for the latter but you may prefer the former in accordance with the New South's customary style. If so, so be it.

I trust none of this incpnveniences you greatly. Thanks for your help. Give our warmest best to Maggie ~~Kmk~~ Long. Could you send us a few copies when it appears. And we will pay for a hundred re-prints of the article too.

Bob-

Sincerely,

N.J. Demerath III,
Asst. Professor

Manuscript rec'd 11/2/66. Will not appear in fall issue.

Dead

October 3, 1966

Dr. Beryle McClaskey
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. McClaskey:

The introduction to your article looks most promising to us, and we shall look forward to publishing your findings. We are looking now toward an October 10 deadline for the fall issue.

Yours sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA Jr/js

8/31/66
Enclosed introduction in BA's possession.
vs

8/31/66
Rec'd

1841 Shades Crest Road
Birmingham, Alabama
August 24, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I am delighted to know that you are still interested in publishing my findings on the Negro family in Birmingham. I will submit my article to you before the September 15 deadline.

Sincerely yours,

Dr B R McClaskey

Dr. B. R. McCLASKEY

Am writing furiously for a deadline of Labor project hope on Monday from there onwards! So be lenient with me. I can scarcely write from fatigue. Been getting up at 3:30 a.m. to write while it is quiet.

P.S. Mr. Anderson, the above letter is a little too optimistic sounding but since I have on these occasions got bogging down in a letter to you & Mr Watters I ordered a Miles Standard typist to do one! I think I can have an article on your desk on the target date. I propose to embrace the following statement do you agree? BRMC

August 11, 1966

Dr. Beryle McClaskey
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. McClaskey:

Just a short note of reminder that we're still most interested in publishing your findings on the Negro family in Birmingham. We're now in the process of lining up firm material for the fall issue -- shooting for a September 15 deadline. Does this seem a realistic date for you to have your article to us? Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Note included in Mrs. McClaskey's ltr:

I am sorry, but the enclosure mentioned was not available for xeroxing at the time your letter was mailed; I am sending it to you under separate cover shortly.

js

Sent 6/10/66

June 8, 1966

Mrs. B. R. McClaskey
1841 Shades Crest Road
Birmingham 16, Alabama

Dear Mrs. McClaskey:

We are still very much looking forward to receiving your report for NEW SOUTH. Can you let me know whether it will be possible to plan for it for our summer issue which has a July 1 deadline?

If there are complications that need discussing, please call me collect here.

I think you know how important we feel your work is and how anxious we are for our readers to share in it. It is one thing to talk glibly, no matter how good a point is being made (as in the enclosed), but it is quite another thing to be able to support it with the kind of data you have collected. As a writer, I know how difficult deadlines can be and respect more than anything the importance of being sure of material before turning it loose, but if at all possible, I hope we can have the privilege of having your material in our next issue.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl.

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This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM ®

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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Rec'd 3/14/66

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ROBERT E ANDERSON JR, MANAGING EDITOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

RECENT DEATH OF MY BROTHER AND A MONTH'S BOUT WITH FLU HAVEX GREATLY DELAYED WRITING ARTICLE. ALL BASIC RESEARCH COMPLETE. CAN FORWARD ARTICLE ABOUT MARCH 21ST. WATTERS REQUESTED THIS IN LINE WITH GENERAL APPROACH MOYNAHAN REPORT HOPE DELAY DOESN'T UPSET PUBLICATION PLANS. SINCERELY

DR B R MCCLASKEY

21.

SF1201(R2-65)

March 14, 1966

Dr. Beryle McCloskey
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. McCloskey:

I appreciate so much your wire about the article. I am sorry that this has come at a time of such great personal trial for you.

March 21 will be fine. The Moynihan Report approach seems to me very much in order. We shall look forward to seeing this for it certainly seems to be the kind of solid, substantial material that we want for the magazine.

Thanks again for the status report.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

February 21, 1966

Dr. Beryle McCloskey
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. McCloskey:

Pat Watters, SRC's Director of Information has, I believe, been in contact with you about an article for New South on Negro families in Birmingham. I wondered what the progress might be on that? We would like to have it for our spring issue. Could we hope that it might be ready by, say, March 15?

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

PA
Return to PW

December 14, 1965

Mrs. B R. McClaskey
1841 Shades Crest Road
Birmingham 16, Alabama

Dear Mrs. McClaskey:

Thank you for your care and the previous note from your secretary. I am very glad you can do the article for us and I am looking forward to seeing it.

As to the comparison with the Moynihan report, my only thought was that you might just say generally whether your findings agree or disagree with his main points. I think the emphasis, of course, should be on your findings, descriptive and even narrative accounts of the salient details, and whatever else that seems needed.

My main concern is that you feel free to present the material in the most natural and meaningful way.

Paul Anthony told me about meeting you and I hope I will have the same pleasure soon.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P.S. Please the two pens!

Dear Mr. Walters,

I had a nice visit with Mr. Anthony at Saratoga and sent a greeting to you by him.

Incidentally he made a wonderful talk and received a seat ovation for it.

I have just received a copy of the M. report (Even Sen. Stanton was unable to get a copy for me earlier!) and I shall start to work at once. It is an interesting challenge. If you have any fine ideas (as to improvements to be made) do drop me a note.

Sincerely,
Benj. F. McCauley

Rec'd 12/2/65

November 30, 1965

Mr. Bill Watters,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Watters:

Dr. McClaskey asked me to write you and say that she will not be able to do the article for you for the first issue in 1966. However, she has started working on it and hopes to have something that will be reasonably acceptable to you for the second issue.

She also asked me to apologize to you for not writing you herself but she is extremely busy and wanted me to get this letter off to you right away.

Sincerely,

Mrs. R. L. Snow

Mrs. R. L. Snow,
Secretary.

November 29, 1965

Dr. Berlye McCloskey
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. McCloskey:

Forgive me for not attending to this sooner.

It does not mean that I am anything but excited and very interested in your writing an article for New South on your study of Negro families in Birmingham, relating it to the Mohnihan report. (Which indicentally seems to be under fire. I'm enclosing one clipping about criticisms. My original aim on an article was for an appraisal of the report in terms of the South's reality, with some word about the strengths as well as weaknesses of the Negro family. I am hoping that can still fit into the context of your material -- but if it doesn't, naturally don't strain for it. We can always do a separate article along those lines.)

What I am most concerned about is getting your material and findings in the way you think they best might be presented.

The deadline for our first quarterly issue is December 15, and as I told you I would rather wait an issue to give you adequate time than have the article suffer to meet this first deadline. On the other hand, of course, if you could do it the way you want to do it by then -- or as much as a week later -- yours is the kind of material we want very much in this first issue to make a good impression with. I will leave it up to you.

The article should be between 2,500 and 4,000 words. We can handle tables and charts. As you know from familiarity with New South, the level of writing would be somewhere happily balanced between good journalism and scholarly journals. Our pay on acceptance is modest -- below $100. If you don't make the December 15 deadline, we would need the material by March 1 for the next issue.

Thanks again for considering doing it. It was good to talk with you the other day. And I am sorry to have interrupted you at a time of trouble. I'm looking forward very much to seeing your article.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.

Moynihan Report Criticized as 'Racist'

By Jean M. White
Washington Post Staff Writer

A document that inspired President Johnson's warmly praised Howard University speech on Negro rights now is being sniped at on charges of fostering a "new racism."

"It's all been very discouraging," says the author, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, an intellectual liberal and a former Assistant Secretary of Labor.

"What I fear is that the problem of the Negro family will be driven off the national agenda and we will go ignoring it as we always have. The Prseident had such courage to bring this out and civil rights leaders were so splendid in facing it. Now the jackals may terrorize the discussion."

Explosive Potential

Once labeled confidential, the "Moynihan Report" can now be bought for 45 cents from the Government Printing Office. The official title —"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action"— gives little hint of its explosive potential within the civil rights movement.

Last week the Moynihan Report was the most-avoided topic at the planning session for the White House Conference on Civil Rights. The irony is that in his Howard University speech that called for next spring's conference, President Johnson used the words "to fulfill these rights"—a phrase that came straight from Moynihan. The phrase has become the title of the conference.

Moynihan, one of the architects of the antipoverty program, wrote his 78-page study as an internal government document. The aim was to "grab the attention" of the White House—which was exactly what it did.

Conditions Getting Worse

Using census statistics, Moynihan drew a grim picture of crumbling Negro family structure in Northern urban ghettos. The deep trouble of the Negro family is pointed up by figures on illegitimacy, households headed by women, and welfare-supported children.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
. . . an earlier study

DANIEL P. MOYNIHA
. . . report under fire

What's more, the study emphasizes, conditions are getting worse, not better. The report stresses that the next step toward Negro equality must be to shore up the family. Otherwise, Negroes can never achieve equal results with their newly won rights.

From the President's speech in June to the November planning conference, a chill has come over the atmosphere surrounding the Moynihan Report in some quarters.

Now some critics are hopping on his words and statistics and turning them around to read a kind of subtle—if admittedly unintentional—racism.

Psychologist's Attack

The more temperate have fired off charges that the Moynihan Report overemphasizes family breakdown and downgrades the need for better jobs, housing, and education for Negroes. The less temperate speak of an insulting attack on the Negro family to show a new kind of racial inferiority.

One of the most pointed attacks has come from William Ryan, a consulting psychologist for the Massachusetts Committee on Childr and Youth.

Ryan lashes out at t myth-making potential the Moynihan Report. says it can be read "in su a way to imply that the pr ent unequal status of Negro in America resu not from the obvious cau of discrimination and seg gation, but rather from more basic cause, the stability' of the Negro fa ily."

Moynihan thinks such tacks coming from a white experts may h made some Negro lead fear that the broken-fam statistics would be u against them.

He tells of a "wise, perienced" sociologist came up to console him last week's conference:

"Ten years ago, he me, if I had written a st on the poor performance Negro students, I w have been called a racist accused of deep down try to show racial inferio But today, civil rights l ers seek and gather fig on poor performance show the segregated sch are not doing their job."

May Take Time

It may take time but family study will come t viewed this way, Moyn was assured by his collea

The problem of Negro family trouble outlined in the Moynihan Report is nothing new and startling. E. Franklin Frazier, the noted Negro writer, wrote about it. Negro leaders themselves have deplored the matriarchal Negro family and pointed out the need to strengthen the male image.

At first, civil rights leaders welcomed the Moynihan study and praised it as the inspiration of President Johnson's Howard University speech.

Then suddenly, about the time of the Watts riot in Los Angeles, it began to fall into disfavor.

What happened? Moynihan asks.

He thinks that Negro leaders may have become more sensitive after the Los Angeles reign of terror, in which Negroes were obvious aggressors and not obvious victims.

Purpose of Report

Moynihan contends that he wrote his report to dramatize the plight of the Negro family to draw White House attention. The aim was not to offer remedies, but to highlight a problem.

He vigorously denies that he ignores the need for jobs, better housing, and better education.

"I never said jobs didn't matter," he fires back. "It's that jobs matter so much as men in human terms.

Use of Statistics

"I could have used the same dull, dreary figures on unemployment and housing. Who cares about gross national product? But you can care about an abandoned child, the deserted mother, the desperate, disappearing men."

Far from ignoring the effects of discrimination, Moynihan says, his report points to the toll of centuries of prejudice in the personal terms of the family.

The Moynihan Report has come under fire from another direction — the use of statistics.

Ryan, for one, attacks Moynihan's seven-to-one difference between Negro and white rates of illegitimacy. He argues that such white births are underreported and that white women have more access to adoption, contraceptives, and abortions.

Another critic, Benjamin F. Payton, research director of the Protestant Council of New York, questions whether a study of "zooming" divorce rates couldn't be read to indicate a "breakdown of the modern family."

Moynihan sweeps aside the statistical criticisms as "missing the point."

"The point is that the illegitimate child does exist in the slums, whatever the argument about statistics. The abortion is a statistic. But the Negro child is there in the slums," he stresses.

Middle-Class 'Family'

Another criticism aimed at the Moynihan report is that it tries to impose the middle-class ideal of a "family" and dismisses any strengths in a female-headed household.

As for this, Moynihan says he is the first one to admit that he wrote from the Catholic viewpoint—"perhaps a 'square view'" — that the family with mother, father, and children is the basic social unit.

"Poople have been telling us the civil rights movement takes courage and commitment," he observed after a moment's thought. "It sometimes takes courage to say things to people on your side as well as to the other side."

DI 7-7000

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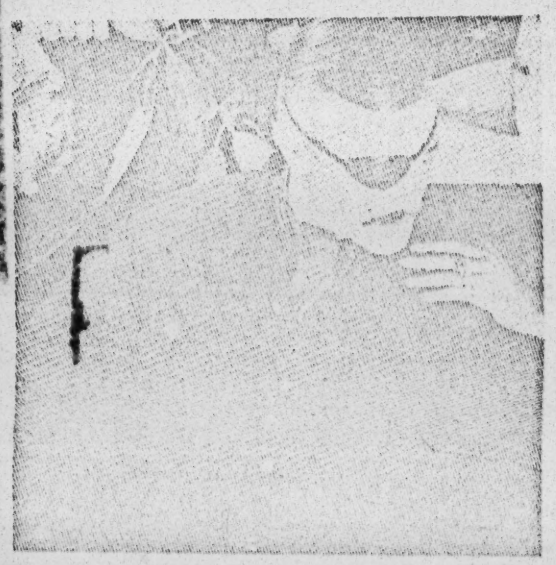

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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

Note. original correspondence filed in: Correspondence re Manuscripts and Articles. Copyrights

October 6, 1966

Ms. Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Assistant
National Education Association
Commission on Professional
Rights and Responsibilities
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ms. Brigham:

Thank you, indeed, for your request for reprints of Dr. Smith's article. We will be delighted to cooperate however you wish. The cost to you would be no more than the printer charges us. Their estimate of this is approximately $100. As for our granting you permission to reprint it with your own facilities, we are happy to do so. All we would ask would be normal copyright acknowledgement, a statement something to this effect: "Reprinted with permission from NEW SOUTH, Summer, 1966. Copyright, 1966, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

cc: Dr. K. U. Smith

No covering ltr

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY and 00/100 DOLLARS ($50.00)

TO: Dr. Karl Smith
Name

The University of Wisconsin, Dept. of Psychology
Address

Psychology Building, Charter at Johnson, Madison, Wisc. 53706
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: for article in Spring Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 5/16/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

I.S. - File

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 53706

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
PSYCHOLOGY BUILDING
CHARTER AT JOHNSON

Mr. Robert Anderson,
SRC Publications.

Rec'd 4/7/44

I think your write-up is fine. You have my permission to use my material as much as you like.

I am sending you a copy of a letter which was mailed recently to Bob Kaltenmacer. Please return my copy to me.

You may be interested in the fact that I am trying to get the Commission on Human Rights in this State to take legal action against test publishing firms for violating my civil rights as a teacher of students who are being discriminated against through use of scholastic aptitude tests, so-called.

Professor Banesh Hoffman of Queens University is interested in trying to get a formal Congressional study started. Could you help & advise us.

Sincerely
Karl Smith

VIA AIR MAIL

March 25, 1966

Dr. Karl Smith
The University of Wisconsin
Department of Psychology
Psychology Building
Charter at Johnson
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Smith:

As you and Pat Watters have previously agreed, I believe, we were to develop an article for New South based on your studies of psychological testing. The draft we have put together is enclosed. You will note that we added a few, brief paragraphs at the beginning -- pointing toward the direct civil rights implications. The rest is a summary of your findings.

We are, of course, interested in getting this into our spring issue and if you could read this over and let us have your opinion within the next week it would be appreciated. Also, would you please include a brief background summary of yourself so that we could write an author's note about you to go with the piece?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure: 1

January 24, 1966

Dr. Karl Smith
The University of Wisconsin
Department of Psychology
Psychology Building
Charter at Johnson
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Smith:

I was glad to get your letter. Forgive me for being so slow answering.

I am not sure about three articles; our quarterly publication would make this difficult, even on such terms. Is it possible to get the main points of all three into one essay? If not, would it be all right with you to go ahead and try to develop the first one now out of the materials you sent us? When this is submitted to you, then there might be the opportunity to add from this end some of the other material.

The main thing is that we work out some mutually acceptable plan. I think it is important that we publish your findings and whatever it takes to do this, we will work out.

Thank you again, and I hope I will be hearing from you shortly.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 53706

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
PSYCHOLOGY BUILDING
CHARTER AT JOHNSON

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat

I am willing to follow your suggestions.

My suggestion would be to plan three articles. You write the first, based on the material sent to you. When the hearings are published, I'll write you an evaluation of the hearings. And in the interim, I will prepare a critical evaluation of the current American Psychologist, which attempts to justify the position of the American Psychologist in relation to the hearings.

Sincerely

Karl Smith

December 23, 1965

Dr. Karl U. Smith
Department of Psychology
Psychology Building
Charter at Johnson
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Smith:

Emory Via has turned over to me the material you sent on, "Cybernetic Analysis of Psychological Testing and Test Prediction." I find this, as Emory had given me to expect I would, very interesting, and from my lay vantage point, very exciting in its implications. Certainly it has great relevance to our program which increasingly is involved in matters like employment discrimination or the discharge of Negro teachers by southern school systems which have been tokenly desegregated.

I very much want to carry in our new quarterly publication, New South, an article setting forth your findings. I think the paper you sent is too long and in its most important parts too technical for our general readership.

Would you be willing to work it over with a view to making it easier for our readers to understand? If this is asking too much, I would be happy to attempt to put together from the material we have (including your testimony before the committee) an article to submit to you for approval or correction.

My main concern is that we present what seems to me to be crucially important criticisms of a device that is

accepted generally be people as beyond criticism and that we suggest how testing is becoming increasingly involved in the problems with which we are concerned, along with, of course, the other social meanings.

I will be looking forward to hearing whatever wishes or suggestions you might have.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mrs. Helen Howard
Name

587 Rock Street, N. W.
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Consultory fee

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 10-10- 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:
Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

October 10, 1966

Mrs. Helen Howard
587 Rock Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Howard:

I want to thank you for having given so freely of your time to Al Clayton. Your help was invaluable to him.

Enclosed is a check for your consultatory services. We would pay anybody else for it, so there is no reason why we should not pay you.

Thank you again.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - $20.00 check.

Finley

Mr. Evan Farber, Librarian, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

Dr. R.S. Streeter, Acting Dean, Division of the Humanities, University of Chicago, Chicago Ill., 60637

Dr. John Hope Franklin, ~~Professor of~~ Department of History, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 60637

Dr. James Miller, ~~Prof~~ Department of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 60637

Dr. ~~Be~~ Benjamin Mayes, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

(I'm sure of this is on our free mailing list.

Copies of Spring Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966, sent to the above individuals 10/13/66, with the compliments of Finley Campbell.

October 18, 1966

Dr. Tommy W. Rogers
Assistant Professor of
Sociology
Northwestern State College
of Louisiana
Nathhitoches, Louisiana 71457

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Your proposed survey sounds most timely. By all means, we would like to see it and consider it for NEW SOUTH. Our winter issue will be out next February, and our copy deadline for that issue is January 1. Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE OF LOUISIANA
NATCHITOCHES, LOUISIANA 71457

October 17, 1966

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES
ANTHROPOLOGY
ECONOMICS
GEOGRAPHY
GOVERNMENT
HISTORY
PHILOSOPHY
SOCIOLOGY

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Purpose of this letter is to inquire as to whether your current needs might find a paper on the migration pattern of Negroes in the South during this century, with some suggestion of some of the possible implications and effects thereof on the existing political structures, etc., of interest. Such a survey, as proposed, would be primarily factually descriptive of census findings with an attempt to place current trends in perspective with respect ~~with respect~~ to past, current, and future social change.

If such an effort might fall within your spehre of interest, I would be happy to submit same for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Tommy W. Rogers, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Sociology

Janet:

Please mail Vincent Harding 10 copies of the winter issue New South.

Mailed 10/26/66

Dead

October 27, 1966

Mr. Kenneth Fairly
The Clarion-Ledger and
Jackson Daily News
311 East Pearl Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Fairly:

The enclosed list is as much as we have turned up -- all of it from newspaper clippings. I haven't checked to see if it contains any Mississippi names that you don't have.

I'm enclosing also an issue of our quarterly magazine on the thought that out of the book material or other things you are working on, you might want to submit an article. We pay in a small way (below $100) and reach a select sort of audience.

Good luck on your book.

Yours truly,

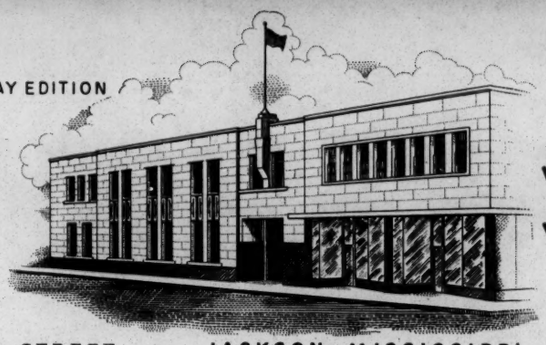
Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encls.- 3.
1. Winter Issue, 1966 New South.
2. Some Race Related Deaths in the U.S. (1955)(1965)
3. Additional Race Related Deaths in the U.S. Sept. 1965 - June, 1966

THE CLARION-LEDGER, Morning JACKSON DAILY NEWS, Evening COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION

The Clarion-Ledger
AND
JACKSON DAILY NEWS

KEEPING STEP WITH JACKSON AND MISSISSIPPI FOR OVER 118 YEARS
PUBLISHED BY MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS CORPORATION



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RADIO STATION
WSLI 930 K.C.

FLEETWOOD 3-2421 • 311 EAST PEARL STREET • JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Oct. 24, 1966

Paid 10/24/66

Mr. Pat Watters, Director
Publications Division
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Ken Dean here suggested that I contact you about a project I am working on.

At the present time, I am trying to research a number of murders which have occurred in Mississippi during the civil rights struggle. From police sources, I have a list of 13 cases which are attributed by investigators to the fight.

These include Lee, Belzoni; Till, Tallahatchie; Smith, Lincoln; Parker, Pearl River; Evers, Hinds; Chaney, Goodman, Schwerner, Neshoba; Moore, Dees, Franklin; Walker, Wilkinson; Dahmer, Forrest; White, Adams. This list is by last name of victim and the county in which the murder or murders took place. The time interval extends from May 1955 to June 1966.

Ken thought that you were in a position possibly to furnish additional cases or that you had available some information on these, all of which were well covered at the time of the crime.

Purpose of the research if for a book in which a national publisher has indicated a strong interest. If you can assist in any manner, or have suggestions as to source material, it will be greatly appreciated.

For your information, I am a former managing editor of the Delta Democrat Times at Greenville and co-author of the Ku Klux Klan---"We Got Nothing To Hide" Saturday Evening Post, January 1964 with Harold H. Martin.

Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Fairly

Kenneth Fairly

Serving Mississippi around the Clock

Kenneth Fauly

The Clarion-Ledger
(ESTABLISHED 1837)

Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Greater Jackson
NOW: QUARTER MILLION PEOPLE

OCT 25 '66
MISS

U.S. POSTAGE
05
PB METER
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Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($25.00)

TO: Miss Patricia Collins
Name

Address

City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for Fall Issue NEW SOUTH 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:

Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:

Paul Anthony, Executive Director

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100~~ DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: ~~Mr. Andrew Jaffe~~
Name

Newsweek
Address

912 Healey Bldg., 57 Forsyth St., NW
City and State

Atlanta, Georgia

REASON FOR PAYMENT: ~~Article for Fall Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966~~

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Finley Campbell
Name

863 Fair Street, SW
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Poem for Fall Issue ~~NEW SOUTH~~, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Cross ref: manuscript filed in New Delhi. Rejects

November 2, 1966

Miss Judy Randall
1959 Paul Spring Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22307

Dear Judy:

The ways of editors are past finding out. Sometimes we even hate ourselves.

After considerable re-reading of your piece, we have regretfully decided against using it. The reason for this is simply pragmatic. In deciding what goes into the magazine we have to weigh many factors, not the least of which is suitability for our level of readership. The general response I've gotten from your piece is that -- while it is well written -- the space we could give to it would from our audience's point of view -- be more productively given to harder research material.

I'm sorry, Judy, that it has turned out this way, but in this business one sometimes has to be more pragmatic than one's normal instincts are inclined.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

Encl. - $20.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND))/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Miss Judy Randall
Name

1959 Paul Spring Road
Address

Alexandria, Virginia 22307
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For piece submitted to NEW SOUTH (unused).

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: ~~Pat Watters, Director of Information~~

APPROVED: ~~Paul Anthony, Executive Director~~

August 22, 1966

Miss Judy Randall
Kalamazoo College
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Dear Judy:

See here, young lady . . .

We're just plumb not going to answer any such formal questionnaire and that's all there is to it!

Actually, Judy, what we would like to do with your manuscript is run portions of it in a new section of the magazine which we call "NEW SOUTH Notes." We have no objection at all to its appearing in your college magazine. We won't be using it until the fall issue so if you want to go ahead with it now, that's okay with us.

Let us hear from you -- but no more post cards!

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

7e

BW
PW

Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo Michigan

Rec'd 8/2/66

July 30, 1966

Dear Pat,

I imagine you all are mighty busy right now, sort of the way it was last spring...I don't mean to pester you, but are you for sure going to use my article? As I said, I'll abide by any changes you see fit to make; but I am kind of curious.

Also I'd like to know: if my article is printed in the New South, could a part of it be printed somewhere else (i.e., school literary magazine), provided credit were given?

I hope your summer is as enjoyable as mine has been. We have had some terribly hot weather, but the heat wave has finally broken. I'm having a lot of fun and good experience working on the school paper, and the first thing I wrote was an editorial! I'm having a minor campaign against restrictions on women students, including anonymous "social exposés" tacked up all over campus, protesting the lack of protection for boys. So far nothing has happened.

Please give my regards to Bob, Marge, Maggie (egad, if I go on, I'll fill the page), and everybody else. Sorry about this typing, but it's purely personal, not to go in that reading file, okay?

Good luck on getting out the NS.

Sincerely,,

Judy Randall

Address for the summer: Kalamazoo College
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Rec'd 6/23/66

File

1909 Paul Spring Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22307
June 21, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Here it is, nine pages of "reactions," with additions and modifications, but not, I am afraid, all the changes which you desired. I found myself shying away from using personal experiences, perhaps because they are still toofresh in my mind and because I'm afraid the people involved might feel resentful. That may sound silly, but I feel what I have to sayis more of a thoughtful comment than a recounting of anecdotes. Maybe at a later time I will feel removed enough from these stories to tell them, but for now, no.

There are some mechanical details on the article I'd like to mention. The title I changed to paraphrase more accurately the original, but if it lacks something, feel free to use your own. I inserted roman numerals in pencil, if you want to use them, but I don't think it's necessary in this form. The adjectives "southern" and ""northern" are not capitalized, but the nouns are--change this if you prefer. Also, I seem to have used a great quantity of quotation marks, but I felt it was necessary in each instance; however, if you think it detracts from the effectiveness of the article, you may want to omit some. The same goes for switching of tenses from past to present. I tried to make it consistent, but if it seems confusing, go ahead and change it. One word you marked on the original draft with a question: "transplant" on the bottom of page 7 is meant to be a noun.

If the whole thing is too messy, send it back and I'll rework it.

I am sending this to you, because we discussed it most recently, but you may want to transfer it to Bob Anderson, to whom I extend my regards and gratitude for getting me started. Even if you change your mind about using the article, it has been a great value to me in articulating my feelings.

All my best wishes, and please write any time.

Sincerely,

Judy

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. Jack Nease
Name

St. Petersburg Times
Address

St. Petersburg, Florida
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For news round-up for Fall Issue,
NEW SOUTH, 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~TWENTY and 00/100 DOLL~~ARS ($20.00)

TO: ~~Mr. Ray Jenkins~~
Name

Montgomery Advertiser - ~~Alabama Journal~~
Address

Montgomery, Alabama
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: News Round-up for ~~Fall Issue, NEW SOUTH,~~ 1966.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE ~~11/2/~~ 19~~66~~

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Dear

November 2, 1966

Dr. John Hope Franklin
The University of Chicago
Department of History
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Dr. Franklin:

This is just a gentle reminder that we would be pleased and honored to receive an article from you for publication in NEW SOUTH.

Thank you again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

BV November 1, 1966

Summer issue K. S. mailed 9/8/66 as requested.
K.

August 22, 1966

Dr. John Hope Franklin
The University of Chicago
Department of History
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Dr. Franklin:

Thank you for your letter. We will be looking forward to receiving an article from you whenever the pressure of your work allows. The textbook writing idea was just a shot in the dark. Anything you're interested in at the time would be fine.

I am sorry you have not been receiving our material, and have taken steps to rectify that.

Again thanks, and best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

PA
BA

August 18, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you very much for your letter which came when I was away. I would indeed be pleased to contribute to New South and I might possibly be able to do something about textbook writing. At the moment, however, I can do nothing because of the pressure of deadlines which I must meet within the next three months. After that time I will be delighted to do something for New South which I read with great pleasure as long as I was favored by being on your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin
Professor of American History

JHF:mf

Janet: Please file to remind me to write him again Nov. 1.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

File

July 8, 1966

Paid 7/11/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your letter of July 5. Dr. Franklin is out of the office, and will not be returning until the middle of August, at which time I will bring your letter to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

M. Fitzsimmons

(Miss) M. Fitzsimmons
Secretary to John Hope Franklin

JHF:mf

July 5, 1966

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Professor of History
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Dr. Franklin:

This is to follow up on the conversation Samuel Adams of our staff had with you recently at the conference at Spelman here in Atlanta.

We would be honored to have a contribution from you for our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH, on any subject. Mr. Adams told me of your recent work of writing a history textbook with adequate attention to Negro Americans.

Two possibilities occurred to me: that we might run a specimen chapter with an introduction, or that you might be able to write an article explaining your method and theory in the preparation of the textbook, and something about its reception.

If there is any other subject you would prefer, however, don't hesitate to say so.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

~~B.B.~~
Dear

November 2, 1966

Dr. J. Saunders Redding
English Department
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Dr. Redding:

This is just a gentle reminder that we would be pleased and honored to receive an article from you for publication in NEW SOUTH.

Thank you again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

BV Oct., '66

July 5, 1966

Dr. J. Saunders Redding
English Department
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Dr. Redding:

I am, of course, disappointed that you won't be able to write something for us right away. But the reason that you give certainly sounds like an important challenge to you; congratulations. Whenever you do, feel free to write something for us, I will be very happy to receive it.

Again, let me emphasize that it doesn't necessarily have to be on the subject discussed in the previous letter.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

BU Oct., '66

Rec'd 6/27/66

June 25, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you. I wish I could tell you that I can do a piece for New South at such and such a time, but the truth is I can't. Beginning next month, I am assuming a position with the National Endowment for the Humanities, and until that organization, which is new, shakes down, I will not make any definite writing commitments.

Meantime, though, I will bear in mind your fruitful ideas for expanding the paper you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Saunders Redding

Saunders Redding

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

June 16, 1966

Dr. J. Saunders Redding
English Department
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Dr. Redding:

Since writing to you the other day about the possibility of your doing an article for NEW SOUTH, I have read the position paper you presented at the dedication program for North Carolina Mutual in Durham on "The Negro In Literature and Art."

I found it extremely interesting and provocative. I wonder if it would be possible to expand your paper. I am sure there are many of its points which you might want to develop further.

In my reading of the paper, I jotted down the following things that I would have liked to have known more about:

Page 2 - More illustrations of the derisive and secret communication songs and aphorisms.

Page 3 - What were some of the musical signals in such a song as "Never Said a Mumblin' Word"? (Incidentally, a favorite of mine.)

Pages 3 and 4 - Illustrations of different versions of the same song.

Page 4 - Is there a basis for comparing the appeal to conscience in the early days of the civil rights movement by Dr. King and others with that of the writers and artists? One gets the feeling that most civil rights activists have given up on this approach. Are there indications that artists and writers have done the

same? Or might we hope that the spiritual beauty of that part of the civil rights movement will permeate art and survive? Along these lines, it has struck me as strange that the civil rights movement has not produced any writers or artists of stature to interpret and perpetuate its profound meanings. I think James Baldwin is the closest thing to this, but I am afraid he did not "confront the concrete reality" as you said, of the movement.

Page 6 - Is there paradox in the statement that "the most concrete reality for the Negro is his 'Negroness'"? Assuming success of art and other forces in destroying the evils of segregation and in affirming the ideals of America, will the statement still be true? Or will the good of a separate sub-culture be destroyed with the evil of forced separation? For example, is there, outside of Yiddish writing, any art of national significance being produced out of these other ethnic and nationalist groups you mention at the beginning of the paper?

Page 6 - Do you know whether it is possible for us to get reproductions of some of the paintings and photographs you mentioned?

Page 7 - Would you want to mention any promising young writers and artists?

One further question -- what of the international influence of jazz on popular and classical music?

I hope the above is not presumptuous. I am just trying to indicate some of the interest your paper aroused in me and to suggest how much response there would be to the subject and your treatment of it.

I would be grateful for your reactions, and want to repeat that we would be honored by a contribution from you, if not on this subject, then, on any that you might choose.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

June 9, 1966

Dr. J. Saunders Redding
English Department
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Dr. Redding:

I was delighted to learn that you had promised Paul Anthony at the White House conference you would contribute an article to our magazine, NEW SOUTH.

Our standard length is ten pages, double spaced, but deviations upward or downward from that norm don't bother us at all.

I will look forward to hearing from you and, at your convenience, to a manuscript. If you have any questions, please write.

I have never met you, but I admire your work very much.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - Spring issue, NEW SOUTH.

North Carolina Mutual
Dedicatory Program

PANEL POSITION PAPER: THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE AND ART

No matter whether one is examining the economic, the social, or the artistic aspects of American history, it becomes immediately apparent that the cultural heritages of two great people- the Negro, who came from Africa, and the white man, who came from Europe- are vitally locked into each other. Together they have created the patterns of American socio-cultural history, and if their interrelatedness is not taken into account, the history of the United States loses force not only as the story of a unique and special human experience and as an instrument of social diagnosis, but it fails in making an appeal to the connotative and affective side of man's being.

Though one grants, as it seems he must, the validity of the proposition that the distinctive heritage of Negroes is interwoven with that of whites, it would be a mistake to suggest that the result is cultural monism created by an adherence to a single doctrine of esthetics. On the one hand, while there is an underlying idealism in the political concept of democracy that- at least occasionally- brings white and black together in a cooperative effort to realize all those values that the term "American" suggests, there is on the other hand no similar mystique in the concept of art to bind Americans to a single idea of beauty. In this sense, American culture is pluralistic. Each minority group in America tends to perpetuate, or to enshrine, its cultural heritage. The Poles and Hungarians of western Pennsylvania teach their children to dance polkas and to play scherzos. Turnhalls and rathskellers can still be found where there is any sizeable concentration of German-descended Americans, and one can still hear the old German songs and see exhibitions of hand-carved dolls and puppets. America would be

culturally poorer without the Hebrew schools and synagogues, and without the Scots clan gatherings where they retell the ancient tales of border wars and heroes like young Lochinvar. The list could be extended to include every ethnic and national group in the country, and the point that it all makes is that American culture is pluralistic.

But American tolerance of this pluralism has not always embraced the culture of Negroes. Only relatively recently- say the last fifty years- have the contributions of Negroes to American arts and letters come to be realized.

And, indeed, some of the art and some of the "literature" (and particularly the folk literature) was not created to invite tolerance. Although among the few art forms indigenous to America, the Negro spirituals, some of the blues and work songs, the folk aphorisms, and the early Negro dances were not meant for the appreciation and the applause of white America. They were intended only for Negroes, who created them for their own edification, emotional release, and entertainment. It is pretty difficult not to suppose that the Negro slave would stop singing this song when a white person approached:

"My ole Mistiss promise me
W'en she died, she'd set me free.
She lived so long dat 'er head got bal',
An' she give out'n de notion a-dyin'
at all."

There is very substantial evidence to support the theory that the Negro spirituals were a kind of "thieves' jargon", a form of secret communication among slaves, who did not want their masters to know what they were up to. A bit of the evidence is found in the biography of Harriet Tubman which was written by an upright and honest Yankee woman, Sarah H. Bradford. Harriet Tubman was so successful a conductor on the underground railroad that Maryland slave-owners put a price of $40,000 on her head. Of this remark-

able woman, Mrs. Bradford says that when she neared a plantation where, having sent a cryptic grapevine message ahead, slaves desirous of running away were expecting her, she would lift her voice in song, the words of which the slaves understood perfectly, but which their masters did not. In this way, she established the time and place of rendezvous, and conveyed any other information those who planned to go with her needed to know. Hearing her song, the masters thought Harriet was just another darky singing a religious song.

In his biography, the singer, Roland Hayes, tells a similar story about his great-grandfather, who, as a slave on a Georgia plantation, improvised "musical signals" to convey information to the slaves in the fields. One of these musical signals, Hayes tells us, is the spiritual which we now know as "An He Never Said a Mumblin' Word."

As it was with the spirituals, so it was with other folk musical and literary forms- the stories like the Uncle Remus Tales that ridiculed white people and gave the Negro story teller and his audience a vicarious sense of triumph over their oppressors; the work songs, the blues, and the aphorisms that summed up the folk wisdom of the race: "If you want to know how much folks is going to miss you, stick your finger in the pond, then pull it out and look at the hole it made."

Now this crude "literature" was very protean both as to form and substance, and this protean quality was largely due to the fact that Negroes, being illiterate, could not write down the rhymes and the songs they made and the stories they told. They depended on memory, and when memory failed, imagination supplied whatever was needed. This accounts for the variety of versions of many spirituals and ballads. There are, for instance, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-six differing

texts of the John Henry ballad.

But even after Negroes learned to read and write, their expressiveness remained protean, for they had a high degree of verbal sense and inventiveness; they were irrepressibly ingenious; and more often than not, they were inspired by immediate experience, by the present reality. Thus their literature was earthy, and almost abrasively "true", and these attributes were not lost even when the rhymes, songs and stories were intended for a white audience. One discovers these qualities in the songs of Ledbetter, of W. C. Handy, and Perry Bradford. They are in the novels of Charles Chesnutt, in The Sport of the Gods- the best novel of Paul Laurence Dunbar, and in the stories, novels, poems and plays of the Harlem Renaissance- the works of Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, Jessie Fausett and Wallace Thurman; and later in the very moving works of Richard Wright. A short poem by Hughes serves to illustrate these qualities.

"My Old Man's a white old man,
And my old mother's black.
If ever I cursed my white Old Man
I take my curses back.

If ever I cursed my black old Ma
And wished she were in hell,
I' m sorry for that evil wish,
And now I wish her well.

My Old Man died in a fine big house,
My Ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm goin'a die,
Being neither white nor black."

The serious Negro creator in any field has always felt that if white people only knew the truth about Negroes and Negro life, their conscience would be stirred, and they would be moved to help change the conditions that made Negro life so hard, cruel and tragic. The serious Negro writer has always felt that his obligation to his people's welfare, uplift, and on-going struggle for fuller participation in American life demanded of him nothing

less than the truth. The Negro novelist, John Oliver Killens, wrote recently that "the Negro writer must tell as much of the truth as he knows the painful truth to be."

The Negro graphic artist also has had this same feeling. His painting and his sculpture, whatever their esthetic value, have often been propaganda for the fulfillment of those ideals that inspire the American creed- the ideals of justice, equality, brotherhood. Often they have been this, but not always. Henry Tanner, with his Biblical scenes, and Hale Woodruff, with his abstract landscapes are hardly propagandists; but the best of the younger painters are. Like the writers and the musicians- including the best jazz composers and players, they do not think of themselves simply as American artists. They are Negro artists, who, as Cedric Dover reminds us, are also incidentally American artists. "They intend to rise with their people, not away from them, and so they want their work, through widening and deepening of their artist-audience relationships, to aid a great struggle for deserved satisfaction and fulfillment."

Nor does this consciousness of struggle and participation in it limit the artist. Universal art is not produced by the intention to be universal. The great sculptor Henry Moore told a UNESCO conference a few years ago: "The artist must work in contact with society, but that contact must be an intimate one. I believe that the best artists have always had their roots in a definite social group or community, or in a particular region." James Baldwin's first novel is better than his second and third because it was an expression of communal loyalty; because in it, he looked with love on his people's faces. Since that first book, though he has proved himself a superb essayist when he is writing honestly (which is not always), he has wasted his time

as a novelist. Certainly a commitment of loyalty to his people has inspired the best writing of John Oliver Killens; the best painting of Charles White and John Biggers; the best music of Duke Ellington. The validity and authority of an artist's creativity are not demonstrated by the variety of his gifts and his versatility in employing them. The authenticity of his art is proportionate to the depth of his roots, his imaginative power, his technical mastery, and his passionate commitment- generally of love, but sometimes of anger and hate- to a concrete reality. And the most concrete reality for the Negro is his Negroness.

It is often a cruel reality and, given his commitment, this cruelty is reflected in what the Negro artist creates. Gordon Parks catches it in photographs of the most brutal frankness. It writhes in the paintings of Eldzier Corter, lurks in the primitive wood carvings of Leslie Bolling, and is documented in many of the portraits painted by James Porter, Aaron Douglas, and Archibald Motley. It is in the writings of Wright, Hughes, Baldwin, Killens.

But it would be a sorry art, conveying an incomplete illusion of reality if cruelty was the extent of its communication. Nor would it have the protean quality that I have mentioned. No. There is humor in that reality too, as anyone knows who reads Langston Hughes' "Simple" sketches, or takes a good look at the primitive paintings of Horace Pippin and the cartoons of Ollie Harrington. There is also pathos, as in the poems of Paul Dunbar and the stories of Rudolph Fisher, and the novels of William Kelly. And twinned with this pathos is gaiety and an immense zest for life, cruel as life may sometimes be. Finally, there is wisdom, sometimes the raw folk wisdom of un-

lettered people, as in their aphorisms; and sometimes the wisdom is the sophisticated wisdom that sums up the past and anticipates the future, as in an observation Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made back in 1902, when he said that "The problem of the 20th. century is the problem of the color line,"

What I have said of the past and the present of Negro literature and art, I can only repeat when speaking of the future. Negro writers and artists will continue to face the realities of life. They will continue to chronicle those realities, to picture them, to interpret them, and sometimes to transform and transmute them. By so doing, they will meet the needs of their own people, and meeting these needs will be the test of the value of their literature and art.

Saunders Redding

11/4/66

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR:

Correspondence from Pantheon Books (Carol Hill, Publicity Manager) and Frank Smith, of Tennessee Valley Authority, re permission to use excerpts from Smith's book, THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION

SEE:

<u>Correspondence re Manuscripts and Articles</u>:
COPYRIGHTS

11/4/66

Galleys sent to Miss Jerrilyn McGhee with memo note from JS requesting that she read ~~####~~ and return them by November 8, or give us a call to let us know they are all right.

9/22/66

VIA AIR MAIL

Dear Mr. Clayton:

Mr. Watters has asked me to forward to you the enclosed sketches on "Lightning" by Miss Jerrilyn McGhee.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

Mr. Al Clayton
I.D.G., Inc.
460 10th Circle, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Sketches can be found under:
Manuscripts: Lightning

Note: Manuscript in PW's possession as of 9/24/66 jp

File

203 Ice Street
Troy, Alabama 36081
August 10, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am very sorry that I was unable to keep my appointment on Wednesday of last week. I was in Lightning when it began to rain at two O'clock and I had no way to get back to campus.

I am not satisfied with the manuscripts that I left for you and (if it would not be too much of an inconvenience) would appreciate your suggestions for improving them. I am still working on some others.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Jerrilyn McGhee

Lula Jerrilyn McGhee

Rec'd 8/30/66

203 Ice Street
Troy, Alabama 36081
August 28, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I was away when your letter came. Thank you for your check and the encouraging words.

I am enclosing the sketch that you requested. I hope it will be suitable.

Sincerely,

Jerrilyn McGhee

Jerrilyn McGhee

Enclosure: $100 check.

"Home" sketch rec'd 8/31/66. In BA's possession. js.

August 9, 1966

Miss Jerrilyn McGhee
203 Ice Street
Troy, Alabama

Dear Jerrilyn:

Your sketches, individually, are excellent; together, I think they make a beautiful and sensitive piece of writing. And how mercifully refreshing -- that you didn't do any of the mediocre things that might have been done with such material. The handling was just exactly right.

I am sorry I missed seeing you when you came by. Enclosed is the check for my end of the bargain. Please come back by to see us when you get back to town. Maybe we can work out a continuing program.

I hope we can get a photographer to go in and take some pictures that would (with similar sensitivity) supplement your words. Do you think it would be possible to do one more sketch -- a physical description of one of the homes, starting at the front porch and going through, room by room -- including any efforts to make it homelike as well as the ugly part?

What is best I think in your writing is the respect for people and life that it shows.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ONE HUNDRED AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($100.00)

TO: Miss Jerrilyn McGhee

Name

Address 203 Ice Street

City and State Troy, Alabama

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article for NEW SOUTH (Fall issue)

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 8/9/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

COPY

Office of The President
CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

April 19, 1966

Miss Jerrilyn McGhee
Holmes Hall
Clark College

Dear Miss McGhee:

Mr. George McMillan, Journalist in Residence, passed to me your article "A Day in the Life of a Child of the 136th District." It is my understanding that the article will appear in a forthcoming issue of the NEW SOUTH, published by the Southern Regional Council. I found the article very interesting, and your creative approach is intriguing. You are to be congratulated on this piece of work, and I shall look forward to seeing it published in the NEW SOUTH. Likewise, it is my hope that we will be able to publicize through other media your good work.

Sincerely yours,

VWH

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH:svm

cc: Mr. George McMillan
Mr. Pat Watters

April 7, 1966

Miss L. Jerrilyn McGhee
Clark College
Holmes Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Miss McGhee:

Enclosed is our check for, "A Day in the Life of a Child of the 136th District." As I explained to you, we will probably wait to use it in the summer issue of the magazine in July.

Al Ulmer and I will be in touch with you as soon as possible about the other matter we discussed.

Please keep writing things like this and letting us see them!

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - $50.00 check

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($50.00)

TO: Miss L. Jerrilyn McGhee
Name

Clark College, Holmes Hall
Address

Atlanta, Georgia 30314
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article for use in NEW SOUTH summer issue.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 4/7/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED: _____

Ruth, File

Miss McGee will be by to pick up the $100 this morning around 11 A.M. Pat Watters owes her another $100 which he will probably mail Miss McGee. Please ask her to leave her address.

Mr. Ulmer,

I am so sorry that I did not get to see you. I don't have to say that I enjoyed my job. Thank you for everything.

Jerrilyn McGhee
203 Ice Street
Troy, Alabama

November 4, 1966

Mr. William Beardsley
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are your author's galleys. We plan to run an explanatory note indicating that they are from your field reports. As expeditious a reading as possible would be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mr. William Beardsley
Name

Haverford College
Address

Haverford, Pennsylvania
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for Fall Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

November 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: PA

FROM: PW

Re Ed's memo, I don't know what has become of Bob Coles. He promised us a book review for the fall issue of NEW SOUTH which never came. My last letter to him said to just holler when he was ready on the crises cities revisited thing. I'll drop him another such letter.

js

Portion of memo from Ed Stanfield to PA re field trip to Ala.

Confidential

For his part, Lewis thinks that the NSF program is too complaint-oriented. If they did not have the Department of Agriculture to nag, he says, they wouldn't have a program. He has, indeed, devoted much time to trying to secure a CAP agency in Hale county, to school desegregation efforts, to a local credit union and a local cooperative supermarket. But he has done so deliberately and with forethought. He says Negroes have been disillusioned with the promises of the Civil Rights Act about their "rights." Many have been forced to revert to "the Man" out of sheer economic necessity. Unless there are long-term, substantive programs to provide a way of living other than the white man's paternalism, Lewis argues, there is no use talking to Negroes about legal "rights."

As for the "leadership syndrome," there is a large measure of truth in Jac's analysis. However, there are compensations. One is that Lewis Black is manifestly in the Black Belt to stay, and, while the process might be slower, the influence of successful leadership might very well spread more surely through his approach than through that of wide-ranging do-gooding. Besides, he claims (and Bob Valder confirms) that he does in fact get around more than he gets credit for.

I suspect that much of the difficulty lies in the fact that writing is difficult for Black and therefore he does not satisfy Jac in the matter of reports. I think that he does more than enough good to justify his salary. And the Alabama Council Board and staff are clearly more than satisfied. Consequently, I am suggesting to Jac that he give Black more time in field visitation, trying to build up a mutual confidence. Black just is not going to fit the NSF mold, but he has--of course--a profound understanding of the realities of life for Negroes in the Black Belt which could be unusually fruitful if NSF could see itself providing technical assistance to his program instead of seeing him as a leg man for theirs.

PW

I stopped in Selma overnight and got a most interesting "Cook's Tour" from Cap Swift, the city councilman and business man whom I met there during the demonstrations. Cap pointed out the paved streets in the Negro sections of town, the new lighting, the improved sanitation service, the 35 Negro children now attending Parrish High, the fact that there are now 400 city employees compared to 200 two years ago, the fact that he and other city fathers had secured a surplus food program by putting pressure on the county commission via an official of Hammermill Paper Company. He pointed out the Negro cop that the city has hired. And I confirmed personally (what he had bragged) that the town was so booming that there were no rooms available except on weekends. (I got one of the last two left even in the ramshackle Hotel Albert.) Besides Hammermill, Dan River is building a plant nearby. And Hammermill already has on the drawingboards an expansion of the $65 million plant they have not yet finished.

Wilson Baker dropped into Cap's drug store while I was there and confirmed Cap's statement that his prospects look good. About half (more or less) of the whites in the county will vote for Baker and, they claim, virtually all of the Negroes, who now match the whites in voting strength.

I had no opportunity to talk to anyone in the Negro community, and there are a lot of questions I would like to have answered. Is it true that Hammermill is hiring on a non-discriminatory basis? At what levels are Negroes hired by the city? Are the improved services costing the town anything, or is it all federal money? It seemed to me that the improvements made thus far (and they are improvements) are still in the paternalistic mold and that Selma white people still little comprehend the root of the community's problem.

If it is not already in the works, I would like to suggest a "special report" on the aftermath in several cities which have been the scenes of direct action campaigns--St. Augustine, Albany, Birmingham, Selma, and perhaps others. I think I would enjoy doing Selma, Watters could do a couple of them, etc.

September 15, 1966

Dear Bob:

I think the idea of a piece on why they like The Wretched of the Earth would be important. Is there any possibility of getting it by October 1? Would you believe October 15? Suit yourself on length.

I hope things will soon be where you can come down -- but there is no great sweat. Just let us know.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Harvard University Health Services
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

September 1, 1966

Rec'd 9/9/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

Thanks for your letter and it is still a little hectic here because I'm taking care of the house without any additional help while Jane gets back on her feet. In addition to that I've been under a bit of pressure here at Harvard for a variety of reasons and hope that that will end soon.

As for reviewing the Fanon book, I did a review in The New Republic about a year ago, in fact, a year ago this month I think. At that time the black powerists had not yet consolidated their ideology nor was the book as influential as it is today. I don't think I should rereview it, but what I might do, if you want, is comment upon why this book has taken hold amongst these young black powerists. If that doesn't seem like a good idea, I can always do another book for the next issue which we could think about. any suggestions?

Again, thanks for your letter and I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bob

H-120

August 29, 1966

Dear Bob:

Congratulations -- sincerely -- to you and Jane, and the new one.

We will be looking forward to seeing you when you can. Please, though, call when you do decide on a date; I am pretty stationary these days, but Paul stays on the go.

In the meantime, have you read this book that all of the black powerists are reading, The Wretched of the Earth? I haven't, but understand it is rife with psychological overtones. Would you consider doing a review of it for NEW SOUTH -- which doesn't come to another deadline until October 1?

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

August 25, 1966

PA
Ret to JS

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

Thanks for your letter which I delayed replying to because the "event" that you mentioned had not yet occurred. However, just a week ago Jane delivered a nice little baby boy and they're both now home. In addition, the airline strike is settled. So I'm hoping to get down to see you although it will take me a little time to get myself going again. While Jane was in the hospital I put off the phone and spent all of my time with Bobby and the experience was so wonderful that I'm tempted to spend the rest of my life eating baby food and sleeping in a crib. As soon as I stir myself into a less neurotic frame of mind, I'll figure out when I can do something as "mature" as riding an airplane and thinking about why people whose skin colors are not the same fight with one another--not to mention those whose skin colors are the same and who fight with one another.

Best regards to you and to Paul and I hope to see you soon.

Bob

August 9, 1966

Dear Bob:

What now? Can you, assuming they ever start flying airplanes again, come any time soon? Assuming that other arrival, which was going to interfere with your departure, hasn't occurred yet?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

July 1, 1966

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Paul will be here on the 15th, and we are both looking forward to seeing you. It was good to talk to you the other night -- you and all those foreigners!

I finally mailed my ugly letter to the Courier. A copy is enclosed.

Call if there is any need to; otherwise, we will see you Friday week.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Trip cancelled.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

June 20, 1966

rec'd 6/22/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat,

Thanks very much for your kind and most interesting letter. It seemed to me that I've already been doing what you suggest needs to be done. Last summer I spent most of the time in Mississippi and Louisiana --involved as I was in the CDGM business. While I was down there I continued to see the white and Negro people I know in both Mississippi and Louisiana and of course went to Birmingham and Memphis as well. I am indeed going back this summer and feel that I have to do this in order to get some sense of the region as it changes as well as keeping contact with at least some of the children I know, particularly the younger ones, as well as the civil rights people.

As a result, I think it is probably a very good idea to organize some of those observations and to make further observations, as you suggest, and then write them up for you. I know of no other way that they can be generally helpful--except to be helpful to me as I write them up for that book of mine which people keep on asking about and now they keep on announcing will be ready but which I still haven't finished and may well not because of my neurotic difficulties. So if you want me to do this, I'd be happy to undertake it although I think I should come to Atlanta and discuss the whole matter with you and Paul so that we have a clear idea how it should be organized and how long it should be and generally what you have in mind in contrast to my mind's free associative lack of definition or at least "structure", as those social scientists put it.

As I think about this, of course the strength of anything I did would be that I would be able to convey to the reader the actual words and feelings of the people. On the other hand, the weakness would be that I don't know exactly what to do to solve the despair, and the unhappiness and the despondency of these people. Perhaps some politicial scientist or sociologist has a solution for these problems; I tend to think that a combination of time, the sweat of courageous people, the Lord's Grace and other such non-unconscious, non-power-structure-influenced forces probably will make for those changes. But I guess we can talk about this and I also guess I could ask some of the people that I meet what they think we can do about this situation and also ask you the same question and then maybe come up with some "pattern" for action.

I fear that I could not have this done by the summer, although, in a sense, I feel that I've already done it. What I mean is that to visit again places like Albany and St. Augustine would put me sufficiently out of my planned itinerary, which was for Birmingham, Jackson and New Orleans, to make it rather difficult. I have to be back here in August because Jane is expecting a baby in the beginning of that month and an anxious husband wants to be at her bedside. (As you may know our little boy is now approaching two and since that was the age my brother was born I will be very nervous to see this new baby. I'm sure that little Bobby will weather the storm quite well, but psychiatrists are notoriously unstable and crazy and so I expect to go through a rather difficult time of it.)

Again, thanks for your letter. Well, Pat, we should perhaps talk on the phone and I should at some point see you in Atlanta. Best regards to you and your wife, and also to Paul, Maggie and everyone else there. I said to Jane, as I got ready to reply to your letter, that I don't exactly know how I would deal with my nostalgia once I returned to both the SRC and Atlanta. And since I think nostalgia is something to be treasured rather than psychoanalyzed, the problem remains, as you see, insoluble.

Best regards,

Bob

June 9, 1966

Dear Bob:

Everybody keeps saying that a study ought to be done of what it's like now in all the old civil rights battlegrounds (Albany, Birmingham, etc.). Fortunately, nobody has so far done it in the various unfortunate ways it can be done. I don't know of anybody who could do it the way it should be done better than you.

Somebody said you plan to be in the South this summer, anyway. Would it be possible to fit into your plans the doing of such a study for us? Expenses and whatever is a fair price would, of course, be paid.

It would, naturally, involve visits to the communities, and however you would go about determining the effects of the past moment in history. I would think the study would need to include the effect on whites. But that and such details as which cities, how many, etc., would be up to you.

Your own grasp and sensitivity on such a subject would determine its shape and outcome, but I would like to quote a memorandum from Moreland Smith of our staff as just an indication of our thinking here:

> Important civil rights confrontations in the South have brought national attention to the problems of the southern Negro and focused briefly on Negro leadership in Birmingham, St. Augustine, Albany, and Selma. But what has occurred when the marches ceased and the spotlights dimmed? After the high excitement came low points when frustration and extreme

cynicism crushed any further hope in these cities of real Negro gains. The aftermath then was hopelessness and resignation expressed either as complete conservatism and reaction against further confrontations or as belligerent and bellicose black nationalism. (See Haynes Johnson, Washington Evening Star "Selma Revisited.")

It seems to me that the long range progress of man, through both highs and lows, owes most to those who have been able to learn from defeats and "pick themselves up," "brush themselves off" and begin again, refreshed.

Could the Southern Regional Council institute a special research project (perhaps by Dr. Coles) to study the depression and reactions of Negro communities, organizations and leaders, following civil rights confrontations and leading to constructive suggestions which might aid other civil rights leaders in understanding and overcoming defeatism.

Please let me know what you think, and whether it would be possible for you to undertake it. I sure hope you can. It doesn't, incidentally, have to be this summer.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Encl: newsclips

November 11, 1965

Dear Bob:

I am very happy that you can do us a piece on the Klan investigation. I am purposely vague on what it should be out of a writer-oriented, cranky kind of notion that an article conceptualized by the writer himself somehow has more integrity. I'm sure after a few issues of sitting on the other side of the table, I'll get all that knocked out of me and have my own strait-jackets fitted out for assignments. Having said that, I'll throw in these questions that occur to me and might (or might not) fit your framework: Were any punches pulled on real issues, as for example, segregated justice, and acquiescence of the southern power structure to terrorism? Were there any signs that the next (or real) target is the Negro movement? Naively, was there any sign of a legislative intent anywhere? I'm enclosing the ADL's latest rundown on Klan strength.

As we discussed, the deadline is December 1; length, 2,000 to 3,500 words, give or take; the pay on acceptance in the range of smaller, poorer magazines of noble intent, probably between $50 and $100.

Our reference department is at your disposal, of course; drop me a line or call if you need anything.

Again, thanks for taking this on. And I hope you'll keep us in mind for other South-oriented articles. I think what we offer that is a little different from anything I found, anyhow, writing for other publications is a chance to tell the truth within a southern-truth frame of reference. If that makes any sense.

One other point I forgot to mention last night: We are a non-political organization, which is to say, non-partisan. In effect, this prohibits our taking sides in a political race or on pending legislation. I don't think that would bother your piece, but you should be aware of it.

Again, good luck on all your new ventures.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Robert Sherrill
219 Third Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

File: Bob Coles

Mr. Smith;

I know that you asked for a simple statement, however, I have never been a person of few words. I have looked at these articles every way I could (I think). Sometimes it may appear as if I am contradicting myself, but thats me. HERE GOES.

Only part of the political apathy is explained. It seems to me that the only aspects that are fully detailed are the economy terms. Economy does play a big part, however it doesn't cover all. It seems to me that these articles are similar to the chicken and egg riddle, when a person goes around and around in circles trying to find the answers.

As a whole, poor people feel they don't belong to society. Another element that is omitted (I think) is the possibility of any kind of moral and social concern being mobilized by the middle class people for their poor brothers.

Our poverty programs are a great big mess because a few middle class or upper middle class people get their hands into the pot and refuse to let the poor men live.

A lot of truth is in the article. It means the same as it has meant in the past. The Negro, especially the poor Negro has been held back, purposely because the rich or middle class power structure (black and white) wants a large amount of labor with cheap wages and they get this kind of service from their poor black brothers.

The politicians have refused to give the poor man, any political bread, refused to give economic, social or any other kind of water.

Important civil rights confrontations in the South have brought national attention to the problems of the Southern Negro and focused briefly on Negro leadership in Birmingham, St. Augustine, Albany and Selma. But what has occured when the marches ceased and the spotlights dimmed? After the high excitement came low points when frustration and extreme cynacism crushed any further hope in these cities of real Negro gains. The aftermath then was hopelessness and resignation expressed either as complete conservatism and reaction against further confrontations or as belligerent and bellicose black nationalism. [See Haynes Johnson, Washington Evening Star "Selma Revisited."]

It seems to me that the long range progress of man, through both highs and lows, owes most to those who have been able to learn from defeats and "pick themselves up," "brush themselves off" and begin again, refreshed.

Case Histories of Examples

Could the Southern Regional Council institute a special research project (perhaps by Dr. Cole) to study the depression and reactions of ~~leaders~~ Negro communities, organizations & Leaders following civil rights confrontations and leading to constructive suggestions which might aid other civil rights leaders in understanding and overcoming defeatism.

Rest & Rehabilitation of Shock Weary Leaders

Ministry of Continuing Concern
The Reason for the failure of the First Reconstruction
How to prevent " " " " Second

(OVER)

Dear

November 4, 1966

Ms. Louise Blackwell
Chairman
Tallahassee Women's
Inter-group Committee
Route 3, Box 218
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Ms. Blackwell:

I am afraid it is just too specific. Our need is to tell of such problems generally over the South. What we might do is report the Tallahassee pool situation in one of our state-by-state news roundups. Would it be possible to get from you an up-to-date report in January -- maybe just a couple of pages telling what happened this past summer and what the prospects are for the summer of 1967?

Thank you very much for letting us look at your article -- and again, my apologies for not returning it sooner.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encl. - The Tallahassee Story manuscript.

Tallahassee Women's Inter-group Committee

Route 3, Box 218

~~Room 211, Petroleum Building~~ ~~226 West Pensacola Street~~

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

June 26, 1966

Rec'd 6/28/66

The Editors
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is an article entitled "The Tallahassee Story" which I trust you will consider for publication in NEW SOUTH.

As you know, I have been Chairman of the Tallahassee Women's Inter-Group Committee, which was organized to work for orderly compliance with the Civil Rights Law, since its inception.

We have a problem in Tallahassee which is not uncommon in the South - city officials who are behind the will of the people.

Sincerely yours,

Louise Blackwell

Louise Blackwell
Chairman

790

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

November 5, 1966

Rec'd 11/9/66

Dead

Department of English

Dear Mr. Watters,

I really wasn't thinking of this for your magazine but just for your possible interest since you were concerned with anti-intellectualism in the Movement, etc. And when I looked it up it occurred to me that it would mean very little to you unless you went to the trouble to look up the August 14, '65 issue of THE SATURDAY REVIEW--of which I no longer seem to have a copy. But since I have the thing handy--and it's my own precious prose--I'm glad to have you see it. When you're through with it I'd like to have it back, please. Someday I might work it or part of it into a book or something. (Of course, if there was some way you thought you might use it in NEW SOUTH, I'd be delighted.)

Incidentally, I mailed the thing with an explanatory note to Norman Cousins, editor of SR, about the end of August, '65; and the note from Miss Girson was what I got back--in December. That irked me so (and as always I was so busy) that I just forgot it.

In addition to riding herd on the summer issue of PER/Se I'm supposed to be writing a dissertation--and teaching full time--this semester; so I doubt that I'll be doing much writing to submit to you soon. But thanks for the invitation, and I'll pass the word to people here. I'm also urging people here to subscribe to you.

Luck,

Lewis Harrington

what part of the South are you from?

This correspondence rec'd 11/9/66 with manuscript entitled "A Letter: Essay About An Essay-Review: Or, Freedom is not Enough."

In PW's possession.

Saturday Review
380 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Rochelle Girson
Book Review Editor

December 13, 1965

Mr. Evans Harrington
109 Price Street
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Please accept our apologies for the delay in responding to your letter and article concerning Robert Canzoneri's "I Do So Politely" and the other books reviewed by Charles Shapiro.

If you can condense your observations in "A Letter-Essay About an Essay-Review" to about 350 words, we shall be happy to print them in our Letters to the Book Review Editor. That would be about twice the length of the average printed letter. We wish we could accommodate more, but it is rare that we can allot over two columns to letters. At any rate, we do want to provide your point of view a forum.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Rochelle Girson

Encl.
/s

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

November 2, 1966

Mr. Evans Harrington
The University of Mississippi
Department of English
University, Mississippi 38677

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Thanks. I wish you would send the thing you did -- and it occurs to me I should have said in my last letter that we welcome contributions for NEW SOUTH -- from you or whomever of your colleagues might lean in our direction.

I'm glad to get the word I can take a little more space.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI 38677

Department of English

October 31, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information
New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

We're delighted that you'll send us something, and, if possible, more delighted with what you suggest that something to be. By all means separate the "nigger-lover-and-haters" from the freedom lovers. And, judging by your article "Encounter With the Future" and the one in the current NEW SOUTH, I know it won't be simple-minded or preachy. It's almost uncanny how closely you and I agree. If I can find it, I may stick in a copy of an attack on nigger-loving-and-hating-cum-anti-intellectualism which I did last year--an abortive attack because I was too angry and I was also defending a friend's book. *

My main reason for writing back immediately, though, is to tell you that our symposium is shaping up so impressively that we've been allotted much more space; so that now length is no object. Take all the room you need.

I sent the check for subscription to the NEW SOUTH about the middle of the week. Hope you have it now. Sorry I forgot to enclose it in my first letter.

I appreciated very much your suggestions about paying contributors, and I plan to xerox your letter and send it on to our editor-in-chief. I had never thought of several of the things you mentioned, and it may be that he hasn't either.

Since I wrote you we've had promises of contributions from Charles East, short story writer at LSU Press; Henry Mitchell, fine ex-newspaperman now editing a magazine in Memphis; a German television team (for a pictorial essay on the South as they see it); our Governor Johnson (me to tape an interview with him); and several lesser lights. I'm almost sure of getting a blast from Lawrence Guyot, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party leader.

* It wasn't worth sending.

I found the current issue of NEW SOUTH fascinating, like everything I know of that comes from the Southern Regional Council.

Best to you,

Evans Harrington

Evans Harrington

EH:ba

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall 280
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Rec'd 11/14/66

10 November 1966

Dear

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am writing to Christopher Jencks to ask him to send on a copy of the chapter to you, as we would very much like your criticism and that of your colleagues and friends. And I really mean criticism--we are not sensitive to criticism and have had a lot of it, as you can imagine, and we want to be as fair and searching as we can be. Good news about the forthcoming book. I appreciate what you say about Jencks's work and my own.

I will try to get together some reprints that might interest you and send them along.

Yours sincerely,

David Riesman

DR/mg

November 7, 1966

Mr. David Riesman
Harvard University
Department of Social
Relations
William James Hall 280
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Riesman:

I'm sorry I had a garbled version of the intentions for the piece on Negro colleges and universities. I think you're wise to be wary of it getting into the wrong hands; it's a tricky subject -- from what little I know about it. With the warning that it is little that I do know about it, I'd be very happy to see the manuscript, and if it is agreeable, show it around to some of our people better informed on the subject for possible criticism. I admire Christopher Jencks' work, and of course like most of my generation have been influenced basically by your thinking. I look forward to seeing the manuscript.

Thank you for your comments on NEW SOUTH and the DISSENT piece. The latter was out of material in a book on Negro voter registration which Reese Cleghorn and I have done for the Council and which will be published by Harcourt, Brace and World, hopefully next fall. Marvin Wall on our staff was a Neiman Fellow; I wasn't.

Again, thanks. I hope you'll keep us in mind for future manuscripts -- or reprints.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Note: Cross ref: org file and personal file

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall 280
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

2 November 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am pleased that your friend at Atlanta University suggested the manuscript that Christopher Jencks and I drafted on the Negro colleges and universities as something suitable for New South. Please tell him that actually we had thought of it originally as something to submit to Phylon, but it is much too long for them, and we decided to publish it in the Harvard Educational Review in their midwinter issue, where we have lots of room and where our criticisms would not play into untoward hands, but only be read by professional educators from whom we hope to get criticisms.

Of course I know of your work with the Southern Regional Council and were you not at one time a Nieman Fellow here? Would you have an interest in reading the manuscript in order to give us criticisms? We are intensely dissatisfied with it and it was only a first draft; we are working on revision.

Thanks for the copies of New South which I am very glad to have.

With good wishes for the Council and for you personally,

Yours sincerely,

David Riesman

DR/mg

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall 280
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

4 November 66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I meant to add to the letter I wrote you yesterday how much I liked your article in Dissent a few weeks ago - it was just extraordinarily fine. I realized that I knew the old New South and glad to see the new format, and I have been looking at it with profit.

Yours sincerely,

David Riesman

DR/kab

Paul: Isn't he worth a free subscription?
RW
11/7/66

Note:
Originals in Pa's possession. After they are ret'd, file this copy in New South Responses

October 31, 1966

Mr. David Riesman
William James Building
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Riesman:

A friend at Atlanta University who has seen the chapter you did on Negro universities for a forthcoming book has suggested that it would be excellent material for our publication, NEW SOUTH.

Would it be possible to receive from you or the publisher a copy of the chapter, and might we arrange with you and the publisher for permission to use it?

I am enclosing copies of the magazine, and a brochure about the Southern Regional Council. Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encls.

Rec'd 11/14/66

Nov. 11, 1966
Jackson, Miss.

Mr. Pat Watters
SRC, Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat Watters:

I was very glad that you found my little piece MERRY CHRISTMAS YOU-ALL acceptable, and thank you for the check for same. I shall probably be sending other efforts along for your consideration before too long, but will always inquire first if you have any need for such pieces.

I hope to see you at the meeting of the Southern Regional Council next week. We had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Boone and Mrs. Tilley yesterday at the Dual Justice in the Courts conference at the Sheraton Inn.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth F. Beittel

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Mrs. A. D. Beittel
Name

1666 Lelia Drive
Address

Jackson, Mississippi 39216
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Article for Fall Issue NEW SOUTH, 1966

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 11/2/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY:
Pat Watters, Director of Information

APPROVED:
Paul Anthony, Executive Director

File

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

M. A. WRIGHT
PRESIDENT

1615 H STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
AREA CODE 202
NATIONAL 8-2380

November 15, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Please feel free to reprint the excerpts from my Chicago speech in the manner indicated by your letter of November 9. I am glad the speech is useful to you.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

VIA AIR MAIL

November 9, 1966

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Chamber of Commerce of the
United States
1615 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

For the fall issue of NEW SOUTH, quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council, we plan to reprint excerpts from your speech, "Private Enterprise and the Great Society" which you delivered in July before the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry. We are enclosing for your review galley proofs of the portion we have selected and would appreciate any comments you might have.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encl.

November 21, 1966

Miss Nan Hunt
775 123rd Avenue
Treasure Island, Florida

Dear Miss Hunt:

Thank you for your good note. We are planning to use your poem in the fall issue of NEW SOUTH, which is now at the printers. I'll send you extra copies when it comes out. The title that you have given it seems quite appropriate to me.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - $20 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: TWENTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($20.00)

TO: Miss Nan Hunt
Name

775 123rd Avenue
Address

Treasure Island, Florida
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For poem to be published in the fall issue, 1966, of NEW SOUTH.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 11/21/ 66 19

REQUESTED BY: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: Paul Anthony, SRC Executive Director

775 123rd. Ave.
Treasure Island, Fla.
November 10, 1966

NEW SOUTH
Mr. Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson;

It was my understanding that you had accepted my poem "Megapolis Immigrant" for publication in NEW SOUTH, when it was given to you by Mr. Sam Adams. The title may be misspelled. It seems that the term the city planners used is "megalopolis" to mean very large city, rather than using the simple prefix "mega" as the combining form with "polis" meaning city. So, you have my permission to change the title if you are planning to use the poem, and if it has not already been published by you. It seems that either spelling could not be strictly incorrect.

Please let me know if you are considering publishing; if not my return stamped envelope is enclosed.

Also, if it has been published, I would like a copy of the issue in which it was included. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Nan Hunt

Nan Hunt

November 21, 1966

Mr. S. J. Makielski, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Government
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

Dear Mr. Makielski:

We would certainly be interested in reading your paper. One copy would be sufficient. As for length, I dislike imposing a strict word count rule. Let's say -- just as a general guide ---twelve to fifteen double-spaced pages. Is that reasonable for what you contemplate? We'll look forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications,

REA,Jr/js

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
22903

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
207 MINOR HALL

November 15, 1966

Editors

The New South

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

I am currently preparing an article on "The Pluralist Ethic and Southern Politics," which is an examination of the dominant political ethic of the United States in comparison with the Southern response and interpretation of this ethic. I feel it might be suitable for publication in the New South. If you are interested, I would appreciate information on the form of submission, the number of copies to be submitted, and desirable length.

Sincerely yours,

S. J. Makielski Jr.

S. J. Makielski, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Government

DA BAV PW

DW

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

November 21, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 11/22/66

Dear

Dear Pat:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter that I sent to Les about his talk on the CDGM situation. Perhaps I did not interpret it correctly, and I am sure that Les' inferences were not deliberate. The point I wanted to make, however, was that too much of the whole pro-CDGM argument adopts this tone.

In view of the fact that there is good chance that some part of the CDGM will still be funded by OEO, it might not be wise to publish anything on the subject until this point has been clarified. The main problem right now, in view of the new Congress, will be to get poverty funds in general and to prevent people like the Mississippi delegation from really writing the program as far as all the Southern states are concerned.

I would rather you did not publish my letter to Les. I greatly appreciate the achievements that Charles Evers has made, but I don't want to appear to be endorsing that aspect of the political boss that involves self-enrichment that he appears to be following. The main argument against the dominant position of CDGM as far as the Anti-povery program in Mississippi is concerned is that it is simply not right for the program to have no local biracial basis.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Enclosure

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

November 14, 1966

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

My principal criticism of your talk on CDGM is that it was unfair in two respects. The first is your treatment of the Mississippi NAACP and the complete omission of Charles Evers.

By inference, you make the Mississippi NAACP the stereotype conservative, or perhaps Uncle Tom, outfit as it is labeled in so many circles of the new left. (This may be correct as far as some state and local NAACP chapters are concerned.) The Mississippi NAACP, however, as led by Medgar Evers, Charles Evers, and Aaron Henry is no conservative group. Without belittling the achievements of the old COFO and SNCC groups, the NAACP has achieved far more in the way of Negro political and economic power and, perhaps more than anything else, upgrading the personal self-esteem and self-respect of Negroes in Mississippi.

Secondly, you drift into the old posture that no white Southerner, or at least white, native Mississippian, can have an acceptable viewpoint on race. That is insufferable.

If Christopher Jencks is the source of the New Republic's material on MAP, it may explain some of the errors. He had a New Republic article on Mississippi last spring that was replete with errors, both factual and interpretive.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

FES:MK
11-21-66--MK
CC: Mr. Pat Watters

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

November 7, 1966

File

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor of Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed is the set of author's galleys which you sent to me with your letter of November 4.

Cordially,

Frank Smith

Frank E. Smith

Enclosures

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

November 22, 1966

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you so much for pointing out the galley error to us. There is yet time to make the change, and we will do so.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

J.S. Pls return this letter to me.
B. A

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

November 21, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor of Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

I am afraid this is too late in view of what you-all said about the current issue of New South now being at the printers, but in case it is still possible there is an error on your galley sheet "31--Sou Reg. Council--5178-D." In the last paragraph, line 3, the "800 square miles" should read "80,000 square miles." (Page 236 of "The Politics of Conservation") This is my typographical error in my original manuscript which was overlooked entirely until my attention was called to it today.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

bc: EV

December 12, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
The University of Wisconsin
Institute for Research on
Poverty
Social Science Building
1180 Observatory Drive
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Mr. Munts:

I am sorry to be so long in responding to your last letter. Personal family crises have kept me away from the office. The issue of NEW SOUTH containing your article is due to be delivered to us next week and we will send you copies then. As for reprints, we are planning to have 500 available. Emory has indicated that he also wants to distribute some, so it may be well -- to avoid duplications -- for you to compare lists.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

SOCIAL SCIENCE BUILDING
1180 OBSERVATORY DRIVE
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

Dec. 1

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Please send me a copy of the fall issue of New South. I would also be interested in your reaction to my questions about distribution of extra copies or reprints in my last letter. I realize the press of other duties has probably delayed your response but if the fall issue is out I would appreciate your reaction.

Sincerely,

Ray Munts

November 4, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
5702 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Munts:

Enclosed are author's galleys of your NEW SOUTH article. If you would give them a reading and return to us as soon as possible, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

SOCIAL SCIENCE BUILDING
1180 OBSERVATORY DRIVE
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

September 15, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

The enclosed draft embodies suggestions you have made, some additions uncovered from additional research, and developments in Congress this summer.

Congress has not yet finally acted on unemployment insurance and may not do so until after the elections. But this article will be ok whether or not final action is taken before publication.

In an earlier draft I included a map chart but it should not be used (I tried to doctor it to make it current, but it is not accurate I have subsequently discovered). If you use a map, use the one I now am sending (between pp. 5 and 6). The discrepancy in figures between the map and the table on page 7 are due to different dates being used, because a later map is not available. The source of the mapchart should probably be acknowledged--Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Dept. of Labor. If you don't want to use it, that is all right with me, but make the necessary changes in the text where it is referred to.

If you feel it necessary to talk with me I can be reached anytime at 601-238-8868. This will not be necessary for any normal editing you may do.

Sincerely,

Ray Munts

Raymond Munts
5702 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

RM:djm

Enclosure

Manuscript rec'd + sent to printers. JS

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: FIFTY AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($50.00)

TO: Mr. Raymond Munts, Acting Director
Name
Department of Social Security, AFL-CIO
Address
815 16th Street, N. W.
City and State
Washington, D. C. 20006

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For article for NEW SOUTH to be published in fall issue.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT _____ EXPENSE.

DATE 8/11/19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

August 11, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
Acting Director
Department of Social Security
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Munts:

I'm so sorry that our letters crossed. We still are planning for the economics-oriented issue in the fall and really would like to save your article for then -- embodying in it the points mentioned in my last letter, if, indeed, the proposed legislation is passed and changes are necessary in what we have.

I am enclosing a wholly inadequate check. Let us hear from you further. September 15 would be in good time for the fall issue, should changes be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - $50.00 check.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 8, 1966

Rec'd 7/11/66

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRP Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I have your letter this morning just after having sent off the manuscript yesterday.

As you probably know, the Senate Finance Committee begins meetings next week to consider federal standards in unemployment insurance. This will be the climax of about eleven years of effort in this direction. The House rejected these standards. If they carry in the Senate, we are reasonably hopeful that the House can be persuaded to go along. Much of this debate will be in the papers in August and September. (Adjournment of the Congress is not anticipated before October 1.) I don't know what your policy is on reprints of "New South" articles but I think AFL-CIO could justify buying quite a number of these if they were available in time. I am mentioning all this in the hopes that having the manuscript in pretty good form now would still make it possible to include it in the Summer issue.

If your decision is still to wait for the Fall, I will let it cool a little, get some informed criticisms and communicate again with you before September 15.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Munts
Acting Director
Department of Social Security

RM:fg
opeiu #2 afl-cio

July 5, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
Acting Director
Department of Social Security
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Munts:

First of all, let me apologize for the delay in writing you -- a delay that was actually premeditated. The truth is when I first talked with Emory about the article my thinking was that it could be an integral part of an overall issue on economics and public welfare that we were contemplating at the time -- for the summer issue. Several other writers were to give us other views from other areas, including an analysis of the poverty program, family life, manpower in the South, etc. Such an issue is still planned, but to date, yours is the only part of the package that we have in hand. I had hoped to have the rest before writing you, but for various reasons -- all perfectly legitimate and understandable -- they will now be delayed. The focus of the summer issue has thus, by necessity, been shifted.

If it isn't asking too much of your patience with us, what I would like to do is hold yours until fall, although Emory tells me this will present you with some additional research and updating of figures since new legislation affecting the subject matter is in the works. I wonder, too, if maybe an analysis of this legislation -- if it is passed -- might be in order. I think, really, that with what you've already put together, which is good, hard-hitting stuff, plus the

additions you've already indicated were needed, plus the additional points mentioned above, we ought to have a good piece.

There are, as you'll notice, several marginal notes in the manuscript. Some are self-explanatory; others need some elaboration as what exactly we're saying and asking -- so I'll take them one by one:

The footnote on page 4 about North Carolina refers to an earlier footnote -- which isn't included.

Graf 3, page 6, "Arguments against raising weekly payments," etc. Maybe an illustration of the point is in order here.

Graf 1, page 7. "A cost of living index," etc. I think the point here needs sharpening. Perhaps it would be enough to say: "A cost of living index measured only against some past level of living, that is, a fixed market basket for all times is sheer nonsense."

Graf 4, page 7. "The bottom states in the South," etc. What is the rationale behind the 15-week qualifying period?

Graf 3, page 9. The question here is in phrasing. "Unions" or "advocates of reform" instead of "labor."

Graf 3, page 10. The printing on that one isn't fully legible, though the meaning, I think, is. Here's how it is supposed to read: "State explicitly the employer's money interest in denying claims."

Graf 5, page 11. "Weighted schedule benefits." I think our readers would need to have the term explained.

Let's aim then, for the fall issue, with a mid-September deadline.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr.
Encl. - draft

Send opening issue
Sent 6/3/66
JP

May 27, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
Acting Director
Department of Social Security
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Munts:

Emory Via has passed on to me your recent letter regarding a possible article for NEW SOUTH. Deadline for the summer issue is June 27. As for length, let's say 2,500 to 3,000 words as a rule of thumb. We'll send you a copy of NEW SOUTH under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E.Anderson,Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

Dead

December 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

By all means, get it in Harper's if you can. If that doesn't work out, though -- we still would like to use it. Our next deadline is January 1 to January 15 or thereabouts. Just let me know around then what to do.

Finally heard last week from Bill Goodman. I've got all my chapters back, with minor revisions to be made. The only real job for me left is to struggle with your suggestions on chapter eight. There was some kind of mix-up, and as best I can tell, Goodman never has yet even seen Reese's last two chapters. He (Reese) is fixing them as per your suggestions and hopefully will get them to Goodman before January 1. I guess somehow it will all work itself out. I am grateful that you are doing the introduction -- as well, as I hope I've made clear, for all the editing, the burden of the timing, etc.

Finally heard, too, from the guy at Pantheon Books on the book about the South in general, the outline of which you saw. They like it. As best I can tell, all I've got to do now is say how many pages a chapter and when it will be done, and they will send a contract. The prospect is exciting. I hope to get down to work soon after the first of the year.

What I meant by the "MFDP situation" was the CDGM situation. I've been living in the past, or something, I guess.

Hope you can get down for Vernon's meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

jcs

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 12, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Thank you for your letter of November 30; Paul had spoken to me earlier and, as you knew already, I think this was the right decision. (But what do you mean by "MFDP situation"?)

Vernon Eagle phoned today, and said Harper's was interested in talking to me about "expanding" the piece. What should I do?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

November 30, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Because everything seemed so fluid in the MFDP situation, and because there really wasn't time to deal intelligently with Frank Smith's point of view, I decided just to hold everything out of this issue of NEW SOUTH -- your piece and the earlier report of the probing committee we had. My hope now is to get for the next issue an in-depth (that's a new word I learned) wrap-up on the whole thing, including probably publication of your piece or substantial parts of it, and Frank's point of view. Andy Jaffe of NEWSWEEK says he wants to try his hand at reporting the while thing, and maybe we'll have that, too. I hope we still have permission to use yours. I really think it is definitive.

Got a note today from William Goodman saying he was going to spend two days this week on the book manuscript and give us a full report by the end of the week. That is a relief.

We, the staff, are all going down tomorrow to Kekyll Island to do God knows what besides freeze.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

JS send to:

XX

1 copy

Mrs. Betsy Fancher
ATLANTA MAGAZINE
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Commerce Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Bill Sorrick
2 copies

Done.
12/20/66
JP

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE
P. O. BOX 751 • PORTLAND, OREGON 97207 • 226-7271
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE • DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 18, 1967

JANET
I'm glad I didn't write him back in kind —

Rec'd 1/20/67

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I am pleased (an embarassed) to announce that 24 hours after I mailed my last plea to you for more copies of New South, a batch of them arrived.

Thank you and your colleagues so much. If there is any charge, you have but to let me know.

Very truly yours,

C. Eric

CEL/bw

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE PORTLAND, OREGON

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Jan 16, 1967

Dear Pat,

I'm really having a difficult time in getting my hands on Vol. 21 of New South. I finally got two copies today. I asked for, and needed six. I also asked that several other copies be sent to specific addresses and billed to me. No response.

What can I do to get four more copies which I have promised to professional colleagues who have honored me with journals in which their publications appear? Please! Cost is not an object.

Best,

Eric

January 10, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JSHORTT

Please send 10 copies of the new issue of NEW SOUTH (fall) to Dr. C. Eric Lincoln. Labels attached. Thanks.

Sent 1/11/67

December 16, 1966

Sent 1/7/67

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JCS

Bernice, please send two copies of the fall issue of New South to the following individuals:

Given in person.

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon

Mr. Al Clayton
IDG, Inc.
460 10th Circle, No.
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Charlayne Stovall
215 W. 75th St., Apt. 14-A
New York, New York

Mrs. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Miss. 39216

Mr. Rayond Munts
U. of Wisconsin
Inst. for Res. on Poverty
Social Science Bldg.
1180 Observatory Dr.
Madison, Wisc. 53706

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Auth.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Mr. Andrew Jaffe
Newsweek
912 Healey Bldg.
57 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson St. Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C. 27402

Miss Jerrilyn McGhee
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mr. M. A. Wright
Chamber of Com. of the US
1615 H St., NW
Washington, DC 20006

Miss Nan Hunt
775 123rd Ave.
Treasure Island, Fla.

Labels are attached.

Thank you.

December 16, 1966

Mr. Lincoln:

As requested in your letter to Mr. Anderson on November 9, we have forwarded copies of New South, just off the press, to the individuals you indicated.

Secretary to Mr. Anderson

Sent 1/7/67

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE
P. O. BOX 751 • PORTLAND, OREGON 97207 • 226-7271
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE • DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 9, 1966

Rec'd 11/14/66

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I have read the author's galleys for my upcoming article "The Race Problem in International Relations", and I am herewith returning them to you.

I do not know what provision, if any, you make for reprints, but in any case I would like to have a half dozen copies of the issue in which my article appears. I would also like you to send complimentary copies (at my expense) to the persons whose names appear below. They are people whom I think would be interested in subscribing to New South, and in the case of Wilson and Jane Record--persons of stature in the Social Sciences who might well wish to contribute to the journal. Jane (Mrs. Wilson Record) is a member of a very old Georgia family (Cassels), and is Chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of Portland. Wilson, who is on the Editorial Board of Phylon, is of course a very well known Sociologist who comes from Texas. Both are friends of mine.

Please send copies to:

Dr. and Mrs. Wilson Record
Departmentof Sociology
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon

Attorney R. Eugene Pincham
7425 S. Stewart Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Raye Pace Alexander
330 E. 70th Street Apt 2C
New York, New York

Professor Evelyn Kennedy
1608 Scovel Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. J. T. Wright
525 Pat Haven Drive
Mt. Lebanon, Pennsylvania

Dr. Clifton Dyson
801 3rd St.
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Your cooperation is very much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

C. Eric Lincoln, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology

CEL:gc

November 4, 1966

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

Enclosed are author's galleys of your NEW SOUTH article. If you would give them a reading and return to us as soon as possible, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

October 13, 1966

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Department of Sociology
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

Just a short note to let you know your article arrived in good time for our fall deadline. All of us think it a distinguished contribution to the magazine and hope that you will keep us in mind for the future.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - $75.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: _____

SEVENTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($75.00)

TO: _____

Name
Dr. C. Eric Lincoln

Address
Department of Sociology
Portland State College

City and State
Portland, Oregon

REASON FOR PAYMENT: _____

~~Article for NEW SOUTH~~ Fall, 1966 issue

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

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DATE _____ 19____

REQUESTED BY: 10/13/ 66

APPROVED: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

Paul Anthony, SRc Executive Director

File

September 13, 1966

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Department of Sociology
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

We are certainly delighted to have your article, "The Race Problem and International Relations," for the fall issue of NEW SOUTH. I'm enclosing your manuscript so that you might make the additions that you and Pat have discussed. One other suggestion occurs to me -- as perhaps it has to you. -- and that is that some brief attention should be given to the Verwoerd assassination.

In case Pat hasn't mentioned it, our fall deadline is October 1.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE PORTLAND, OREGON

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

9/12/66

Perit

Sept 8

Dear Pat —

(A moment at my desk before I leave to go salmon fishing):

Glad to know you can use the article in November. Please do so.

As you have the only revised copy, I will need a copy of it to make the further revisions you want.

Can have "Black Power and Malcolm X" ready for your issue following the November issue.

Since I do not have

Lincoln - Soc

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE
P.O. BOX 751
PORTLAND, OREGON-97207

THE WELCOME MAT IS OUT IN OREGON!

PORTLAND OREG. U.S. POSTAGE 08 PB METER PB 376297

A 1R

Ms. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga 30303

THE WELCOME MAT IS OUT IN OREGON!

PORTLAND OREG. U.S. POSTAGE 08 PB METER PB 376297

PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE PORTLAND, OREGON

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Your summer issue, I
would not be on your mailing
list. Please remedy this
and bill me accordingly.

Best,

C Eric

THE RACE PROBLEM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

by

C. Eric Lincoln

Last year at the request of the State Department, I did a tour of certain European capitals lecturing at various universities and before other groups interested in the American race problem. The official title of my lecture series was "Social Change in a Democratic Society." The unofficial title was "What the Hell's Going on in Selma, Alabama!" The lectures were necessary, or at least expedient as a function of the State Department in its constant effort to shore up a chronically deteriorating political position deriving from the world wide knowledge of worsening race relations at home. Traveling with me was Attorney Wiley Branton, formerly chief counsel for the Little Rock Nine who integrated Central High School under the protection of federal troops in 1957, and later, Director of the Voter Education Project in the South. Mr. Branton is now a member of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach's Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. As a sociologist and a lawyer, we were billed together as a team of persons who had been, and were both practically and theoretically involved in the dramatic and painful social change which was shaking the foundations of the American Commonwealth.

We were late. Late. The damage had already been done. A thousand pictures in a thousand newspapers in a thousand cities and towns in Europe, Asia and Africa had given to millions of people an irrevocable concept of the social depravity that grips America. The faces of hatred that obtruded themselves into the range of the cameras at Little Rock and Oxford, were, when they were shown to us in Europe, undeniable representations of American character. They were visual, They were substantial. They were real. In comparison to ~~snarls on the faces of the dogs at Birmingham and Selma,~~ the late- distorted faces of the women who screamed and spat, and cursed and threw rocks at Little Rock and New Orleans, the snarls on the faces of the dogs at Birmingham and Selma were more human and more humane. Although neither Mr. Branton nor myself could by any stretch of an objective imagination be considered apologists for the federal government or for the American people; too often what we had to say was lost altogether or seriously devalued in the preconceptions derived from the news, which daily offered its vivid contradictions to ~~these American~~ our own, more disciplined presentations. ~~of its self-image.~~ We shall return to this later.

The race problem in international relations is at least as old as the American republic itself. Indeed, it antedates the American Revolution, and it is one of the ironies of history that the problem was first laid at the door of British arrogance as being foisted upon an unwilling and unsympathetic colonial population in the form of African slavery. By the opening of the last quarter of the 18th

Century as British-American interests became increasingly strained, the continued traffic in slaves became so obnoxious to some of the colonists as to make possible an agreement in the Continental Congress in the fall of 1774 that prohibited the importation of slaves after December 1, 1775.[1]

Reflecting what he doubtless thought to be the prevailing sentiment, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" in which he claimed that the abolition of slavery was greatly desired in the colonies, but that the human objectives of the colonists were continuously blocked by the British policy then obtaining. But Jefferson overestimated the enthusiasm of his compatriots to be rid of slavery, for when in his initial draft of the Declaration of Independence he charged the British king with having:

> ... waged cruel war against nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery into another hemisphere... (and having) prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce...paying off crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another...[2]

the visionary Jefferson found himself at odds with the materialistic interests of the southern delegation who persisted in having all mention of the slave trade striken from the declaration.

This was perhaps the first time the race problem had entered into American international relations. It has been a constant factor in our international posture ever since.

Another early incidence which portended the unremitting trouble and embarrassment the race problem was to cause the United States in international relations was the use of Negro soldiers in the war for independence. George Washington once articulated his own premonition that the Negroes in America would become "a troublesome species of property" as the generations succeeded each other. History has confirmed his clairvoyance, for as "property" and as "people," they have indeed been a troublesome irritant of the domestic tranquility, and an annoying diffraction of our image abroad.

Washington's questions of the use of Negro soldiers was prompted by the consciences of some colonials who felt it somehow inappropriate to the spirit of justice to allow Negroes to die for a freedom in which they were to have but a scant, ~~disjunctive~~ illusive participation, if any at all, and by the more practical issue of whether the British would use Negroes as soldiers if the colonies did.[3] Washington and his advisors - including Major Generals Ward, Lee, and Putnam, and Brigadier Generals Thomas, Spencer, Heath, Sullivan, Greene and Gates were unamimous in their desire to keep it a white man's war on both sides.[4] It is one of the ironies of American history that well before Washington assumed command of the colonial forces Negroes had already distinguished themselves at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; and indeed, Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, had been the first American to give his life for American independance at the Battle of King Street five years earlier. "From that moment," Daniel Webster was to say, "we may date the severance of the British Empire."

In spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that ~~Negroes were,~~ a good number of free Negroes (and probably some slaves), were already under arms, Washington's council of war, supported by a civilian committee which included Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Lynch and the deputy governors of Rhode Island and Connetticut, issued an order on November 12, 1775 barring the enlistment of Negroes, slave or free. A quick reversal of policy was forthcoming when it became known that this racial contribution to international policy would come to ~~all came to~~ nothing, for Lord Dunmore, the British governor of Virginia had five days earlier issued a proclamation inviting all Negroes, slave or free, to join his Majesty's troops "for the more speedily reducing (the rebel colonies) to proper dignity." Washington, of course, recanted, and Congress subsequently approved the enlistment of free Negroes. Most of the individual states went even further - many of them enacting specific legislation to permit the enlistment of slaves as well as free men of color.[5]

Such was the inauspicious beginning of a foreign policy which has ever since required a peculiar recognition ~~cognizance~~ of America's peculiar problem. As the passing years have become history, the problem has not abated. Indeed it has grown more monstrous in character, more difficult to control, and impossible to conceal. On the other hand, it is also ~~decidedly~~ more difficult to document than in the early days of the republic. Our contemporary statesmen are more sophisticated and perhaps less troubled

than by a certain expediency that returns them to office.

by matters of conscience. The political stakes are often bigger than the welfare of colored minorities. Then too, We belong to, and are closely allied with a confraternity of nations whose recent past is stained with the scarcely dried blood of colonialism, and we have high economic and political stakes in some countries for which ~~where~~ racial oppression and exploitation without apology is a determined, ~~modern~~, world defying way of life. And in this regard, we are aware, and the world is aware that without our support, direct or indirect, and without our approval, tacit or articutated in whatever kind of diplomatic jargon. ~~double talk~~, no nation now following an overt policy of racial oppression could long sustain itself or its policies. International diplomacy has become largely a matter of personal committments between heads of state, or of their personal representatives. But now we must also reckon with the fact that ~~And finally,~~ civil rights groups wield an ever-increasing amout of political power at home making it politically hazardous for any American foreign ~~international~~ policy with racial overtones to become public knowledge. All these factors make it extremely difficult to document satisfactorily the impact of the race problem on contemporary international relations. There is of course a great deal of speculation - informed and uninformed. But hard data are difficult to come by.

An incident which developed during World War I, for example, could hardly take place today. At the beginning of the war there was a great deal of opposition from Southern politicians to the drafting of Negroes into fighting units of the regular Army, and particularly to their being sent overseas

~~when~~ where it was feared that they might have experiences which would make them dissatisfied with the status they occupied at home. Segregation was of course the order of the day in the American armed forces of World War I, but beyond its own prejudices, the American military establishment longed so desperately to universalize those prejudices that it attempted to impose them by directive upon the military personnel of at least one sovereign foreign power. In a document entitled Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops issued by United States Army authorities in Paris, the following were included among instructions offered the French Military Missions regarding their proper relations to Negro troops:

> "there would be no intimacy between French officers and Black officers," it stated. "We must be courteous and amiable with these last (ie., blacks) but we cannot deal with them on the same plane as with white American officers without deeply wounding the latter." Further, "We must not eat with them, must not shake hands with them or seek to meet with them outside the requirements of military service.
>
> The directive also stated, "We must not commend too highly the black American troops, particularly in the presence of white Americans ..." "Make a point of keeping the native cantonment population from "spoiling" the Negroes.... White Americans become greatly incensed at any public expression of intimacy between white women and black men."[6]

While it may be argued that this racial back-biting was not the "official policy" of the United States government, it was certainly the official policy of the Unite States military, and as such it was intended to influence in a significant way the international relations of the country as a whole. The

matter was exposed by W. E. B. DuBois, then editor of the Crisis Magazine, the official organ of the NAACP.[7]

Perhaps the most dramatic instance of official American concern with the effect of domestic problems of race relations on international policy prior to World War II, developed with our deep apprenhension about the Garvey movement of the 1920's. It is ~~at the same time~~ admittedly a concern most difficult to document now, forty years or so later. Nevertheless, the fact remains that garveyism generated a black following (which it numbered at more than three million - and which in any case could hardly have been less than 500,000), which became a matter of international uneasiness. Garvey's headquarters were in New York City, where at the First International Convention of his Universal Improvement Association in August of 1920, the black population of twenty-five countries were represented. Garvey's opening address was heard by 25,000 people.[8] Since the UNIA was essentially black zionism - designed to lead the Negroes of the world "back to Africa," it found great favor with the white racial ~~ially~~ conservative ~~elements~~ of the day. The problem in international relations arose when it began to appear that the ludicrous little Jamaican who called himself the Provisional President of Africa might actually attempt to establish a colony on that continent.

President Edwin Barclay of Liberia with whom Garvey was negotiating for a beachhead promised to "afford the Association every facility legally possible in effectuating in Liberia its industrial, agricultural and business projects."

But Barclay also felt moved to inform Garvey that "The British and French have inquired. ... It is not always advisable nor politic to openly expose our secret intentions," the Liberian president went on. "We don't tell them what we think; we only tell them what we like them to hear - what, in fact, they like to hear."[9]

Garvey himself felt no need for caution. He declared in a public address: "We say to the white man who now dominates Africa that it is to his interest to clear out of Africa now, because we are coming ... 400,000,000 strong. ... We shall not ask England or France or Italy or Belgium, 'Why are you here?' We shall only command them, 'Get out of here.'"[10]

By 1924 the Garvey Movement was growing from strength to strength. It had a full slate of officers in its Provisional Cabinet, a Provisional President, a flag, a Provisional Army, a steamship line to transport people of African descent back to Africa, a Flying Corps, a motor Corps, a Nursing Corps, a religious order built around a Black God and a Black Madonna and Child, and a newspaper printed in English, French and Spanish with a circulation throughout the Negro world. And it had the promise of land in Liberia. The European colonial powers became alarmed and they communicated their concern to the American government and to its Liberian protectorate. Suddenly in the summer of 1924 the Liberian government (which had welcomed several Garvey missions - one as late as June 1924, and whose Mayor of Monrovia had accepted the post of Secretary of State in Garvey's provisional government), sent a diplomatic note to the United States

announcing that it was "irrevocably opposed both in principle and in fact to the incendiary policy of the Universal Negro Improvement Association headed by Marcus Garvey." Furthermore, the lands promised Garvey were now leased instead to the Firestone Rubber Corporation."[11] Soon after, Garvey was imprisoned on an old charge of using the mails to defraud in the promotion of his steamship line. He was convicted in February of 1925 and sent to federal prison in Atlanta where he remained until his sentence was commuted by President Coolidge in 1927.

Garvey's enemies were many. Among his bitterest opponents were the "respectable" Negro leaders of the day who made trouble for him whenever they could. But the Universal Negro Improvement was a mass movement of international proportions, and as such, at the time of its zenith, too big to be seriously affected by the limited power of the established Negro leadership of that day. We can only surmise from the scant evidence available that the influence of the Garvey Movement came to an abrupt end throughout the black man's world because it was escalated to a high place on the agenda of international relations, and that American diplomacy did not shrink from its indicated task.

It is not remarkable that the race problem in America did not really gain significant status in the definition of American foreign policy until the end of World War II. ~~Our~~ America's problem is essentially a problem of black people subjugated

by white people, a not unfamiliar phenomenon in the last three hundred years of Western history. The nations with which we maintained diplomatic relations have been for most of the life of this republic, white nations, ~~who~~ which like ourselves, were engaged in the exploitations of non-white peoples. There was little reason to be concerned about our image abroad with reference to racial abuses at home. We were all members of the same international club. What is more, our image-makers felt no need to be concerned about our racial behavior abroad insofar as that behavior might be obnoxious to the non-white minority at home. From the mid-19th century on there were few sovereign non-white peoples of any consequence left anywhere in the world with the possible exception of Japan, and ever since the French Revolution the doctrine of superior and inferior races had continued to gain adherents in strategic positions of power all over the world, and for many a Western nation, racism as a policy was implicitly if not explicitly adopted as a decision-making reference in foreign and domestic policy.

Here in the United States, since the beginning of the Convention Movement in the early 1830's, Negroes have been engaged in a forlorn and bitter struggle directed toward the elimination of color as the chief criterion of individual worth. Even in the face of that unimaginative judicial decision in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson, which in 1896 plunged the country into a half century of legal discrimination, not only did the Negro American continue the struggle

for his own liberation, but he shortly took up the cause of freedom for his African brothers whose thralldom was in many ways worse than his own.

From around 1900 onward, when they themselves were little more than a generation out of absolute slavery, and far from being "free" in the civilized sense of the word, Negroes in America displayed a progressive interest in Africa and did what they could to improve the lot of the African and to make his yoke lighter. That this is so is all the more remarkable in that seldom in his long history in America did the American Negro have available to him either a favorable or a reasonably accurate stereotype of African culture or African personality. the American Negro, to the extent of his limited resources, The American writers who strain the facts to make it appear that Africans and Negro Americans have always had mutually exclusive interests have either not given proper examination to the data available, or they have misread it.[12]

Nevertheless, shouldered the African's burden — at least psychologically and symbolically — with his own.

At a Pan-African Congress which met in London in July of 1900 it was William Edward Burghardt DuBois, Chairman of the Conference's Committee on Address to the Nations of the World, who articulated the American Negro's feelings and his concern about Africa. Cried DuBois:

> Let the British Nation, the first modern champion of Negro freedom, hasten to ... give, as soon as practicable the rights of responsible government to the Black Colonies of Africa and the West Indies.[13]

The first of five Pan-African Congresses which together constitute the modern movement which played an important role in African independence was convened in Paris in 1919 a few miles from where the Peace Conference was sitting in Versailles.

It is revealing that President Woodrow Wilson tried to prevail upon French Premier Georges Clemenceau to send DuBois home, and Acting Secretary of State Polk had already assured the American people that the State Department had been advised by the French government that no such conference could be held. The State Department accordingly ~~then~~ refused to issue passports to Negro delegates from the United States who wished to attend.[14] However, Clemenceau called in Blaise Diagne, the black French Deputy from Senegal, and after being assured by Diagne that the conference was not designed to sow disaffections among his African troops, Clemenceau permitted it to proceed.[15]

Among other accomplishments the Conference drafted a petition urging the Allies to place the former German colonies in Africa under international supervision against the day when they would become self-governing. A diluted version of this ~~the~~ proposal was in fact incorporated into the Mandate system of the League of Nations.

Other Pan-African Conferences met in London, Brussels and Paris (capitals of the leading European Colonial powers) in 1921; London and Lisbon, in 1923; New York City in 1927; and Manchester, England in 1945. At the 1945 meeting, names like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and Nnomdi Azikiwe were prominent in the affairs of the Congress. Pan-Africanism, which in the early years had been largely the voice of the American Negro (led by W. E. B. DuBois) had now come of age

and would soon express itself in the nationalism that was to gain most of Africa her freedom.

In 1935 when Italy engaged in its infamous "rape of Ethiopia," Negro masses in the United States boycotted Italian merchants and Negro leaders made representations to the federal government. Citizens organizations were set up to aid Ethiopia, and a delegation of American Negroes attended the International Peace Campaign in Brussels in 1936.[16]

More recently, some of the country's most distinguished Negro leaders met as the American Negro Leadership Conference On Africa at Columbia University in 1962, and in Washington in 1965 to express solidarity with the African community and to call upon the federal government to reexamine its policies toward the African states. A preamble to a list of resolutions made at the first Leadership Conference declares:

> The American Negro community in the United States has a special responsibility to urge a dynamic African policy upon our government. Although we have a serious civil rights problem which exhausts much of our energy, we cannot separate this struggle at home from that abroad. If the United States cannot help win freedom in Africa, we cannot expect to maintain the trust and friendship of the newly-independent and soon-to-be independent peoples of Africa and Asia.[17]

Among the resolutions offered was one which deplored "the use of any arm of our government to protect those who are working for the interests of the people of the Congo, Angola and Mozambique." Another deplored "our government's opposition to the United Nations resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa," while a third urged "the American gov-

ernment to insure that no arms, weapons or war material supplied to Portugal by the United States are used against the people of Portuguese territories in Africa in its efforts to keep the people in subjugation".[18]

Whether the federal establishment was impressed to the point of modifying any of its policies toward Africa can only be guessed, but is was impressed enough to send no fewer than sixteen observers from the State Department to the Second Conference meeting in 1964, as well as other observers from the Agency of International Development and the United States Information Agency. No doubt encouraged by this indication of concern, the Conference ~~they~~ recommended the establishment of a permanent body to carry out its aims and purposes, and prominent among them was the establishment of a lobby in Washington in behalf of its objectives.

The Pan-African Movement could well have been interpreted by careful political observers to mean that responsible Negroes in the United States were gradually accumulating a community of experiences with their African counterparts that could only lead to increased mutual respect and concern. The Negro's insistent battle for integration at home has been grossly misinterpreted as an absence of concern for non-whites elsewhere in the world, especially in Africa. Such thinking is indicative of the superficial nature of the contact between Negroes and their interpreters, and it reflects the stereotyped thinking about what Negroes want, or ought to want. The American Negro

does of course give priority to the improvement of his own status at home. So do all other civilized people, ~~but~~ and such a priority is obviously necessary if he is to win a position from which he may realistically expect to be of help to others who too are struggling against the constraints of various forms of racism.

The riot in the gallery of the United Nations in February of 1961 represented an emotional overflow experienced by Negroes who saw in Patrice Lumumba the African counterpart of countless numbers of Negroes who have been martyred and murdered in America. Said one observer:

> The demonstrators in the United Nations gallery interpreted the murder of Lumumba as the international lynching of a black man on the altar of colonialism and white supremacy. Suddenly, to them at least, Lumumba became Emmett Till and all the other black victims of lynch law and the mob. The plight of the Africans still fighting to throw off the yoke of colonialism and the plight of the Afro-Americans, still waiting for a rich, strong and boastful nation to redeem the promise of freedom and citizenship became one and the same.[19]

The U N disturbance caught American diplomacy off guard. In the matter of African colonialism we have tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, and if our two faces have been obvious, we have been more concerned about maintaining our "friendships" with ~~non-white~~ nations owning militarily strategic plots of real estate than we have with minority group opinion at home. In short, in times past the sensibilities of our home grown Negroes have scarcely been a major factor

in the way in which we have plotted our international policy. There is some indication that change is in the air.

There is what novelist John O. Killens calls a "Brotherhood of Blackness." This "brotherhood" has no necessary relationship to black nationalism, or Pan-Africanism, or to any kind of political unity based on race. It is, says Killens, "the Fellowship of the Wretched and Disinherited." Membership is involuntary and is a necessary derivative of being black in a world ruled by a white hegemony.

> We have been for centuries the victims of White Supremacy, that fountainhead of the Western Judeo-Christian world. White Supremacy brought the club together all over this unhappy earth, and designated the members of the Brotherhood as "niggers." It was the Great Recruiter. But now the time is long past for us to call the meeting of the Brotherhood to order, the first order of business being the bringing about of the downfall of our Founder.[20]

What Killens is saying in his monologue on blackness is that Negroes in America know, or at least some of them know that their problem is more than a matter of local acceptance by the neighborhood PTA. It is a problem of attitude that is not restricted to them because they are "Negroes", or because their fathers were slaves, but because they are not white. This realization gives an entirely new dimension to the problem and adds to it international implications of increasing complexity. Among other things, it says that the civil rights fight in the United States is but one segment of a global battle to take the profit and the power out of color--or the lack of it.

President Truman saw clearly the growing importance of race in the formation of foreign policy as far back as 1946 when he set up a committee to study the problem of civil rights. The committee report left no doubt that the President's concern was well justified. Its report to the President read in part:

> Our position in the post-war world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. We have come to know that our own security in a highly interdependent world is inextricably tied to the security and well-being of all people and all countries. Our foreign policy is designed to make the United States an enormous, positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. We have tried to let nothing, not even extreme political differences between ourselves and foreign nations, stand in the way of this goal. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle. (Emphasis, mine).....The international reason for acting to secure our civil rights now is not to win the approval of our totalitarian critics. .....But we are more concerned with the good opinion of the peoples of the world..... The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of our record.[21]

It is significant that the committee report based its rationale for wishing to improve the domestic civil rights situation not on its own merits, nor upon common justice, but upon the desire to harvest "the good opinion of the peoples of the world..." In this effort we have hardly been successful. Possibly it is precisely because our motives have been political rather than humanitarian. Non-whites abroad know that the spirit of promotional expedience which motivates

"justice" in the United States today may well be the same spirit which operates in the highly speculative political arrangements they have frequently found themselves a party to with the United States. James Farmer, who as National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality reported after a tour of Africa in 1965:

> In the course of my travels, I found that the image of the United States in the minds of most of the Africans I met was distinctly unfavorable. It was compounded of two factors: reports of the American Negro's struggle for freedom in the context of a dominant white power structure that, to the African, is all too reminiscent of colonial authority; and the effect created by present United States policies in Africa.[22]

Farmer adds gratuitously, that Anti-Americanism is increasing in Africa and that much of the increase is not due solely to sympathy for the Negro struggle, but is a direct response to our foreign policy. "It is," he says, "widely believed that the United States has, for whatever reasons, allied itself with the most reactionary forces in Africa," and this policy is "regarded as diversive and potentially destructive of African unity....They base their distrust of the United States on three main aspects of our policy: our activities in the Congo, our relations with South Africa, and our relations with Portugal."[23]

It is of course very widely believed by Negroes in this country as well as by most Africans (and doubtless, many Asians), that tacit American support is the key factor in the stability of the government of South Africa and in that country's arrogant suppression of human rights.

More recently the question of Vietman has raised fresh questions pertaining to the possible existense of an international diplomacy in which racial considerations may be decisive. Not many Negroes believe, for example, that the United States and Russia (another white nation) will ever fight each other. On the other hand, it is a common belief that our policies toward China are racially motivated, and that sometime in the future the United States and Russia will join in a war of elimination against the yellow Chinese. The loosing of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima rather than on Berlin during World War II is cited widely as de facto evidence of the racial cast of our international policy.

The war in Vietnam poses a real emotional dilemma for the typical Negro American. His traditional patriotism and his unwillingness to be identified with what to him is "finksmanship" (which he translates as various strategies for avoiding military service) represent opposing values. And although he does not see the Vietnamese problem as being directly related to his problem of racial identity here in the United States, he does have a vague suspicion that he is a pawn in a racial contest which requires him to serve and die in disproportionate numbers fighting a people of whom he'd never heard over an issue he does not understand. He winces when he hears the white man refer to the Vietnamese as "yellow bastards" for he knows that on the emotional spectrum of the same white man, yellow and black may lie side by side. He remembers with what reluctance Negroes were permitted to fight the Germans in both World Wars, and he suspects that his

color is being used as a diplomatic asset in a foreign policy anxious to deny that the Vietnam war is a race ~~war.~~ between whites and non-whites.

While some of the civil rights organizations like the NAACP have found it injudicious to associate themselves with the Veitnam peace movement. Others like Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (which are perhaps less vulnerable to reaction by their supporters) have gone on record decrying the war in Vietnam. In a public statement on Vietnam, SNCC declared in part:

> We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself....
>
> Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders....
>
> The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam....
>
> We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and concern. We question then the ability and even the desire of the United States Government to quarantee free elections abroad.... [24]
>
> We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in the name of the "freedom" we find so false in this country....

> We take note of the fact that 16% of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home.[24]

As the Negro minority grows more vocal, as it becomes more politically powerful, and as its identification with the struggles of emergent Africa and Asia is more widely accepted, it will doubtless serve increasingly to provide a counterweight to the present racial tone which seems to characterize our foreign policy. This will be well for the future of the United States if we seriously contemplate the leadership and the respect of what is left of the free world. Professor Arnold Rose correctly observes that in "the present drive to obliterate segregation and discrimination, there is no doubt that one of the catalysts that set the process in motion after World War II was the growing realization in top government circles that discrimination in the United States would hurt, perhaps irreparably should it continue, our fight against Communism."[25]

Thus it is that our foreign relations program, or by extension, ~~the~~ our fear of Communism becomes ~~the great liberator~~ an important liberating factor ~~for~~ in the social struggle at home. It has been said frequently that the Germans (in two world wars) have done more to liberate the American Negro than all of the churches, all of the courts and all of the "goodwill" in America. If this is true, how ironic would be ~~is~~ the prospect of the final liberation coming from the Red Chinese!

NOTES

1. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom 2nd edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956, p. 127.

2. Ibid, p. 128.

3. Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1962. Chicago, Illinois: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1962, p. 56.

4. John Hope Franklin, op. cit., p. 131.

5. Ibid,p. 134.

6. Charles P. Howard, Freedomways, Spring, 1963, p. 175

7. Ibid, p. 175.

8. C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims In America, Boston: Beacon Press, 1961, p. 59.

9. Ibid, p. 61.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, p. 63.

12. See Essien-Udom, "The Relationship of Afro-Americans to African Nationalism," Freedomways, Fall 1966, p. 391.

13. Rayford Logan. "The Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism: A Personal Chronicle." African Forum. Summer, 1965, p. 90.

14. Charles P. Howard, op. cit., p. 175.

15. Rayford Logan, op. cit., p. 94.

16. John A. Davis,"The Influence of Africans on American Culture" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. July, 1964. p. 81.

17. American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, Resolutions, Harriman: New York, November 23, 24, 25, 1962.

18. Ibid.

19. John Henrick Clark. "The New Afro-American Nationalism," Freedomways, Fall 1961, p. 285.

20. "Brotherhood of Blackness," Negro Digest, May 1966, p. 5.

21. To Secure These Rights, The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 146-148.

22. "An American Negro's View of African Unity." African Forum, p. 73

23. Ibid, p. 76.

24. Freedomways, Winter, 1966, pp. 6,7.

25. Minority Problems, Arnold and Caroline Rose (eds.), New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

January 29, 1963

Mr. Sonny Paul
Stein Printing Company
2161 Monroe Drive, N.E.
P. O. Box 13426
Atlanta 24, Georgia

Dear Mr. Paul:

Thank you for submitting a bid for our monthly publication, New South. We have let the contract, and regret to inform you that your firm was not the one selected.

We hope that you will wish to bid on subsequent publications of ours, and we, again, express our appreciation to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

QUOTATION

STEIN Craftsmen

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY • 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N. E. • P.O. BOX 13426 • ATLANTA 24, GEORGIA
TRINITY 5-0421

January 16, 1963
Stein's 39th Year

Mrs. Montese Albright
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Here is the information
you requested, Mrs. Albright, for printing
12 issues of "NEW SOUTH".

Prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	6 x 9.
PAPER:	60 lb. Consolidated Gloss.
PAGES:	16 pages - no cover.
COLORS:	Printed in two colors.
ENGRAVINGS:	Furnished by Southern Regional Council.
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set all type.
PRESSWORK:	Printed in two colors by letterpress.
BINDERY:	Fold, saddle stitch and trim to 6 x 9, and refold to fit No. 10 envelope.
QUANTITY:	6,000 . . . . . $541.76
DELIVERY:	Final delivery will be made within ten working days after receipt of final copy. This does not include the time necessary for Southern Regional Council to check the proofs.

The first proofs will be galley proofs and the second proofs will be page proofs.

ACCEPTED BY

(Next Page Please)

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CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

ART WORK, DRAWINGS, type, plates (including lithographic plates), engravings, electrotypes, negatives, positives, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing. The printer assumes no obligation to hold plates, electrotypes or standing type after the completion of a job, unless specified in this proposal. The printer will charge at its current rates for all type and metal held standing at customer's order.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for extra work performed. Mortising and other work on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT—The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes, or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or defamatory, or constitutes an invasion of privacy or unfair competition or violates or infringes any copyright, patent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES—All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

QUOTATION

STEIN Craftsmen

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY • 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N. E. • P.O. BOX 13426 • ATLANTA 24, GEORGIA
TRINITY 5-0421

Trust this covers everything we discussed, Mrs. Albright. If you need any further information, please contact me.

If Stein is given this job, you can be sure that it will be produced to your complete satisfaction.

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

ACCEPTED BY

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_____19_____

CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

ART WORK, DRAWINGS, type, plates (including lithographic plates), engravings, electrotypes, negatives, positives, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing. The printer assumes no obligation to hold plates, electrotypes or standing type after the completion of a job, unless specified in this proposal. The printer will charge at its current rates for all type and metal held standing at customer's order.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for extra work performed. Mortising and other work on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT — The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes, or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or defamatory, or constitutes an invasion of privacy or unfair competition or violates or infringes any copyright, patent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES—All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

January 29, 1963

Mr. Joe Mitchell
Williams Printing Company
3456 Peachtree Hills Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for submitting a bid for our monthly publication, New South. We have let the contract, and regret to inform you that your firm was not the one selected.

We hope that you will wish to bid on subsequent publications of ours, and we, again, express our appreciation to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

CEdar 7-1684

QUOTATION

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

PRODUCERS OF FINE CREATIVE PRINTING AND LITHOGRAPHY

December 31, 1962

Southern Regional Conference
Attn: Mr Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We are pleased to submit the following proposal:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
6000	Magazine (11 issues)	498.00 per issue	
	Additional for hand folding to fit #10 envelope	30.00 per issue	
	Additional M's run at same time 40.00 per M - plus 5.00 for folding to #10		

SPECIFICATIONS

SIZE	6 x 9
PAPER STOCK	Sub 70 Coated Enamel
COMPOSITION	Williams to do
ART	Not included
PASTE UP AND MECHANICAL ART	
ENGRAVINGS	Furnished by customer
PROCESS AND COLORS	Printed letterpress
BINDING	Saddle-stitched
PACKAGING	
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet.

ACCEPTED_____ 19____

BY_____

Respectfully Submitted,

Joe Mitchell

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

WILLIAMS ATLANTA

STANDARD TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF PURCHASES AND SALES

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance within fifteen days.

SKETCHES, ARTWORK, dummies, engravings, electrotypes, offset negatives and plates, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing.

ALL COPY shall be legible and in condition suitable for efficient setting of type. If copy is not in such a usable condition, additional charges may be made for conditioning. No such charges will be made, however, without agreement by the purchaser.

ARTWORK, PHOTOGRAPHS, ENGRAVINGS, or any other materials furnished by the purchaser, shall be in proper condition so as to be used without any additional expenses for conditioning. If and when such expenses are necessary, they will be borne by the purchaser.

ONE TO TWO PROOFS as may be required, will be submitted with the original copy. Additional proofs are subject to extra charge. Alterations from original copy or proofs may be charged for without special agreement.

OVERAGES OR SHORTAGES not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

PRODUCTION AND DELIVERY SCHEDULES mentioned in this quotation are approximate unless specifically guaranteed, and in any event are variable in case proofs are not promptly okayed or are returned with changes which require additional time. They are subject to delays by strikes, fires, accidents, or failure of material suppliers to meet schedule, and any other conditions beyond our control.

ACCEPTANCE of this quotation constitutes an order for the printing described therein on the terms and conditions as set out. Such orders are not subject to cancellation by the purchaser except upon payment for services, materials, and labor which have been provided and expended by Williams Printing Company.

ALL PRICES are net cash 30 days, local delivery, or F.O.B., Atlanta, Ga., unless otherwise specified. All claims must be made within five days after receipt of goods.

LOCAL SALES TAXES are not included in this quotation unless otherwise specified.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

January 29, 1963

Mr. John S. McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street, N.W.
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

This is our letter of contract for publication of New South, for one year: January through December, 1963.

The specifications are: 6" x 9", 16 pages, self-cover in two colors, folded for No. 10 size envelope. The price quoted is 6,000 per issue at $524.70. (Over 6,000 at $35.00 per 1,000). Paper stock is to be 70 pound Production Gloss, printing by letterpress, finishing will be flush trim, saddle stitch and fold for No. 10 envelope.

We would still like very much to receive the color chart, the work sheets with time schedules for receiving and returning proofs (with deadlines for both SRC and Higgins-McArthur), and the format re-design suggestions. Mr. Dunbar said that he is not unduly attached to the map.

It is our understanding that the magazine will be delivered to us in one month or sooner from the time of your receiving the copy, provided we meet our deadlines as outlined on the work sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

HIGGINS-McARTHUR Company

IS PLEASED TO QUOTE

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

FOR DISTINCTIVE PRINTING

December 31, 1962

DESCRIPTION:	QUANTITY	Price Per____	TOTAL PRICE
Magazine entitled "New South" 6" x 9", 16 pages, self-cover in two colors, folded for No. 10 size envelope	6,000	issue	$ 524.70
	(Over 6,000, $35.00 per 1,000)		

SPECIFICATIONS:

PAPER STOCK 70 lb. Production Gloss

PRINTING Letterpress

FINISHING Flush trim, saddle stitch
Fold for No. 10 envelope

ITEM:	Furnished by US	Furnished by YOU
ORIGINAL LAYOUT		
PHOTOGRAPHS		
FINISHED ART WORK		
TYPOGRAPHY		
REPRO PROOFS		
CAMERA READY COPY		
PLATES		

MEMORANDA:

Format re-design will be offered any time it is requested at no additional cost.

BY: John Stuart McKenzie
John Stuart McKenzie

HIGGINS-McARTHUR COMPANY / Telephone JA 2-3306
302 HAYDEN STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA

January 29, 1963

Mr. John Rogers
Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.
226 Luckie Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Thank you for submitting a bid for our monthly publication, New South. We have let the contract, and regret to inform you that your firm was not the one selected.

We hope that you will wish to bid on subsequent publications of ours, and we, again, express our appreciation to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGNERS

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 LUCKIE STREET, NW • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JAckson 5-8654

December 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
6,000 Copies	"New South"	per issue	$542.00
	Additional Copies per thousand		$ 56.25
	Cuts, if any, will be extra		

SPECIFICATIONS Sixteen pages, including self cover. Printed in black and one color. Saddle Stitched. Fold to fit No.10 envelope. Paper is to be White 70 lb. enamel. Printed with Union label. Page size 6"x 9".

We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

John Rogers

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

John Rogers

JR/sjg

January 29, 1963

Mr. Buck Roberts
Longino & Porter, Inc.
Hapeville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Thank you for submitting a bid for our monthly publication, New South. We have let the contract, and regret to inform you that your firm was not the one selected.

We hope that you will wish to bid on subsequent publications of ours, and we, again, express our appreciation to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

longino and porter inc.

HAPEVILLE, GEORGIA | PHONE PO1-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

December 6, 1962

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth Street N.W. Atlanta, Georgia Attn: Mr. Paul Anthony
Description	Eleven issues of "New South" (monthly except July and August)
Quantities	6-M per issue - 11 issues
Size	16 pages self cover - 6 x 9 page size
Paper and Materials	70# Production gloss
Art Work	Longino & Porter
Engravings	None
Composition	Longino & Porter
Process and Colors	2 Colors
Binding	Saddle stitched and folded for # 10
Special Packing	Cartons
Delivery	
Prices	6-M per issues- 11 issues @ $ 451.00 per issue Additional Ms run on $ 48.00 per M
Other Specifications	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Buck

Buck Roberts

STANDARD TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF PURCHASES AND SALES

Orders which are given and accepted on the basis of this quotation are not subject to cancellation except upon payment for services, materials and labor which have been provided and expended by Longino & Porter, Inc.

Sketches, art work, dummies, engravings, electrotypes, offset negatives and plates, cutting and stamping dies, engraving dies, and other such materials which are provided by Longino & Porter, Inc., do not become the property of the purchaser unless there is a special agreement to that effect.

Upon the request of purchaser, type matter will be held for a period of sixty days without charge, but storage for a longer period of time is subject to additional charge unless there is a special provision for such storage.

This quotation is made on the assumption that copy will be legible and in condition suitable for efficient setting of type. If copy is not in such usable condition, an additional cost will be involved and additional charges may be made. No such charges will be made, however, without agreement by the purchaser.

Any materials furnished by the purchaser, such as paper, photographs, art work, engravings, or other items shall be in proper condition as to be used without any additional expenses for conditioning on the part of Longino & Porter, Inc. If and when such expenses are necessary they will be borne by the purchaser.

One to two proofs, as may be required, will be submitted with the original copy. Additional proofs are subject to extra charge. Alterations from original copy after proof is submitted may be charged for without special agreement. Press proofs will not be submitted, unless provided for in this quotation, except at an additional charge.

Materials such as engravings and electrotypes which are the purchaser's property will be held in our plant upon request, but we assume no responsibility for replacement of such material in the event of its loss or damage.

Any alterations in the specifications on which this quotation is based which will increase or lower costs will be added to or deducted from the amounts quoted.

Overages or shortages not to exceed ten percent shall be acceptable to purchaser at adjusted price rates unless otherwise stipulated.

Production and/or delivery schedules mentioned in this quotation are approximate unless specifically guaranteed and in any event are variable in case proofs are not promptly okayed or are returned with changes which require additional time. They are subject to modification due to strikes, fires, accidents, failure of material suppliers to meet schedule, and any other conditions beyond our control.

All prices are net, local delivery, or FOB Hapeville, Georgia, unless otherwise specified. Shipments will be made via "Best Way" unless a carrier is designated. The responsibility of Longino & Porter, Inc., terminates with its delivery to a responsible common carrier.

Prices are subject to acceptance and authorization for the start of production within thirty days, unless otherwise specified.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 27, 1962

Invitation to Bids: New South, published by the Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council will accept bids through December 31, 1962. A contract will be let about January 15, 1963. The contract will be for a period of one year, to cover the printing of eleven issues of the magazine, subject to cancellation without cause by either party on sixty (60) days notice or to immediate cancellation by either party in the event of contract violation.

While price will be a major factor, the lowest bid will not necessarily be accepted. Other considerations will include proof of quality, printing time, design ideas submitted, and other ideas and services offered by the printer.

General Specifications: sixteen pages (including cover), two-color, no illustrations, union label, to be delivered folded for mailing (in #10 envelope); size, paper weight and margins to be the same as, or approximately the same as, the attached sample; 6,000 copies per issue; set type to be held by the printer for at least three weeks following delivery; printed monthly with a combined issue for July-August.

Proposals should be submitted on your standard bid form accompanied by your design suggestions. In addition to price for monthly delivery of 6,000 copies, please also indicate price per 1,000 copies over 6,000.

Please submit bids to: Paul Anthony, Executive Asst.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

For additional information, see above or Miss Margaret Long, editor of New South.

Late bid,
for future Consideration

2-3 days - galle, proofs
1-2 - read, correct & ret.

2-3 - days - page proofs
1-2 - read, correct & ret.

4 days - print & bind

14 working days max.
10 " minimum

April 8, 1963

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Printing Co.
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

Here, at last, is New South ready to bind, and an enclosed sample copy of the way it has been bound in the past. Take care of the sample copy; it is a file copy and we need it back, please.

We want to have 1960, 1961, and 1962 bound in one volume if possible; there are duplicates for each year so that we will have two copies for our files.

This is one time we can say, "there is no great rush".

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Copy attached; hand delivered.

November 10, 1965

Dear John:

True to form, here is late copy for the November New South. I hope you will do us the same good service you did in expediting October.

There are several departures from the norm here. Instead of "Strictly Subjective," there is a short one-column piece to be entitled, "About This Issue." There is one short two-column piece entitled, "They Hated Policemen, Disliked School Teachers," And there is to come a fairly extensive listing of civil rights murders of recent years in the South. Most of it will be set in agate. I will send the copy hopefully tomorrow.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. John S. McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 28, 1966

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Here is the manuscript for "The Continuing Crisis."

As we discussed, we must have the final product by May 11th. The American Jewish Committee, which is co-publishing it, is having its annual meeting on that date and plans to issue it as part of the meeting.

Can you give me prices on 6,000, 8,000, and 10,000 copies?

We want to use the red cover.

One other request: the AJC needs two galley proofs sent to their New York office as soon as available. They should be sent to: Mr. Morton Yarmon, Director, Public Relations, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022.

As always we want the union label on the publication.

Thank you again for bearing with us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:jb

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

December 22, 1966
Stein's 42nd Year

Mr. Morland Smith
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Here is the information you requested, Mr. Smith, for printing your book entitled "Neighborhoods" - prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	6" x 9"
PAGES:	52 plus cover
COLOR:	Inside - 52 pages - black ink Cover - 2-colors on front and back cover, 1-color on inside cover
PAPER:	Inside 50 lb. White wove offset Cover 65 lb. White Curtis Tweedweave
LAYOUTS:	Extra
ART:	Stein will do paste-up art on cover - all drawing extra.
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set all type.
PRESSWORK:	Inside printed in black ink by letterpress, cover will be printed in 2-colors by offset lithography.
BINDERY:	Fold, saddle-stitched and trimmed to 8 1/2" x 11"

QUANTITY & PRICE:	5,000	$1,892.00
	7,500	2,284.00
	10,000	2,662.00

This price is based on 52 pages; any additional pages or less pages would require an adjustment in our price.

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days, and any reprint prices quoted are subject to change due to possible increases or decreases in material or labor costs.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES, ART WORK, DRAWINGS, ENGRAVINGS, ELECTROTYPES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

TYPE, PLATES (including lithographic plates), negatives, positives, and other items when produced or supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing. The printer assumes no obligation to hold plates, electrotypes or standing type after the completion of a job, unless specified in this proposal. The printer will charge at current rates for all type and metal held standing at customer's order. Rates quoted on request.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for extra work performed. Mortising and other work on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time to be determined by the printer, after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT — The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, Net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods. Claims for billing discrepancies must be made within 30 days of receipt of invoice.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer at the rate for additional thousands.

ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

PROOFS OF TYPE, ARTWORK AND OTHER MATERIALS TO BE REPRODUCED will be submitted to the customer in various forms, including galley proofs, pasteups, brown prints, watercotes, press proofs, etc., depending on which is suitable for accurate checking. Every effort will be made by the printer to proofread and eliminate errors, but the final responsibility for checking for errors on proofs rests with the customer.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or violates or infringes any copyright, patent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES — All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

If you have a question about any of these conditions, please contact The Stein Printing Company, and we will be pleased to explain in detail.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

You will notice I have quoted the layout and design for the cover as an extra. It is hard to determine at this time exactly how much the layout would be. I would approximate this at $50-$100.

Trust the above covers everything we discussed, Mr. Smith. If you need any further help or additional information, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

SP:BSL

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

December 12, 1966
Stein's 42nd Year

Mr. Morland Smith
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Here is the information you requested, Mr. Smith for printing your book entitled "Neighborhoods" - prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	6 7/8" x 11"
PAGES:	40 plus cover
COLOR:	Inside - 40 pages - black ink Cover - 2-colors on front and back cover, 1-color on inside cover
PAPER:	Inside - 60 lb. White wove offset Cover - 65 lb. White Weycraft cover
LAYOUTS:	Extra
ART:	Stein will do paste-up art on cover - all drawing extra.
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set all type.
PRESSWORK:	Inside printed in black ink by letterpress, cover will be printed in 2-colors by offset lithography.
BINDERY:	Fold, saddle-stitched and trimmed to 6 7/8" x 11"

QUANTITY & PRICE:	5,000	$2,060.69
	7,500	2,560.21
	10,000	2,990.93

This price is based on 40 pages. Any additional pages or less pages would require an adjustment is our price.

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

You will notice I have quoted the layout and design for the cover as an extra. It is hard to determine at this time exactly how much the layout would be. I would approximate this at $50-$100.

Trust the above covers everything we discussed, Mr. Smith. If you need any further help or additional information, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

SP:BSL

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 4, 1967

Mr. Paul C. Williams
Research Assistant
Arkansas Council on
Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Mr. Williams:

Please pardon my long delay in answering your query. The cost of reprinting Mr. Wheeler's speech would, of course, depend on the quantity desired. According to our printer, a thousand reprints would roughly cost $155, and this would be about the lowest number that it would pay you to order. For higher quantities such, as for example, 5,000, the unit cost would be appreciably lower -- 6¢ per reprint -- for a total price of $325.

The letters notion is a good one and we are giving it consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Rec'd 3/20/67

16 March, 1967

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
New South

Information, please:

Cost of reprints on "Of Conflict, Growth and Future Progress" by John H. Wheeler

Also, are you planning on starting a "Letters to the Editor" column?

Paul C. Williams
Research Assistant

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

April 28, 1967

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Henderson:

Enclosed is the printer's bill for reprints of Miss McGhee's article, "Growing Up in Lightning." It was as you see, issued directly to us. We have paid it so that you may, at your convenience, simply reimburse the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA, Jr/js

Encl: 1.

$198.79 bill.

Rec'd 12/20/65

GEORGE McMILLAN
SEA PINES PLANTATION
HILTON HEAD ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA

File

December 17, 1965

Dear Pat:

I want to reply to your letter just in case I don't see you when I am in Atlanta Monday.

Yes, I would like to do pieces for New South, and I had heard from Courtney Siceloff whomI see here that you had ambitious plans for it.

But, Pat, I don't think I can. I just don't have the kind of facility you do. I don't write anything quickly or easily. Everything comes hard -- and by the time I get the $100 I resent the sum, and have, by almost any standards, earned it four or five times.

I always dream that I can knock stuff out but the sad fact is that I never do.

I appreciate your offer anyway, and maybe sometime there will be something.

Best,
George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

December 14, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
Sea Pines Plantation
Hilton Head Island
South Carolina

Dear George:

I am sorry to be so long with something so simple.

Write to Reed Sarratt, Southern Regional Education Board, 130 Sixth Street, N. W., here in Atlanta, for information about the poor man's Neiman.

That is a nice island you are inhabiting. If you get to wandering into the lower lore of the Negro population on the island and would consider writing a piece for less than $100 about it, let me know. A piece about anything, for that matter, We are revamping New South; will be putting it out quarterly and will, hopefully, be putting in a larger quantity of the best of southern thinking and reporting than has been possible in the past.

Have a good Christmas. I envy you the beach.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

GEORGE McMILLAN
SEA PINES PLANTATION
HILTON HEAD ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 12/6/65

December 2, 1965

Dear Pat:

Read someplace not long ago about Ford Foundation grant to improve southern newspapering, etc.

Is this gonna be something like the Niemans?

Where can I write for information about it?

Am I eligible?

Best wishes to you in your work. I hope I had the sense to tell you how much I enjoyed your, "Encounter With the Future," which to me was top piece of perceptive journalism, just the kind that -- such is the state of journalism- has to be printed in pamphlet form to see the light of day.

Yrs

George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Reed Sarratt
SREB

April 14, 1966

Mr. Robert Brainard Pearsall
Pierce Hall 225
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

Dear Mr. Pearsall:

Thank you for letting us read your poems, which are returned to you. If we were primarily a poetry review, several would seem publishable to me. But the fact is we publish very little poetry -- maybe a single poem in a quarter -- and what we would use would be more directly related, more involved, as it were, with race relations and the civil rights movement than these seem to be.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr;js
Encls.

April 14, 1966

Mr. Herb Fackler
English Department
Centenary College of Louisiana
P. O. Box 4188, Centenary Section
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Fackler:

I regret that we will not be able to make use of your two poems which are returned to you. Actually, we publish very little poetry and what we do use is more directly related to southern race relations and civil rights than these seem to be. Perhpps you will try us again.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

April 14, 1966

Mr. Ellis W. Hollon, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Philosophy
Department of Philosophy
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37130

Dear Mr. Holton:

Thank you so much for sending us your article, "What Do the Stars and Stripes Symbolize in Tennessee?" It has some very good thoughts and well expressed, too. I am sorry to say we are unable to make use of it. The difficulty is that in our new format, we are looking ~~less~~ for essay type material and more for good, hard, research articles.

Please keep us in mind, though, if you have anything else in the future.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

April 21, 1966

Mr. David Broiles
Assistant Professor
The University of Georgia
Department of Philosophy
and Religion
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Mr. Broiles:

Please forgive our long delay in acting on your article, "Discrimination, Segregation, and Equality." The truth is we have given it much consideration with the idea of making use of portions of it and yet the thought keeps coming back that perhaps the pace of social change in the South has made the definitions you present moot -- at least insofar as our particular audience is concerned. This isn't to suggest that you don't have a good, well written piece, but rather that the people who read NEW SOUTH are more interested in knowing what happens now to, say, Negro school teachers and students in school systems where desegregation is only now beginning on any large scale. I guess what I'm saying is that the space that we could give to this very well thought out argument could be better given to problems of more immediate interest in the same field you're writing about.

Anyway, it's really difficult to turn down this article, and I do hope that you will try us again.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Enclosure - 1.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

August 3, 1965

Recd Dec 1965

Editor, The New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a paper I read at the southern meeting of the American Philosophy of Education Society at its last meeting. I would like for you to consider this as a possible article in The New South. I realize that it may be too long but if you are interested in the points I make I'd be glad to revise it so that it would better suit your format. Thank you for any considerations you might give me on this matter.

Sincerely,

David Broiles

David Broiles
Assistant Professor

DB/stb
Enclosure

June 20, 1966

Mr. Russell Barrett
The University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Barrett:

Many thanks for letting us read your speech. You have, of course, some good thoughts -- yet in its present shape it seems to us a little too rough for publication. More, if you have seen our spring issue, you must have noticed how much it was concerned with the subject of Negro voting. We think maybe we'd better give space next edition to other equally important topics. Perhaps you have something else by now that would be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

SUITE 711
3810 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90005
TELEPHONE: 386-8381

KARL FLEMING
LOS ANGELES BUREAU CHIEF

File

Newsweek

July 18, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
NW Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 7/21/66

Dear Pat:

Forgive my belated reply to your letter. Times have been somewhat chaotic. Interestingly enough, I have had several offers to do things on Watts since my experience down there and have turned them all down.

For one thing, I just simply do not have the time. For another, I frankly just don't know what to say about my own experience. Maybe that means I have some kind of emotional hangover from it. But, in any case I feel somewhat bled of emotion and don't think I have anything of value to say about it.

What I do think is interesting is the whole relationship of the police to Watts. The judgment is frequently made that economic deprivation is the major contributing factor toward the anger in Watts. I think a stronger case can be made that it is rather the attitude of the police to ghetto areas such as Watts. Anyway, that is an idea you might want to explore.

Give my regards to Vernon. Wiley Branton was here for a visit, and said he thought Vernon was coming out for the N.A.A.C.P. convention, but I guess he didn't. My best to your family. Sandy and the boys send regards.

Regards,

Karl

KF:pm

June 15, 1966

Mr. Karl Fleming, Bureau Chief
Newsweek
6505 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Karl:

I keep admiring the things you said after the Watts business. Is there any possibility during your convalescence of your writing us a piece about the experience, what you know about Watts, and the aftermath; dealings you have had with Watts people? It would be a wonderful thing to have for our magazine, NEW SOUTH, which has been expanded some since you were here. I am enclosing the last issue.

Any length and anything you want to say would be fine. We could even pay a small amount of money. The deadline for our next issue is July 1 -- stretchable to July 15. Let me know.

My regards to Sandy and the boys.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

July 29, 1966

Miss Dorothy Swisshelm
2219 Spencer Street
Omaha, Nebraska

Dear Miss Swisshelm:

Please forgive our long delay in writing to you about your manuscript. It is, of course, too long for us to publish in NEW SOUTH; yet, with revisions it ought to find a commercial publisher. Much of the material has been covered, as you know, in great detail already in theppress, and in books. And, a great deal of it is no longer current.

The future of nonviolence as a philosophy of the movement, for instance, seems shaky just now. As far suggestions as to how it might be revised for a book publisher, I think you might begin by focusing it sharper on either Koinonia or Biloxi, for I do have the feeling that it skips about with resulting loss in continuity. Another point: You speak of the "little people" in the movement and some are introduced, but we don't get to know them well enough before they disappear. Why not draw some portraits of these people as you knew them with insights into their character such as you did so beautifully with the pitiable Squeaky? A whole book of such portraits, indeed, might be a fresh, new approach to your material, and would certainly be a relief from all the scholastic and often tedious "takk force" analyses that the professors are turning out.

At any rate, I think you've had some good, meaningful experiences that could -- with a real disciplined effort -- be turned into a first rate book.

We will forward your manuscript under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

August 5, 1966

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
567 Garden Drive
Louisville, Kentucky 40206

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you so much for passing on to us your stimulating thoughts on business involvement in civil rights. Would that all southern businessmen thought along such progressive lines!

I have taken the liberty of showing your manuscript to Paul Anthony and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Miss Wilkins, as you know, is chairman of SRC's Development Committee, whose mission is directly related to the concerns you express.

We have a problem with using your piece just now in NEW SOUTH. The truth is that we are in the stage of developing a publication here aimed directly at the business community, embodying many of the points you outline, statistically supported, and with the thesis that business involvement is not only morally necessary but economically sound -- as you point out. What I'm saying, I suppose, is that we wouldn't want to scatter our shots just yet, and that while you put the position squarely on the line, there needs to be a filling out of the general outline you present.

There is, too, another problem with one of the points you make -- an editorial policy matter. In effect, as I read it anyway, you are speaking in the last paragraph (when you refer to "adjustments in tradition and program") of change in SRC's focus. Our audience is made up of close friends of SRC, of course, in addition to the members and the Executive Committee.

But we have a much wider general readership, too, whose interests lie outside of SRC's internal deliberations. As a matter of editorial policy, we've just not dealt with discussions of organizational directions in NEW SOUTH.

None of which, I hope, leaves the impression that we think any the less of your manuscript which we'd like to hold on to, if we may, as we move along with the publication I mentioned. We would also like to distribute it to members of the Development Committee.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

B
File

Manuscript not given to Dr Bates permission

LEE B. THOMAS, JR.
567 GARDEN DRIVE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40206

July 24, 1966

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed find my expressinn of a concern. You may be able to sharpen it up a little as I am a business man not an author.

I am president of Vermont American Corporation with headquarters and two plants in Louisville. We also have three principal plants in North Carolina. We manufacture cutting tools such as saw blades and drill bits.

I have been a member of the SRC for some nine or ten years. I am a board member of the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union and I am a member of NAACP. I am a Quaker.

David Scull and I have shared the concern for good business and good race relations for as long as any two white Southerners I know.

I hope you find my little effort of some use.

Very truly yours,

Lee B. Thomas Jr.

Enclosure - manuscript entitled, "Come the Jonquils"

File. Rejects

October 6, 1966

Mr. Hoyt W. Fuller
3001 South Park Way
Apt. 314
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Dear Mr. Fuller:

As promised, we've given your story a reading here and, while we are unable to publish it, I'm not going to give you a genteel or any other kind of "put down." You can write, and write well. You know that and I know it. But frankly, in this story, I don't feel as if you have developed your material enough. Throughout there is a mood, a feel, a sense of something fine and sensitive on the way at the end, but somehow at the end, it doesn't have the punch that one wishes. I could be wrong, but maybe the 15 years experience in living since you wrote it are precisely what it needs to give it the deeper insight that I'm talking about. All of which, I hope, doesn't sound too stuffy.

The best market, I believe, is not NEW SOUTH, since we run practically no fiction at all. I would think that a little magazine, devoted entirely to creative writing and looking for promising new talent might well give it favorable consideration. One such magazine occurs to me -- a new publication recently launched in Charlotte, North Carolina, called RED CLAY READER. The address is 2221 Westminister Place. Why don't you give them a try?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

September 26, 1966

Mr. Hoyt Fuller
3001 South Park Way
Apt. 314
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Dear Mr. Fuller:

Just a brief note right now to acknowledge receipt of your manuscript and to promise you that we will give it a decent reading. It happens that I grew up in College Park, too (my family still lives there), and so anything written about the place will have more than routine interest for me.

We'll be writing you again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

3001 South Park Way
Apt. 314
Chicago, Illinois 60616

September 22, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

On a trip home to Detroit a couple weeks ago, during which I had occasion to go through old papers and momentos, I came across the enclosed short story which was written more than 15 years ago. The story was submitted to - I think - two or three quarterly reviews published in Georgia, and one of the letters of rejection I have kept as an all but incredible example of the genteel "put down" - not about style or quality of writing or even subject matter, but about an angle of vision.

And I had particularly wanted to little story to appear in a Georgia publication. For, the story was (is) autobiographical and deals with a favored if troubled time of my life in the quiet little suburb of College Park (where a high school recently was named for my aunt).

Perhaps the story is not good enough for publication. Since I wrote it, I am not capable of judging. Since it was written, I feel I have grown as a writer. But now, if I tried to write the same little story, it would take on the added burden of 15 years of experience.

Please be good enough to look at it.

Gratefully,

Hoyt W. Fuller

Hoyt W. Fuller

file legals

October 10, 1966

Mr. James K. Batten
Knight Newspapers, Inc.
Washington Bureau
1195 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Batten:

Thank you for sending us Mr. Friedman's report on the death of the civil rights bill. It is good stuff and certainly captures the mood on Capitol Hill. We have a problem with using it, however, since we are a quarterly and our next issue will be out in November -- two months from the date his piece was done. In other words, while it's good, timely journalism, we think that anything we did on the failure of the civil rights bill should be more "indepth" than Mr. Friedman attempts here.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1. (Manuscript)

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher* MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, Inc.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1195 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

BA
PW

September 20, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rec'd 9/21/66

Dear Pat:

This is a story by Saul Friedman, an ex-Houston Chronicle man now in this bureau representing the Detroit Free Press. Because of a snafu on our teletype circuit last night, the story never moved and never appeared in any of the Knight papers, or anywhere else, for that matter.

As I read it through, it occurred to me that you might be interested. For New South readers, it might convey the mood detected by a good reporter as the civil rights bill died.

I liked, and agreed with, your excellent piece on the White House civil rights conference.

Best regards,

John

James K. Batten

File: Rejects

October 28, 1966

Mrs. Lois C. Solvin
213 Downs Lane
Louisville, Kentucky 40215

Dear Mrs. Solvin:

Thank you for letting us read your manuscript. I wish that the thoughts you express were in the hearts of all of us. The story as a whole, however, seems to need more polishing before it is ready for publication; some deeper, more subtle insights coming perhaps out of a particularly meaningful experience. What, for instance, happened to change your own attitudes? This is not made very clear, and yet I should think that occurring in the South of twenty years ago would make an interesting story. Why don't you give it another try?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

File: Rejects

Orig. filed in New South: 1966: Articles - correspondence and Vouchers for all issues, 1966.

November 2, 1966

Miss Judy Randall
1039 Paul Spring Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22307

Dear Judy:

The ways of editors are past finding out. Sometimes we even hate ourselves.

After considerable re-reading of your piece, we have regretfully decided against using it. The reason for this is simply pragmatic. In deciding what goes into the magazine we have to weigh many factors, not the least of which is suitability for our level of readership. The general response I've gotten from your piece is that -- while it is well written -- the space we could give to it would from our audience's point of view -- be more productively given to harder research material.

I'm sorry, Judy, that it has turned out this way, but in this business one sometimes has to be more pragmatic than one's normal instincts are inclined.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js

Encl. - $20.00 check.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

3.

B A

~~"NOTES FROM A FOREIGN DAUGHTER"~~

I

As a sophomore at Kalamazoo College, Michigan, I was packed off to Atlanta, Georgia, for three months, on my "career-service quarter," to get out in the world and be free of any external authority (parent or college) for the first time in my life. At the urging of our job counselor, himself former director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, who felt I should experience life in the South and make some worthwhile contributions toward a better society, and because my first three choices fell through, I finally agreed to a position at the Southern Regional Council. My reaction was hesitant and slightly grudging agreement, because of a vague antipathy toward the South--the idea that I didn't want to live in the midst of that medieval, unenlightened world of gracious hospitality. Another reason was a little more well-grounded fear: that of "getting involved" and having to take a firm, specific, and honest stand on "the racial problem."

My acquaintance with the Movement had been very vague indeed; inexcusable, in fact, considering I had lived all my life in the peripheral South (northern Virginia), and attended segregated schools for ten years. In spite of a fairly liberal upbringing, I had managed to acquire a fair amount of prejudice, misconceptions, and distorted manners of thinking.

Most northern white liberals consider the South a kind of foreign battle-ground, where they might go to serve a term of duty, but return gasping with relief to their right-thinking, civilized homeland. This notion is encouraged by southern segregationists who rant at "northern agitators," and emphasize

their alienation by the desire to handle things "their own way."

The South is, of course, only a part of the United States, one whose local characteristics emphasize what is becoming more and more obviously a national problem. If in going north one seems to lose awareness of racial tensions, it is because the North provides an opportunity (admittedly diminishing) for avoidance. Basking in the smug doctrine of tolerance, northerners point the accusing finger southward from their de facto segregated white ivory tower. Actual communication and understanding between northern Negroes and whites is rare, as illustrated by the reaction to open occupancy legislation. Many white liberals have formed their convictions in the abstract, knowing few if any Negroes, and their thinking is apt to be burdened with stereotypes; they are distressed to find themselves regarded with amusement, indifference, or scorn by the objects of their concern.

The most striking change of attitude I found in the South is the constant awareness, by whites and more so by Negroes, of the race issue. On arrival in the South, one is plunged into the turmoil of racial conflict, whether or not one has connections with civil rights work. It is literally impossible to reamin aloof; one simply has to take a stand, and is daily forced to prove it. All the stories I had heard or read of the civil rights movement became vividly, violently alive. The image of Atlanta as a progressive, cosmopolitan city was quickly shattered, by vestiges of a former culture, from racial tensions within the office of SRC itself to some still separate lunch counters. ~~at downtown Woolworth's.~~

[redacted]

Painful as it was to have the shame of my ignorance forced on me by time after time of shock and rude awakening, the knowledge and awareness which followed was painful in a deeper, more intense and heart-breaking manner. Blithely oblivious to glances and remarks, refusing to admit that such a majority of people were plagued in subtle to overt degrees by that mind-crippling and spirit-warping disease which is their heritage, I was able for a time to protect myself against the small daily incidents which no one can ultimately resist. Because I had never entertained the idea that a stranger could care whom I went to lunch with, I simply didn't see whites who would stop on the sidewalk and stand immobile with hatred when a Negro friend and I walked by.

A car trip through rural Alabama with three Negroes brutally clarified for me the definition of a "hate stare." Curious glances are only human and can be easily overlooked; but this was an expression which was neither human nor animal, for no beast is consumed by an irrational and distorted hatred for another of its kind. I am almost forced to describe racism as ultra-human rather than sub-human, as an extension of the most despicable characteristics of human nature to the most ugly, insane extreme of which mankind is capable. Racists are victims of a mass psychosis, which the most sympathetic understanding cannot excuse nor elevate.

A hate stare is marked by its unblinking duration (long past the limits of civil curiosity) and its intensity of emotion, casting a spell on the looker and the looked-at, which can transform in a moment something normal, even good and happy, into something un-natural, perverted, and diseased. It was suddenly as if

we were all sitting in the car naked, or rotting visibly from leprosy. But even these extreme analogies miss the mark, for the first would produce astonishment, and the second, horror. The look on that truckdriver's face reflected something more powerful than either of these reactions, although it included both. It was compounded of fears, myths, facts, legends, in an indescribable brew of tradition and emotion which none of us, nor the most analytical psychologist could have defined. It was a look that could kill, that wished us out of existence, and my reaction was first to stick my head out of the car and stare belligerantly back at him, and then in a second surge of feeling, I wanted to run over and smash in his face in a blind rage. But all that was left to us was to joke about it, while I choked back tears of bewilderment, frustration, anger, and a deep pain which I could only faintly comprehend.

II

A more subtle aspect of the Southern state of mind was revealed to me as I became aware of distinct social divisions, which promoted communication barriers in the Atlanta community, and whose reconciliation caused me some anguish. Different worlds, as I will call them, emerged, with conflicting aims, standards, and required attitudes. There was, of course, the visible, dominant, white world, to which I had a passport by my color, background, and experience. If I was deviously plotting subversive schemes, or even participating in demonstrations, I could "get lost in the crowd." It was, whether I liked it or not, <u>my</u> world, and the only world of most whites.

Second was the Negro world--smaller, friendlier to its members,

and slightly defensive. I could live with them, ride their buses, attend their churches and their parties, but I was not admitted to the esoteric society. This obstacle is one that can be overcome only by a duration of familiarity (for a society, this would require generations), and is the outstanding cause for discouragement among white liberals who find that "meaning well" isn't enough. They condemned my ignorance, but they refused to enlighten me. My sheltered upbringing was a constant stigma, but it was that very evidence which the Negro, especially the segregated southern middle class Negro, jumped on to prove his image of the white stereotype: "They think they're too good to know anything about Negroes." This is too often a correct view, but whites who are ashamed of their prejudices, but unsure of themselves around Negroes, are quickly labeled segregationists. It is asking a great deal of insight and generosity of spirit to demand of a person whose life has been handicapped with a label of inferiority that he respond willingly to white sympathy and refuse himself the psychological necessity of scorning his oppressors. ~~(If he were not able to dismiss "liberal" whites as ignorant or hypocritical do-gooders, the Negro would be forced to accept inferiority as a truth, and thus to welcome all white assistance with a servile gratitude which would negate the reasons for attaining equal rights.)~~ I see the following broad choice of alternatives for the "well-meaning white liberal:" settle for your natural honest actions and reactions, with an open-minded attitude to different ideas, realizing that you will be accepted on a qualified basis ("you're dumb, but you're okay"); <u>OR</u> play a role, pretend to yourself and to the people you meet that you are something else; some people will be fooled, and eventually you will lose contact with your former "bourgeouis" self. The first

way is harder at first, heart-breaking, but it becomes easier, and it is honest. The second way becomes more and more difficult, less and less satisfying, and can lead to mental and emotional upsets.

In my efforts at amateur sociology, I distinguished two more "worlds" in Atlanta. One was that of poverty, ~~which I discovered through Vine City, a Negro slum not far from SRC's office~~. Outcasts from the white world because of color, and from the (middle-class) Negro world because of economic and social status, the slum Negro's problems and frustrations are doubled. (Note that parallel conditions of ostracization exist for poor whites, although less severely restricting.) This is a world of which many whites now have knowledge, and of which many Negroes have experience, but whether middle-class aversion towards poverty stems from repression, guilt, or ignorance, it achieves the result of isolating a slum community, forcing it to turn inward and multiply its socially destructive conditions.

Finally, there were the young civil rights workers, actively involved in affirming and demonstrating their convictions, separated by force or desire from "the American way of life." My age permitted entry into this world, which is as foreign to many adults as the "Negro world" was to me. Whatever inner strife it may have caused, this was the only world in which color was not a requirement. It was more strikingly evident in whites, but also true of Negroes, that these "angry young men" and women had rejected the middle class value system, and the goal of their efforts was, paradoxically, to help the underpriviledged attain a place in that society which they had renounced.

~~[redacted] and through other relationships I joined in protest and picketing, but as I said, I did not become a "northern agitator" intentionally; in fact, I came South with dis-~~

No

tinct misgivings and fears of becoming "involved," that is, being forced to make a commitment on my beliefs. I soon found, however, that what I considered noncommital actions were labeled anything from "race-mixing" to "white liberalism" (spoken in acid tones by Negroes). The term "northern agitator" is itself rather misleading--to the northerner it is a gross exaggeration; to the southerner, white and black, it is a euphemistic understatement. ~~White segregationists would prefer the expression "nigger lover," Negro civil workers would use "[redacted]"~~

A subtle process of acclimatization quickly changed my former attitude. With clarity and some amazement I realized that the " extremist" civil rights workers were not some strange incomprhensible misguided animals, but normal, natural people asking for the most basic, mundane, middle-class rights, and resolving to attain them by extraordinarily mild, conservative methods (picketing, sit-ins, and petitions are pablum compared to the violent methods used consciously and unconsciouly for years and years by representatives of the white power status-quo, which deplores any "extremism" that may lead to "violence" in the struggle for human dignity). My standards and values quickly settled in new categories, and I found that by merely acting like a "person," without following a predetermined course, I was frequently the object of hate stares from whites. It soom became apparent that the real extremists were those who called themselves conservatives and moderates, clinging tightly to the status quo, preaching gradualism over the noise of ~~[redacted] and [redacted] dogs.~~ racist violence.

~~There were times when the only reason for not giving up the struggle for communication was the empty hypocrisy of the alternative. The psychological climate in which a white northern female transplant~~

to the Negro Atlanta community must function can be unsettling to say the least. The shift of racial, social and cultural setting threw me into limbo, and established a disturbing condition similar to walking on a frozen pond without knowing where the thin spots are. Coming from a different world, I hadn't learned how, specifically, the Negro's frame of reference (his definitions, his choice of psychological reactions) differed from my own. I only knew it was very different, and the Negro's skill at hiding his emotions and true feelings made the task more difficult. I knew that friendliness could cover an attitude of suspicion, and that any chance remark by me could be triggering a hostile reaction. (For example, my welcome to SRC by one Negro was: "So you've come down to find out all about the Movement and go back and lecture to your white friends.") My feeling was not one of indignation; I felt only too poignantly the shame of generations; rather, it was one of frustration and grief, that such a high wall has been built, with both sides adding more and more bricks until the most willing person finds the wall insurmountable. Sometimes it was necessary to "think small," to concentrate on people, so as not to be overwhelmed by a sense of futility, and to have faith in time and in myself.

III

For a naturally-optimistic member of the white middle class, it was an instructive and frightening mental exercise to experiment with real pessimism--to try on the attitude of despair, and to feel to the soul the opposition of a society which calls you inferior, immoral, incapable, less than human. The experience is too overwhelming for most white people, for it requires the admission of a national and a personal guilt of the highest order. So most white

Americans, like most "Aryan" Germans under Hitler, put blinders on their minds, and teach their children not to think too hard.

Extracting oneself from a middle-class white orientation that emphasizes escapist optimism in race relations ("things couldn't be that bad") is a long and difficult task. It causes much agonizing guilt and anxiety when one is scorned and ostracized for one's "bourgeouis ignorance," when one is afraid to speak for fear of revealing hidden prejudice, when one realizes the sheer impossibility of being blind to color. There are too many contingencies to be able to treat Negroes as whites, or vice versa. The only valid answer I have found is to treat them all as people, realizing that color will influence your relationships, if only because of society's attitudes, and that our efforts now will make it easier for our children and grandchildren.

Most characteristics of the discouraging state of southern race relations can be recognized, although as I said, more easily overlooked, in the United States as a whole. Sensitivity developed in observation of the South must evolve into a clearer view of the total problem, and one cannot condemn the South without pointing the finger everywhere.

My experience in the South has matured me beyond measure; I will probably not realize the extent of its influence for months or years. And I am determined to return to the South, not to gawk at the strange antics of the natives, but because living in the South is a confrontation--with oneself, one's background, and values, and one's society. There is very little possibility for pretense in the South; almost everyone has to face reality. I belong here because [redacted] it has made me more real.

JUDY RANDALL,
Light Caps

File
Rejects

November 4, 1966

Mr. Fon Vestal
1399 Richmond Road
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Vestal:

Thank you for letting us read your poem, "After a Rally." I can imagine a magazine devoting exclusively to poetry buying it. However, in recent months, we have bought almost none at all and will probably de-emphasize it more in the future.

Why don't you try it with a new little magazine now being published in Miami called Human Voice Quarterly? The editor is Donald V. Smith. The address: Olivant Press, P. O. Drawer 1409, Homestead, Florida 33030.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Poem Encl.

file - Rejects

November 4, 1966

Mr. Thomas B. Brumbaugh
Box 1648, Station B
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Mr. Brumbaugh:

We appreciate your letting us read your poem, "Passing Through Dayton, Tennessee." However, in recent months we have bought almost no poetry at all and will probably de-emphasize it more in the future.

Why don't you try it with a new little magazine now being published in Miami? I happen to know the editor, Mr. Donald V. Smith, is looking for good poetry. The address is Olivant Press, P. O. Drawer 1409, Homestead, Florida 33030.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Poem encl.

File Reject

January 3, 1967

Mr. J. Carroll Simms
Associate Professor of Sociology
Georgia State College
33 Gilmer Street, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Simms:

Thank you so much for letting us read your paper COLLEGE STUDENTS IMPRESSIONS OF THE GREAT SOCIETY. While it has much to recommend it, I think it is not suitable for NEW SOUTH, written, as it seems to be, for a more academic-oriented audience than we have.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA/km

File

GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
33 GILMER STREET, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

December 19, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I am enclosing my article "College Students' Impressions of the Great Society" for your consideration and review. I hope that you will find this acceptable for publication in NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely,

J. Carroll Simms

J. Carroll Simms
Associate Professor
of Sociology

jh

October 24, 1962

Mary Godwin Barbara Patterson

New South circulation

Since it is my understanding from Paul Anthony that you are now going to handle all phases of NS circulation except for the ordering and filing of the stencil plates (which Bernice Cook) will do) I thought I might put in formal notes the order and procedure I envisaged when I started setting up the circulation files in their present form.

The original motive was to count the number of, and sort the types (paid or complimentary) and localities of, the subscribers. This has been done. Putting into working and current order the system which evolved from playing around with the cards still requires a little, not much, detail since for two months I have not been able to give it any time and no one else has much.

In the green card files subscribers are listed on cards broken down separately by the states where state councils on human relations supply most of the subscribers (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Va., respectively). There is also a "mixed states" file where cards are broken down by states, alphabetically.

(Back in the mail room subscribers are on stencil plates filed geographically, only.)

In every case, every subscriber should appear on two separate cards: 1) a card bearing the actual name, address, as it appears on the stencil tape, and the billing information - "pd. $2.00 8/1/62 expires 8/1/63" or the notation "complimentary," this ideally with the initials of whoever authorized the free subscription; 2) a typed card with name, address and billing info as above. Cards should indicate <u>either</u> "Va. Council" (for example) <u>or</u>"Pd. Direct." (1)-type cards are filed strictly alphabetically by name (it's easiest to lump libraries together at the beginning of "L" and lesser publications by the name of the publication, <u>not</u> the person). (2)-type cards are filed under progressive month-and-year headings signifying the expiration date; alphabetically whithin each date. TAKE CARE TO HAVE ADDRESS ON BOTH CARDS THE SAME.

In the mixed states files, (1)-type cards are filed by states. (2)-type cards of all states are mixed under the appropriate expieration date heading, alphabetically by name.

Stencils for subscribers on whom we had no information have been listed and queried first to the State Councils, and the list returned from the Ga.CHR yet remains to be be processed with the Georgia file - i.e., those with expiration dates prior to Jan. 1962 pulled and put aside with the card attached in back, and those having current billing info having this added to a card (and both cards then filed as above), and those having no CHR record sent the individual form letter with return envelope. If no reply in reasonable time, destroy stencil and card altogether.

A large group of mixed states stencils on whom we have no record remains. Paul Anthony should first go over these (esp. in N.Y.) indicating which are complementary and cards should be made and file as above. Individual inquiry letters should be sent as above to the remainder.

As checks with subscription orders, lists from state councils, and purchase orders (invoice should be mailed) arrive make a card bearing subscribers name, address, and put in a"pending" file behind the proper state. See that Bernice Cook gets the info to add the subscriber to her lists mailed in periodically (having 50 or more names) to have new stencils made. When a batch of new stencils returns, it should be run off on gummed tape and individual ones cut and pasted and put on cards to go in the appropriate state file with the billing info typed thereon (transcribed from "pending"). The pending card then goes in the billing file. Same with complementaries, which can be kept in a separate file behind billing in each state.

Bernice has included with this material some cards she has typed corresponding, I gather, to names sent in on the last stencil list, which you now have. Ask her any questions about these.

You will also need to ascertain from Paul Anthony who-how to handle expiration notices. In the case of renewals, type the date of the new expiration date and payment on both cards, and advance the billing file card ~~xxxxxxx~~, making new date headings as needed.

In the NS folder are some checks and lists which need processing soonest.

Some of the state council stencil cards - (1)-type - still do not have the billing info posted on them. This can be gotten from the batches of cards for each state marked "master file" which has been kept only as a control, as the info is added, these ~~xxxx~~ "master" cards can be destroyed.

I think it is best to type the info, it is neater, space-saving.

I also think getting two returns only on the July-Aug mailing shows this works, but feel free to modify it if you have simpler ideas. And ask me any questions.

NEW SOUTH Circulation - June 15, 1964

	COUNCIL Paid	COUNCIL Delinquent	DIRECT* Paid	DIRECT* Delinquent	COMPLIMENTARY
ALABAMA	396**	112	14	-	19 (7 P***)
ARKANSAS	275	62	3	1	9 (6P)
FLORIDA	265	303 (1964) 72 (1963)	24	10	24 (9 P)
GEORGIA	113	11	84	10	94 (20 P)
MISSISSIPPI	201	-	16	-	13 (2 P)
NORTH CAROLINA	252	73	31	2	51 (16 P)
SOUTH CAROLINA	439	81	8	1	19 (9 P)
TENNESSEE	379	142	27	6	25 (11 P)
VIRGINIA	459	96	22	4	51 (14 P)
ALL OTHER			406	66	268 (63 P)
	2,779	952	635	100	573 (157 P) - 5,039

* Includes libraries paid through agencies

** Includes 100 Tuskegee Group subscribers now delinquent but carried until instruction received from Alabama Council

*** Means publications

952
100
1052 delinquent

2779
635
3414 paid
1052
4466 listed

ALL OTHER

	DIRECT		COMPLIMENTARY	
	Paid	Delinquent		
California	26	5	5	
Colorado	1	1	1	
Connecticut	8	-	1	
Delaware	-	-	1	
D. C.	33	4	39	
Illinois	21	6	8	
Indiana	9	1	2	
Iowa	2	-	-	
Kansas	4	-	-	
Kentucky	20	2	15	
Louisiana	29	3	9	
Maine	2	-	-	
Maryland	14	2	13	
Massachusetts	18	1	7	
Michigan	13	2	1	
Minnesota	5	2	-	
Missouri	8	4	8	
New Hampshire	2	-	-	
New Jersey	9	-	-	
New York	59	12	101	
Ohio	24	4	12	
Oklahoma	3	1	3	
Oregon	3	-	-	
Pennsylvania	15	3	11	
Rhode Island	1	-	-	
Texas	44	7	12	
Utah	1	-	-	
Vermont	1	1	1	
Washington	5	-	1	
West Virginia	3	1	1	
Wisconsin	7	2	2	
Foreign	16	2	14	
	406	66	268	- 740

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 21, 1964

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM : VEJ

RE : ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PLAN AND NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTION INCREASE

For sometime now the staff has talked about charging an annual subscription fee for all SRC materials. Things to date have not gone beyond the talking stage. However, having discussed the problems involved at some length with various staffers, I submit the following proposal.

1. Beginning June 1, 1964 an annual subscription rate of $5.00 per year becomes effective. Annual subscribers at this point will be only those persons who inquire about annual rates for materials, those persons who have inquired in the past few months, and those persons who request to be added to our mailing lists but are ineligible for free mailing.

2. Annual subscribers will receive all SRC publications except New South.

3. An announcement of the availability of all SRC materials upon subscription will be carried in New South.

4. Annual subscribers will become another category on our present distribution scheme.

5. Montez Albright will receive and keep books on all annual subscriptions, which will include getting the stencils addressed.

6. On or about January 1, 1965 a questionnaire will be mailed to persons in the research and all-purpose categories similar to the card mailed with our recent L-Reports, inquiring as to whether or not they will subscribe to our materials. Those refusing would be dropped, except where staff members think it to our advantage not to drop them.

May 21, 1964

MEMO TO: LWD - 2.

NEW SOUTH

1. Effective September 1, 1964, New South subscriptions will increase to $2.50 per year. An announcement of same will be carried in the next issue of New South.

2. Renewal subscriptions at the present rate can upped to September 1, but for only one year.

3. It is desirable that all subscriptions be handled directly through SRC rather than through the state councils. However, the entire problem of New South subscriptions through state councils ought to be discussed at the upcoming state council staff meeting. The recommendation is that state councils cease selling New South subscriptions as part of their membership program. Subscribers should deal directly with SRC for billing and mailing. State councils may, however, order New South from SRC in bulk and pay SRC directly for the number ordered.

3

8
8
8
8
30
6
6
24

98

VJ –

Please take care of this

Gray

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

10-15-64

Les,

This is my suggestion for an all-pufpose invoice that would do for both Janet and me.

The purpose of writing in so much is to avoid having to type each bill, which is a great time-saver for Janet, and will be (hopefully) for me when the subscription service has been built up sufficiently. (We now have 15 paid-up subscribers, which is not bad considering we have made no effort other than my replies to people who request to be put on our mailing list.)

I had understood we would have such promotional letters going out to various mailing lists. Should I try to draw up some thing, for approval and discussion, or will Vernon?

I am returning the SRC leaflet you loaned me some time ago.

INVOICE

Date_____

TO:

FOR:

☐ New South subscription, 1 year $2.50
Date_____

☐ Publications Subscriber, 1 year 5.00
Date_____

PUBLICATIONS ORDER

☐ Quantity Title Cost

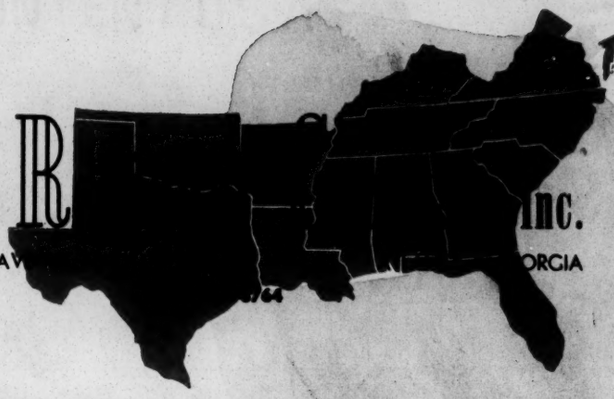
Date shipped _____

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

file

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted] ORGIA



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 21, 1964

To: LWD ✓ From: VEJ

Subject: Status of New South subscription changeover

Attached is a memo relating the status of the New South subscription changeover, as prepared by Janet Smith. I have not added or deleted anything from Janet's report because it very ably describes the situation as it presently stands.

VEJ

Status of NEW SOUTH subscription changeover 12-9-64 - RHA/js

ACCOMPLISHED: Direct billing of member subscribers of the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Councils on Human Relations. Nonsubscriber members of the Florida and Georgia Councils have been invited to become subscribers, Exhibit 1 or adaptation.

Response: Alabama - approximately 90 renewal notices sent 9-16 and 12-4-64, second notice 10-22-64; 5 renewals received

Florida - approximately 1000 letters sent 9-21-64; 56 renewals
32 new subscriptions

Georgia - approximately 900 letters sent 11-30-64; 4 renewals
20 new subscriptions

DIRECT EFFORTS toward cooperation with state Councils chronologically are:

South Carolina asked for clarification of policy; our response, Exhibit 2. No further information from South Carolina. No subscriptions since August.

Verbal agreement with Florida Council to solicit all members and final receipt of membership lists early September.

Verbal agreement with Alabama Council to begin direct billing; complete membership list to be sent when practicable. Requested attractive promotional folder. Two subscriptions received since August through Muscle Shoals Chapter.

Our letter, Exhibit 3, to Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia Councils.

Georgia Council gave go-ahead on direct billing and forwarded membership list. Requested attractive promotional piece for distribution. Seventeen subscriptions since August received through Council, all except four @ $2.00.

North Carolina acknowledged; will forward list in December. Subscriptions received since August, 69, all $2.00.

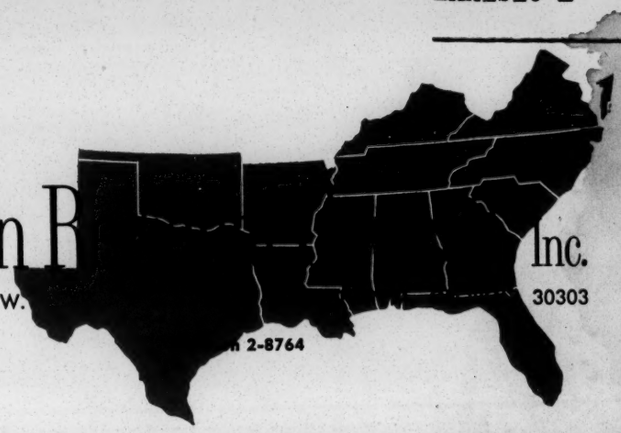
Virginia Council asked clarification; complete membership list will be forwarded when possible. Subscriptions received through Council since August, 36, all $2.00.

No direct response from Arkansas, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Arkansas bulletin received 12-64 carried announcement of changeover effective 1 January. Arkansas subscriptions received through Council since August, 46, all $2.00; Tennessee subscriptions received through Council since August, 62, all $2.00.

MISCELLANEA: No direct communication with the Mississippi Council. About 250 member subscriptions @ $1.00 received in 1964 through Mississippi Council. Based on South Carolina and Tennessee count, estimated thirty per cent of member subscribers now delinquent but not billed.

SCHEDULED January: Mail Exhibit 1 letter to delinquents in Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia Councils, picking up on solicitation if lists come in. Second notice, Exhibit 4, one calendar month later.

Exhibit 1



Southern R Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

1964

TO: Members, Councils on Human Relations

This is to announce a new subscription practice to go with our new price for NEW SOUTH.

Those of you who already are subscribers to NEW SOUTH likely noticed our statement in the June issue that

> effective September 1, 1964, the new rate is $2.50 a year.

Your renewal is now in order.

To those of you who have not been receiving our monthly publication, we hope you will want to become subscribers to this account of facts and opinions about human relations in the South.

The new practice is:

> hereafter, all subscriptions will be initiated and renewed through this office. Thus, the staff of your Council on Human Relations will be relieved of the time-consuming, expensive relaying of names, addresses, and money.

If you wish to receive NEW SOUTH, please fill in the form below and return it with your check in the enclosed envelope. We look forward to receiving your renewal or your initial subscription.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/js

* * * * * *

Please renew (or enter) my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check (or money order, made payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.) for $2.50.

Name _____ Date _____

Street _____

City and State _____ Zip Code _____

1964

Exhibit 3

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO

21 September 1964

Mr. Heslip Lee, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lee:

As we discussed briefly in June, we shall begin billing all NEW SOUTH subscribers directly from this office as subscriptions expire after January 1, 1965. Desirably, we also will invite all your member nonsubscribers to become subscribers at the same time.

If there is a date between now and the first of the year that you would prefer to discontinue your handling of subscriptions, please let us know and we shall bill all expirations as of the next month. In the meantime, we are carrying all member non-renewals since May 1964, according to our records. If you keep expiration dates of subscribers, preferably you will send us that record in order that we may give your members the benefit of any discrepancy in our lists.

Invitations to nonsubscribers of course will have to be made from the list you may send us. Likely your job will be simplified if you send one complete membership list with the expiration dates you may have.

Sincerely,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/js

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

July 8, 1964

Miss Janet Smith
Circulation Department, New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

As Mrs. Spearman was leaving the office, she indicated that there is to be some change in your following up and solicitating subscriptions to New South, rather than the State councils doing this. She was under the impression that this system is to go into effect as of September 1 and that all subscriptions prior to that date are to be forwarded to you as in the past.

With this in mind, I am enclosing a check to cover the June 1964 subscriptions.

Won't you confirm this plan, with any corrections that may be needed, as promptly as possible so that we shall know how to handle subscriptions for new members and renewals made during July and August?

Sincerely,

Florence S. Thompson
(Mrs.) Florence S.Thompson
Office Secretary

Exhibit 2

XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY

July 16, 1964

Mrs. Florence S. Thompson
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

Thank you for your note of July 8 regarding our proposed plan for handling NEW SOUTH subscriptions directly from this office.

The plan will not go into effect generally by September 1 but we hope that all states will have converted by January 1, 1965. We expect to work out the details state by state, as conveniently as possible for each state. To that end, if there is a month between now and January that will be more convenient than another for the South Carolina Council, please let us know it. We will need your complete membership list with your NEW SOUTH expiration dates a month in advance of a cut-off date for your receiving subscription payments. We then will compare your records with ours, always giving the subscriber the benefit of any doubt, and notify your members of the new policy as their subscriptions become due. Also, we strongly suggest that you carry notification in your bulletin and verbally inform your members in meeting well in advance of the cut-off date, and repeat as often as necessary for a clear understanding of the changeover. Additionally, we may issue a general statement in NEW SOUTH for the next several months. Hopefully you will continue to promote NEW SOUTH direct subscriptions through any channel you think desirable.

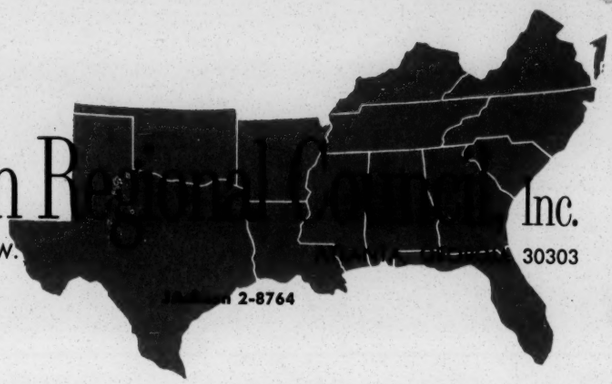
If one time is as convenient as another for you, could you send us your list by September 1 and have the policy go into effect in South Carolina on October 1?

Sincerely,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/js

Exhibit 4



Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Subscriber:

NEW SOUTH subscription renewal time is here!

We hope you have found our monthly publication worthwhile and will want to continue reading it. If so, please fill in the form below and return it with your check in the enclosed envelope. You may have been receiving NEW SOUTH through your membership in a state Council on Human Relations but we now handle all subscriptions directly.

We look forward to receiving your renewal.

Sincerely,

Ruth House Alexander

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/js

* * * * * *

Please renew my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check (or money order, made payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.) for $2.50.

Date _____

Name _____

Street _____

City and State _____ Zip Code _____

December 21, 1964

LWD VEJ

Status of New South subscription changeover

Attached is a memo relating the status of New South subscription changeover, as prepared by Janet Smith. I have not added or deleted anything from Janet's report because it very ably describes the situation as it presently stands.

A 2.50 4/14/65 LK

LWD JS

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

April 10, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 7. I appreciate your looking into the matter, and your sending me a set of last year's publications to me here at Roosevelt. I look forward to receiving them.

I also enclose check for $2.50 for renewal of my subscription to New South.

Sincerely yours,

August Meier

August Meier
Professor of History

April 7, 1965

Mr. August Meier
Professor of History
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Meier:

We have investigated the matter of your not having received publications of the Southern Regional Council. The difficulty was occasioned by your change of address, notice of which we have just received. Be assured, however, that hereafter you will receive the SRC publications.

As to your New South subscription, we would appreciate very much the renewal of same. May we hear from you soon on this matter? The cost is now $2.50 per year.

Assuming that you did not receive any of last year's publications, we are forwarding same to you under separate cover.

If we may be of further service, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

Lvd
MA

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

March 8, 1965

Miss Ruth H, Alexander,
Sec'y-Treas.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Alexander:

I have your recent circular about renewing my subscription to New South.

I think New South is a fine magazine, but for me, as a scholar, your mimeographed reports are far more valuable. Leslie Dunbar some time ago said he would put me on the list, and he did; but my name got taken off rather soon. I have not received anything except New South for some time.

I have no objection to renewing my New South subscription, but I am more interested in receiving these reports. I would appreciate your looking into the matter, and when this whole thing gets straightened out to our mutual satisfaction, I will be delighted to renew my subscription. If there is any charge for the service of receiving the reports, please let me know.

Please give my best regards to Mr. Dunbar.

N.S. formerly complimentary
Rec'd 2.00 3-64
billed 2-26-65 - this is
first notice of change of address.

Sincerely yours,
August Meier
Professor of History

P.S. On your records my address is indicated as 617 Highland Avenue, Newark, N. J. My current address is as above.

LWDL
JS'

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
1775 SOUTH COLLEGE ROAD
COLUMBUS 10, OHIO

April 12, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Geoggia

Dear Mr. Jordan,

Thank you ever-so-much for sending me the useful materials you did--your 1964 publications and issues of New South. I am currently revising my textbook in American minority relations and it should prove to be invaluable material. Likewise, in course lectures it is most useful. So again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

James W. Vander Zanden

James W. Vander Zanden
Assistant Professor

November 1, 1965

Mr. Ted Crabb
Director, Student Union
Memorial Union Building
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Crabb:

Arlie Schardt of Times here suggested that you might be interested in receiving our publication, New South, to place in the student lounge. If you are interested, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Memphis Commercial Legal Defense

APPEAL, MEMPHIS, TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 19, 1965

Dual Standard Of Justice Attacked

ATLANTA, Oct. 18.—(UPI)—A special report Monday blamed a double standard of justice for whites and Negroes throughout the South as one of the main causes of racial outbursts and a distrust of law enforcement officials among Negroes.

The report, issued jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the Southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union, cited criticisms of the first trial in the killing of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo and the trial in the murder of Jonathan Daniels. It stated, however, that the problem extends beyond the current publicized civil rights cases.

It said that from 1960 to 1965 at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers were killed by white "racists" in the South and only one of the assailants has been sent to jail. He was sentenced to 10 years.

The report stated that the double standard exists from the Federal courts down to the lowest misdemeanor courts.

"When it exists, it provides separation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policemen and the courts as enemies," the report said. "More than any other factor, it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing 'radicalism' and 'anarchy' in the civil rights movement."

The report referred to the Los Angeles riots as an example of what can happen. In the South, the report stated, knowledge that police and courts can't be depended on for protection against violence has given rise to Negro self-defense units.

The report favored the suggestion of making the murder of civil rights workers a Federal offense and establishing a special civil rights Federal police force.

Now
take
off b

Tony Heffernan
TR 67373

File

Statement by Paul Anthony, Executive Director, the Southern Regional Council:

The Southern Regional Council would look with misgivings on current proposals to establish a new federal police force for civil rights law enforcement, and to make murder of civil rights workers a federal offense.

I want to reiterate the position taken by the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Office of the American Civil Liberties Union in the recent jointly issued report on Southern Justice. It is that impartial administration of state and federal law already on the books is the real problem. The report urges basic reform of southern law enforcement, including truly representative jury selection.

If this can be achieved, the new legislation-- with its own possible dangers to civil liberties-- would not be needed. If it is not achieved, I fear there is little likelihood that the proposed legislation would make much difference.

Enclosures: 3 most recent issues of NS; info on NS publication.

November 3, 1965

Mr. Robert H. Muller
Associate Director
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Forgive me for not having responded to your interesting query sooner.

I found the descriptions of articles from New South factually accurate for the most part (some minor exceptions noted below), if somewhat superficial, and certainly generous in length.

On page 2, the comment about Dr. Wells by Eugene Patterson is reprinted from his daily column. It is the Board of Regents for all the state's institutions of higher education. The time lag between suspension and reinstatement of Dr. Wells seems worth mentioning -- 1956 to 1965. Also note a suggested change in wording on the original for the sake of clarity.

On page 3, the Lillian Smith piece is reprinted from her The Journey, published in 1954 and recently reissued in paperback.

In a spirit of inquiry, I'd like to raise a question regarding the classification of New South by your definition as "dissident." New South is not of the political right or left, because we are, here, studiously non-political. And I wonder by what standard you would measure it to determine that it is "nonconformist," "protest," or "minority opinion." If you are making the classification by comparison with only the rest of the South, I fear you would have to include as "dissident" virtually every mass circulation periodical in the country.

I throw this out not merely to split hairs, but because of an underlying point we in the South have had to come to grips with frequently in recent years. This is that on the question of race, it is not quite accurate to talk about a "right" and a "left" in the same way that one does on other social questions. The fallacy is summed up in the catch-phrase, "extremists on both sides."

In having supported for a number of years the same positions in regard to race as the most of civilized thought, the United States Constitution, the consensus of the nation and now the will of the Congress of the United States, we resent being bracketed as we sometimes are in the South in the "extremists on both sides" phrase with those who hold views based upon racism. And since the main concern of New South is race relations in the South, I raise the question of whether or not a similar kind of bracketing might not occur in your system of classification of the "right" and "left." In other words, I don't think it would be either fair or accurate to classify our publication in the same category with most of the published materials of the right wing that I have seen -- The Citizen, for example, of the Citizens Council organization.

On this basis, we would request some statement of our disclaimer of fitting your definition of "dissident" should you choose to include New South in your publication.

Our present circulation is approximately 2,200, nearly all of which represents paid subscriptions. We are, however, in the process of changing New South to a quarterly publication, and expect a sizeable increase in circulation from this. This change is tentatively scheduled for January, 1966. The general content of the magazine will still fit your two-sentence description. I am enclosing three recent issues as requested.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 3.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

October 5, 1965

Rec'd 10/7/65

Margaret Long, Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

Enclosed is a brief description of the content of some recent issues of your periodical, which was prepared by an assistant under my general direction. The purpose of my sending it to you is to ask you to look it over and let me know if you consider it a fair and adequate characterization (as it was intended to be), taking into consideration that only a limited sample of issues was reviewed. I would greatly appreciate receiving your criticism, including any corrections, additions, comments or alternate summarization.

The enclosure is part of a privately-financed project involving the preparation of a descriptive list of dissident periodicals. (Dissident periodicals are defined as including primarily those of the political left and right, but also a few others considered nonconformist, protest, minority-opinion, etc.). It is hoped that this bibliography will eventually be published as an aid to periodical selection for public and college libraries. Since publication might include complete or partial quotations from your comments, could you please indicate to what extent you would allow me to quote your comments.

It would also be of interest to me to know the approximate current circulation (subscriptions, sales, etc.) of your periodical. Also, in order to avoid removing periodicals from their shelves for long periods of time, we should like to request that you send to us 3 sample issues of New South. If there is any charge, please send me a bill.

If I could have your response not later than October 31, I would be most grateful. Should you decide not to respond, could you please return this sheet with a notation to that effect, so that I will not bother you with a follow-up notice. A stamped return envelope is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Muller dw

Robert H. Muller
Associate Director

RHM: dw

Enc.

PA
~~EV~~

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Nov. 18, 1965

Miss Pat Waters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Waters:

Thank you very much for your response to our request for criticism of our summary review of New South. We were glad to see that you found the description factually accurate for the most part.

With regard to the classification of New South as "dissident," I should say that we do not mean by this a characterization as either politically right or left. In this case, dissident simply means that your publication dissents from what some observers would regard as the majority opinion of the South. In our listing, it would not be grouped together with The Citizen, which we would place under the heading of "Racist." Your publication will be placed under the heading of "Civil Rights and Negro."

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Muller
Associate Director

RHM:jsg

bc: Janet Smith.

January 12, 1966

Mrs. Anna Owers
683 Horian Drive
Melbourne, Florida 32901

Dear Mrs. Owers:

Thank you so much for your kind note. We appreciate your support in the past and are sorry that you will no longer be a NEW SOUTH subscriber. Let us hear from you in the future, however, and if we may be of service to you, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

February 18, 1966

Dr. W. Earl Strickland
President
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Strickland:

It's been a long time since the talk we had that evening about the South and the way of the future, but I've never forgotten the things you said nor the wisdom of your sermons at College Park Methodist.

As you will see inside the magazine enclosed, I'm working with the Southern Regional Council now, helping to put out New South, which has recently changed format and is now issued quarterly. I thought you would like to have a complimentary copy of the winter issue and might want to become a subscriber.

Best wishes to you and your family. Mine has grown 25% cent I last saw you. We have a boy now -- age two.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REJ,Jr./js
Enclosure - 1

2/24/66

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR ALL CORRESPONDENCE ON RESPONSE OF NEW SOUTH WINTER ISSUE SEE:

CORRESPONDENCE: MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLICATIONS:

NEW SOUTH WINTER ISSUE

March 30, 1966

Mr. David H. Klein
21-03 160th Street
Whitestone, New York

Dear Mr. Klein:

Reluctantly, I am returning these. Who can judge such work, really? The imagery has integrity. There was a feeling here (several read them), I guess, of so what? We have all seen and heard these things. Maybe what is lacking is your distinctive reaction, or viewpoint.

Anyhow, thanks, and I hope you will try us again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 3.

MEMO

FROM THE DESK OF — BOB ANDERSON

Pat:

Maggie & I feel he's straining too much to write a "RACE" poem but wanted you to read before we send it back.

Bob

rec'd 3/7/66

4 March 1966

Dear Mr. Watters,

I am enclosing two poems which might be of interest to you for publication in THE NEW SOUTH. Thank you.

Sincerely,

David H. Klein

Dear Pat,

David is my nephew, just out of the army (Ft. Benning). Because he is young and impatient, he would probably like to know one way or the other about what you decide, so I'm enclosing a self ("his" self)-addressed envelope.

Esta Seaton

IS

March 31, 1966

Rec'd 4/4/66

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you very much for sending the items "A City Slum--Poor People and Problems", NEW SOUTH, Winter, 1966, and "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program". We also appreciate your adding PHRA to your mailing list to receive special reports as they are issued.

Cordially,

Gershom Clark Morningstar

Gershom Clark Morningstar
Editor-in-Chief

GCM/db

POVERTY AND HUMAN RESOURCES ABSTRACTS • P. O. Box 1567 • Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

April 4, 1966

Mr. Ernest E. Lent, Jr.
Executive Director
Metropolitan Dade County, Florida
Community Relations Board
1401 D Courthouse
Miami, Florida 33130

Dear Ernie:

It was good to hear from you. Much has happened, indeed, since I met you in Jacksonville, but I get the feeling that what was happening there then might well be happening in a lot of other places soon.

If you run into any material in your work there that we might use in New South or otherwise, please keep us in mind.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: Winter issue, New South, 1966

Bill Lem
E Lewis

METROPOLITAN DADE COUNTY · FLORIDA

1401 D Courthouse
Miami, Florida 33130
Tel. 377-5345

COMMUNITY RELATIONS BOARD

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Mr. Ernest E. Lent, Jr.
Executive Director
Mr. Calvin R. Mapp
Assistant Director

March 27, 1966

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

It is hard to realize that two years have gone by since those hectic days in Jacksonville when I tried to help you get a quick and clear picture of the situation. I thought you did a wonderful job on it.

I have been without NEW SOUTH for the past year and I am entering a subscription for the coming year. I would appreciate your sending me, if possible, one of each edition you have published in the last fifteen months. I would expect to be billed, of course.

3-30-66 $6 —

Best wishes to all my friends at SRC.

Yours sincerely,

Ernest E. Lent, Jr.
Executive Director

EEL:mm
Enc.

July 13, 1966

Dear Vince:

I am putting you on the mailing list to receive all our materials except NEW SOUTH, for which we have to charge a subscription rate. I am enclosing a subscription blank. Also enclosed is the recent pamphlet you mentioned, "The Continuing Crisis." I would be very much interested in your reaction to it.

Thank you for sending your poem. I will read it with great interest. We have had a remarkable number of compliments on your article in NEW SOUTH. I hope you will write us another one.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

Mr. Vincent Harding
History Department
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 7, 1966

Rec'd 7/11/66
Copy to J Smith

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

This is just a note to say hello and to let you know that I have not received the current issue of New South -- or anything else from SRC. How do I get on the mailing list again? (I have seen reference to a recent report on race relations in the south and would especially like to see that.)

Please let me know what I need to do to receive all of your mailings and publications. I shall be glad to cooperate.

Sincerely,

Vincent Harding/cal

Vincent Harding

P.S. I am sending you a copy of a recent product of my often troubled spirit for your own benefit, not for New South. Any comments you have to make will be most helpful, for it really represents a current attempt on my part to reconcile my Christian faith with the many new things I am learning and teaching about the history of the Negro in America.

VH/cal

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

August 22, 1966

Mr. Eric H. Boehm
Editor
The American Bibliographical
Center
800 East Micheltorena Street
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mr. Boehm:

In response to your recent request for a specimen copy of our publication, NEW SOUTH, we are pleased to send you by third class mail our spring issue.

When this office can be of further assistance to you, do not hesitate to write us.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

A GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

AMERICA: History and Life

10 August 1966

Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Ave. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Janet:
Send please!
BA

Dear Sir:

It would be most helpful to us in our bibliographic work if we could receive a recent specimen copy of your publication. In addition, may we have the most recent table of contents?

Eric H. Boehm
Editor

THE AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CENTER
800 EAST MICHELTORENA STREET SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93103
Telephone: Area Code 805 962-6582

JSmith: Please process.

Note. All correspondence relating to this ltr given to JSmith

September 16, 1966

Mr. William J. Miller
Office of Policy
U. S. Information Agency
Room 704
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

Enclosed are publications of ours that might be useful, some in their suggestion of positive programs undertaken by Southerners to correct still serious problems. I have also included sample issues of our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH. It is available on a subscription basis. You have been put on the mailing list to receive other of our material as it comes out.

We maintain an extensive library of articles and news stories about the South which might be useful to you for specific inquiries.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encls. - 16.

September 26, 1966

Mr. Daniel M. Paul, Director
Atlanta Field Office
U. S. Department of Commerce
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Paul:

Thank you for your September 23 acknowledgment to our request and remittance to cover a number of your documents.

Please change your records to show that all future documents intended for us be sent to the attention of our Research Department at the above address, and not to the Field Director.
Thank you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Mary Lee McCallister
Sec'y. to Director of Field Activities

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Atlanta Field Office
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 23, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Research Dept.

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your recent request and remittance in the amount of $ 5.00.

Your subscription to Current Population Reports & Current Housing Reports has been entered and should be forthcoming in the near future.

If we can serve you further, please call on us.

Very truly yours,

Daniel M. Paul

DANIEL M. PAUL, Director
Atlanta Field Office

John Record

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Atlanta Field Office
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 23, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your recent request for publications available from the U. S. Department of Commerce.

Please note the following paragraphs which will designate the status of your order.

( ) All items ordered are enclosed.

( ) This completes your order.

( ) Our supply of the publications you requested is temporarily exhausted. As soon as our stock is replenished, we will mail them to you.

(X) Enclosed are items you requested which are available at this time. The remainder of your order will be mailed to you shortly, from the Government Printing Office in Washington.

( ) The publication(s) you desire is (are) no longer available, and we have requested that refund be mailed to you by the Government Printing Office.

( ) The price of the (forms) (publications) you requested has been increased from $_____ to$_____.
Please send us an additional $_____.

( )

Your further orders and inquiries are invited.

Very truly yours,

Daniel M Paul

Daniel M. Paul, Director
Atlanta Field Office

September 19, 1966

Superintendent of Documents
Atlanta Field Office
U. S. Department of Commerce
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us the following:

Current Population Reports	(Series P)...	$4.00
Current Housing Reports	(Series H)...	4.00
Census Tracks for New Orleans, La.; Nashville, Tenn.; Jackson, Miss.; Miami, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia;	@ $1.00 each	7.00
	Total	$ 15.00

Enclosed find our check in the amount of $15.00 in payment of this order.

Very truly yours,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Attch.

Memo from **HENRY CLARK**

526-6302

Series P 20, 23, 25, 60, 65 etc: Supt. of Documents
& ~~Series~~ H

Atlanta Field
U.S. Dept of Commerce
400 Home Saving Bldg
757 Forsyth St

Census Tracts: New Orleans

Current Population Reports #4

Series P: 11 & 121

Census estimates

S.M.A.

Current Housing $1.00

Order from:

Supt. of Documents
Atlanta Field Off.
U.S. Dept. of Commerce
400 Home Saving Bldg
75 Forsyth St, NW

4.00 Series P (Current Population Reports) & 4.00 Series H (Current Housing Reports)

PLUS Tracts for these areas:

1. N.O. La. (New Orleans)
Nashville
Jackson, Miss
Miami
Jacksonville
Richmond
Norfolk

cc: JSmith - Should they be put on the library list?
js

September 30, 1966

Mrs. Gertrude W. Johnson
Reference Department
Office of the University
Librarian
Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Enclosed is the October-November issue, 1963, of NEW SOUTH you requested in your recent letter.

We are pleased to send you this issue with our compliments.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Enclosure - 1.

WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY
SALEM, OREGON

OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIAN

September 23, 1966

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

We should like to secure the October-November issues, 1963, of the New South, which featured "Direct Action in the South".

Do you have these back issues available, or reprints of them? If so, please send us a copy of each issue and bill us. Thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Gertrude W. Johnson

(Mrs.) Gertrude W. Johnson
Head, Reference Dept.

cc: JSmith - please check. js

September 30, 1966

Mrs. Hertha Banfield
Serials Librarian
Amherst College Library
Amherst, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Banfield:

Thank you for your card of September 21.

Please accept our apologies for your not having received the spring, 1966, issue of NEW SOUTH. We are enclosing a copy, and will make sure there is not a recurrence through error on our part.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Enclosure - 1.

AMHERST COLLEGE LIBRARY
Amherst, Mass

September 21, 1966

Gentlemen:

On a subscription placed through F.W. Faxon Company, Inc. we have failed to receive NEW SOUTH, volume 21, no.2, May 1966. We paid Faxon for 1966. Will you please see that it is sent?

Very truly yours,
Hertha Banfield
(Mrs) Hertha Banfield
Serials Librarian

September 30, 1966

Mr. Charles J. Adams
Editor, Pilot Index
P. O. Box 6067
Gary, Indiana

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you for your letter of September 21.

In reference to your inquiries, our publication, NEW SOUTH, is published quarterly; our circulation is approximately 3,000; our major concern is with southern race relations, education, and economic development. Enclosed is our summer, 1966, issue.

If we can be of further assistance, please be in touch again.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

Charles J. Adams
P.O. Box 6067
Gary, Indiana 46406

September 21, 1966

Editor and Publisher, New South
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Pilot Index of Current Issues

Dear Sir:

I, a librarian, collaborating with a nationally known publisher of reference books, am undertaking a pilot project to help decide about the commercial feasibility of a proposed new periodical index.

My publisher and I believe strongly that a new index, which would include views such as those expressed in your publication, is needed by students, scholars, and the general reading public. We personally feel that if periodicals, such as yours, were regularly indexed more libraries would subscribe and keep back issues. Thus not only would your circulation be increased, but your impact could be greatly broadened, and retrospective use augmented.

During the next four to six weeks we shall subject-index articles in current issues of about fifty magazines and journals in order that a working sample of the proposed index can be printed and studied, before deciding whether to go ahead with regular publication next January.

Please send your current issues, for September and October, to the above Post Office Box address, and they will be considered for inclusion. Since this is a pilot edition we invite any suggestions. Also, we would appreciate any information about circulation, editorial policy, and other matters, you wish to provide.

If you would like us to submit an article or letter-to-the-editor describing our proposed index please let us know your specifications, and we will do our best to meet your requirements.

Thank you for your cooperation in this much-needed endeavor, which we are attempting.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Adams

Charles J. Adams
Editor, Pilot Index

cc:JSmith -- please set up exchange. js

October 6, 1966

Mr. Leon Howell
Editor
Wind and Chaff
The University Christian
Movement
National Student Christian
Federation
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Howell:

We would consider it a pleasure to set up an exchange of publications between our magazine and yours, and feel that we both shall benefit immeasureably from the arrangement.

As you may already know, we are now a quarterly magazine, and our next issue (fall, 1966), is not yet off the press. We will, however, send you a copy when it is ready. In the meantime, enclosed is a copy of our summer, 1966 issue.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Enclosure - 1.

COMMISSION ON WORLD MISSION
(formerly the Student Volunteer Movement)
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
The United States affiliated member of the World Student Christian Federation and the Student Movement related to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027 • TELEPHONE: 870-2363 • CABLE: UNISTUD

Janet
Write for exchange subscription

August 31, 1966

BA

Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I am writing as editor of WIND AND CHAFF, the publication of the University Christian Movement which has a circulation of 15,000, being subscribed to by students on campuses in every state and in almost every country of the world.

We would like either a complimentary subscription to NEW SOUTH, especially since we hope to be referring to your articles from time to time, or a possible exchange of publications, although we realize our publication is not of the same subscription value as yours.

If either of the above considerations is not possible, we should like to receive the proper forms so that we may consider a regular subscription.

Cordially yours,

Leon Howell/ja

Leon Howell
Literature and Study Secretary

LH:ja
cc: Len Clough
Paul Schrading

The National Student Christian Federation is a continuing organization resulting from the unification of the Interseminary Committee, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the United Student Christian Council.

September 30, 1966

Mr. Nathaniel H. Puffer
Assistant Acquisitions
The University Library
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware 19711

Dear Mr. Puffer:

We are delighted that you want to purchase available back issues of NEW SOUTH. Regretably, we have only file copies for issues before 1961. We can, however, provide you copies for the five year period between 1961 and 1965 for the cost of $10.00. If you would like for us to send these to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

NEWARK, DELAWARE 19711

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

September 27, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

The University Library of the University of Delaware is interested in purchasing back issues of NEW SOUTH. Would you kindly quote us a price on all available issues from Vol. 1 through Vol. 20, 1965?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Nathaniel H. Puffer

Nathaniel H. Puffer
Ass't Acquisitions

cc: JSmith

October 6, 1966

Trinity University
Library-Periodicals
Department
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas 78212

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for calling our attention to the fact that you have not been receiving NEW SOUTH on schedule. Enclosed is the latest issue -- Vol. 21, No. 3, Summer, 1966. Our fall issue is not yet off the press, but we will see to it that you receive your copy promptly.

We certainly hope there will not be a recurrence of this particular problem, but if we can be of assistance to you in any other way at any time, please do not hesitate to write.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Enclosure - 1.

CLAIM NOTICE

Date Sept. 19, 1966

To: NEW SOUTH On a subscription placed
(Name of magazine.)

through F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC. 515 Hyde Park Avenue Boston, Mass. 02131

we have failed to receive: Vol. 21 #3-8 (Mar.-Aug.) for 1966

Please supply to complete our file for binding. reference.

We paid FAXON for January-December 1966
(Inclusive dates or volume numbers.)

Library-Periodicals Dept. Trinity University
Name of Library

URGENT - PLEASE!

715 Stadium Drive
Address
San Antonio, Texas 78212

(Be sure to list as per publishers mailing stencil.)

cc: JSmith

October 6, 1966

Mississippi Research and Dev. Center
Library
P. O. Box 2470
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sirs:

We regret that you have not received the summer issue of NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed. Our subscription department is checking on the matter so this will not happen again.

Thank you for writing.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson,,Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Enclosure - 1.

TO: _____ DATE Oct. 3, 1966

_____ FROM: **Miss. Res. & Dev. Center**
Library, P. O. Box 2470
Jackson, Miss.

This is a CLAIM / COMPLAINT / ORDER for

New South, May, July, Aug. Sept. 1966
(title of periodical) (vol.) (no.) (date)

It was never received ✓. It is missing from our collection _____

Title page is missing for _____ (year or vol.) Index is missing for _____ (year or vol.)

OUR SUBSCRIPTION WAS PLACED:

Direct ✓ GPO _____ Subscription Service Co. of Birmingham, Ala. _____

October 13, 1966

Mr. Andrew Schulze
Lutheran Human Relations
Association of America
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383

Dear Mr. Schulze:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter received here today.

I am sorry, but we don't have any glossy prints of Lillian Smith. Miss Long suggests that you write Miss Paula Snelling, Box 208, Clayton, Georgia, who was a close friend of Miss Smith's. She also asked me to extend apologies in her behalf for not honoring your request before now.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Lutheran Human Relations Association
of America

VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY - VALPARAISO, INDIANA 46383
TELEPHONE: (AREA CODE 219) 462-0331

Rec'd 10/13/66

October 10, 1966

Mrs. Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortt:

It was indeed kind of you to send us the missing numbers of the 1965 issues of New South, and the three quarterlies issued this year, in response to my letter of September 26.

The quarterlies are very attractive, and I am sure the materials in them will be very useful to us in our work, and for my students in the course,"The Church and the Race Problem."

Thank you very, very much.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew Schulze/lms

Andrew Schulze

P.S. I hope it will be possible for your office to send us a glossy print of Lillian Smith, as requested in my letter of September 29 addressed to"Margaret Long, Editor."

KARL E. LUTZE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ANDREW SCHULZE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

CLEMONCE SABOURIN
PRESIDENT

JOSEPH ELLWANGER
VICE-PRESIDENT

GEORGIA FALWELL
SECRETARY

H. DIXON HEMMA
TREASURER

WILLIAM ELLIS
DIRECTOR

ROBERT MILLER
DIRECTOR

WILL HERZFELD
DIRECTOR

ROBERT GRAETZ
DIRECTOR

js: please check.

September 30, 1966

Mr. Andrew Schulze
Director of Research
Lutheran Human Relations
Association of America
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383

Dear Mr. Schulze:

Thank you for your letter of September 26.

We very much regret that you are missing delivery of NEW SOUTH. In order that there will be no recurrence of this problem, we are checking our records to make sure you will receive your issues promptly and without interruption.

The magazine is now published quarterly, beginning with this year. We are sending you under separate folder the winter, spring, and summer issues of 1966 and the May, September, October, November, and December issues of 1965.

Please write again if we can be of further assistance to you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Lutheran Human Relations Association of America

VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY - VALPARAISO, INDIANA 46383
TELEPHONE: (AREA CODE 219) 462-0331

September 26, 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We had been receiving your publication, New South, for quite some time on an exchange basis with our paper, The VANGUARD. This arrangement was confirmed in a letter from Mary Godwin, Secretary to the Editor, dated April 19, 1963. In checking our periodical files, I find that the last issue we received was the one for July-August, 1965, and the May issue of that year is missing.

Your little magazine is valuable to us in our work, also to my students in the course I teach here at Valparaiso University, "The Church and the Race Problem." Are you in a position to continue the exchange? If not, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Andrew Schulze /ms

Andrew Schulze

ms

KARL E. LUTZE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ANDREW SCHULZE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

CLEMONCE SABOURIN
PRESIDENT

JOSEPH ELLWANGER
VICE-PRESIDENT

GEORGIA FALWELL
SECRETARY

ROBERT MILLER
TREASURER

WILLIAM ELLIS
DIRECTOR

H. DIXON HEMMA
DIRECTOR

WILL HERZFELD
DIRECTOR

ROBERT GRAETZ
DIRECTOR

10/28/66

Correspondence from & to
Orion Ulrey, Dept of
Agricultural Economics
Mic. State U., East
Farming, in
BA's possession.

File: New South
Subscriptions &
General correspondence

October 27, 1966

Mr. Evans Harrington
The University of Mississippi
Department of English
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Thank you for your letter. I'll be happy to send you 1,500 words by February 1. (That deadline is so far away as to seem unreal.) If it doesn't conflict with your other pieces, I think what I'd like to write is a white Southerner's reaction to the racism of black power and the yankee backlash. It would be pretty simple-minded, and probably preachy, an attempt to separate the "nigger-lovers" (and haters) from the freedom lovers, suggesting that human freedom and not race is the real crux of the "racial issue."

We have sent the NEW SOUTH brochure to Dr. Canzoneri. Your letter didn't contain the check and subscription blank you said you were sending; perhaps it came separately.

I realize this is an awkward time to suggest it, but I would like to pass on our experience as regards paying writers. We operated for a number of years without paying; we started this year with our new format offering the bare minimal for pieces (under $100), and have found generally (and particularly with professional writers) that it makes for a much more professional arrangement, most of the benefits ours, i.e., an ability to demand, far more regard for deadlines, and more ability to reject.

Anyhow, again thanks for the invitation. If I don't hear from you otherwise, I'll proceed as indicated above.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P. S. It is mister.

NOTE: Spring Issue, 1966 of NEW SOUTH mailed separately same date.

cc: JSmith: Please enter a subscription for Mr. Harrington and bill him if you have not already received it.
Thanks.

File: New South: Subscriptions and General Correspondence

PAUL

(1) You know this guy?
(2) You know anything about his magazine?

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of English

October 15, 1966

Pat Watters
Director of Information
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat Watters:

Enclosed are (1) my check for a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH ($3), (2) a brochure about a magazine, PER/SE, and (3) the subscription form which was mailed out in your brochure about NEW SOUTH.

Additionally, I would like to ask that you send as soon as possible a brochure on NEW SOUTH to:

Dr. Robert W. Canzoneri
530 Dendra Lane
Worthington, Ohio 43085

Sent 10/27/66

I am almost tempted to tell you to go ahead and enter his subscription, since I'm almost positive he will want the magazine regularly; but I'd better not presume that far. Anyway, send him the brochure, please, and send me the spring issue as soon as possible.

Perhaps before going further I'd better identify myself. I am on the board of directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I knew Leslie Dunbar, who used to be with the Southern Regional. Ken Dean, Jim Silver, Duncan Gray all are good friends of mine. I have also previously had a subscription to New South, and in one of its issues some time ago I read your article about the impact of SNCC in Mississippi. I have always remembered it as the best single thing on Southern race relations I have read.

Now, Bob Canzoneri (whose address I've given above) is an ex-Mississippian, author of a book on the state, I DO SO POLITELY: A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH. He and I are both editors of PER/SE, and we are co-editing a special symposium on the South for our Summer, 1967, issue. We would like very much to have something from you. Naturally, I am thinking of a sharp, "inside" piece on the racial situation like you did about SNCC; but we would like to leave you free rein. Really, we're trying simply to select the most intelligent Southern observers we know of and get them to speak their minds on whatever seems important to them. Our only restrictions are copy deadline (February 1) and length (1500 word maximum), and even the length may be adjustable if you feel you need more room. Unfortunately, we're still on a share-the-profits-if-any basis, and so far there haven't been any; but

our format is good, and we have an audience which you are not likely to reach with NEW SOUTH. Already we have promises of contributions from Frank Smith (of TVA), Charles Morgan, Jr., Dave Bowen (of OEO office, Atlanta), Duncan Gray and several others. Jim Silver hasn't replied yet, but he'll almost certainly give us something. And we're also asking Walker Percy, Harry Ashmore, John Rosenberg, Aaron Henry, and many others.

Can you please find time to do something for us? My statement about the excellence of your SNCC piece is no occasional flattery; I've remembered and cited it ever since it came out. I especially hope for something from you. And, by the way, it doesn't necessarily have to be an article. If you write poetry or fiction, we'd like to consider it.

And if you can't possibly do it, will you suggest somebody there (with So. Regional) who is good? But please do it yourself.

Best Wishes,

Evans Harrington

Evans Harrington

P. S. Naturally, we would "pay" in copies of the issue. And, by the way, is it Mr., Miss, or Mrs. Pat Watters?

cc: JSmith.
Please process.

Note: original correspondence given to JSmith
JS.

November 3, 1966

Mr. Alexander S. Birkos
Managing Editor
The American Bibliographical
Center
800 East Micheltorena Street
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mr. Birkos:

We are happy to exchange publications with the American Bibliographical Center. However, I would like to point out that we are not, strictly speaking, a historical journal and for us to carry a notation each issue that our material is included in a historical bibliography might be misleading.

Two copies of the summer issue are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encls. 1. Exchange agreement
2. 2 copies Summer issue, N.S.

THE
AMERICAN
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
CENTER

Orig. form rec'd in Birkos' ltr.

AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS

EXCHANGE AGREEMENT

We agree to send to the American Bibliographical Center two free subscriptions of New South beginning with 1966, in exchange for the bibliographical services outlined in the letter from the American Bibliographical Center of 21 October and a free subscription to the H. A. Bulletin, beginning with Volume 12(I).

Robert E. Anderson, Jr. Signature

Managing Editor Position

Date:

[Retain one copy for your files.]

It would be appreciated if you would complete the following questionnaire.

1. Would you be willing to print in each issue of your journal a statement such as: "Abstracts of articles in this journal are included in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life [and other bibliographies, cited by name]"?

Yes_____ No ✓

The American Bibliographical Center occasionally has requests from libraries or individual users of our abstracts journals for a reprint (offprint) of the original article.

2. On what terms can we procure individual reprints from you?

3. Would you prefer us to supply a photocopy or some other copy directly, instead of asking you for a reprint?

Yes_____ No ✓

H. A. BULLETIN

The H. A. Bulletin appears twice a year (March and December). It contains reprints of abstracts from Historical Abstracts on:

1. General Bibliography
2. Methodology and Research Methods
3. Historiography
4. Philosophy and Interpretation of History
5. Archives, Libraries, and Institutes
6. Meetings
7. Pedagogy

An exchange subscription to the H. A. Bulletin also includes the complete Annual Index of Historical Abstracts.

800 East Micheltorena Street • Santa Barbara, California 93103 • Telephone (805) 962-6582

THE
AMERICAN
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
CENTER

CLIO PRESS

AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS

Rec'd 10/28/66

21 October 1966

Editor
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

The American Bibliographical Center (ABC), which includes HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE in its services, would like to propose an exchange with NEW SOUTH.

We offer the following services in return for two exchange subscriptions to your journal--

First, one or more of the following bibliographic services:

a) bibliographical entries in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS (containing abstracts of articles on world history from 1775 to 1945)
b) bibliographical entries in AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE (containing abstracts of articles on the history of the United States and Canada from prehistory to the present)
c) coverage in the Bibliographical News of HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and the H. A. BULLETIN. dept out

Second, a subscription to the H. A. BULLETIN (see enclosure). We are the only bibliographical service, we believe, offering an exchange subscription in addition to the other services described above.

The American Bibliographical Center now covers more than 600 North American and 1,300 foreign periodicals. Our circulation is worldwide. With your participation in our exchange proposal, information about articles in your journal will become more widely known.

We have enclosed two copies of an exchange agreement. Please fill out the form and return the carbon copy with your signature. We request two exchange subscriptions so that one copy may be retained in our offices for subsequent checking, and the second copy sent to the abstracter.

Your collaboration in agreeing to our exchange proposal would further our common interest in the dissemination of knowledge.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander S. Birkos

Alexander S. Birkos
Managing Editor

800 East Micheltorena Street • Santa Barbara, California 93103 • Telephone (805) 962-6582

Cross ref.
Relating corres. file
in pers. personal file
+ New South, 1966 file

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall 280
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

4 November 66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I meant to add to the letter I wrote you yesterday how much I liked your article in Dissent a few weeks ago - it was just extraordinarily fine. I realized that I knew the old New South and glad to see the new format, and I have been looking at it with profit.

Yours sincerely,

David Riesman

DR/kab

Hill: Isn't he worth a free subscription?
→ RW
yes

Done 11/10/66
N.

cc: JSmith.

Please process.

November 14, 1966

Mr. Peter Kobrak
OPPR
Office of the Secretary
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Kobrak:

Mr. Pat Watters has asked me to forward to you the enclosed materials on the Council. I hope you will find them informative and helpful.

I am also putting you on our mailing list as requested.

If we can be of further service, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

Encls. - 3.

1. SRC descriptive brochure;
2. NEW SOUTH January, 1964;
3. Publications List.

November 22, 1966

Mr. Richard I. Fairfield
Tufts University
P. O. Box 44
Medford, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Fairfield:

I am enclosing for listing in THE MODERN UTOPIAN a brief capsule of publications to be released by the Southern Regional Council by the time of your next issue. Also there is included -- for whatever use you might want to make of it -- a brochure on the Council and a recent copy of NEW SOUTH.

Thank you for the opportunity to be listed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

The Southern Regional Council will shortly release a special report on school desegregation in the 1965-66 school year with a close look at the assault on federal school desegregation guidelines by southern school officials. Also to be released is a study of public assistance programs in the South. A handbook for prospective home buyers with a special section devoted to the problems of a Negro family seeking housing outside traditional Negro neighborhoods will be distributed in December.

JS: Please process.

December 14, 1966

Mr. Dick Valeriani
NBC News
4001 Nebraska Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Dick:

Your subscription is entered; I'm sending back copies.

Hell, things are not as tranquil as they might seem. Come on down any time; I'm sure we can find you at least some low-grade unpleasantness.

It was good to hear from you. If we can ever be of service, let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P. S. I put you on the list for all our other mailings, too.

NBC NEWS
A DIVISION OF NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.
4001 NEBRASKA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016, EMERSON 2-4000

Rec'd 12/9/64

Dec. 7

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Pat,

It appears you are keeping things under control in the Old South, and therefore, there is time to turn to pursuits more scholarly than covering riots and/or rebellions.

So why don't you send me a subscription to New South?

Please bill me at the above address.

Thanks and best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Dick Valeriani

P.S. I'd like to start with the winter issue.

12-16-66

Mr. Walker:

As Mr. Watters promised you in his letter dated October 31, enclosed is the winter issue of New South, just off the press.

Secretary to Mr. Watters

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

Bring-up

October 31, 1966

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York, New York

Dear Gerry:

Enclosed is our summer issue with your attention invited to pieces by Paul Good, Jerrilyn McGhee, and K. U. Smith. Will send you the winter issue, hopefully, before December 1.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl.

December 21, 1966

Mr. G. A. Lloyd
Public Relations Department
Humble Oil and Refining Company
Houston, Texas 77001

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

Enclosed is the current issue of NEW SOUTH containing excerpts from Mr. Wright's speech before the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry. (Page 89).

If you would like to have additional copies, we will be delighted to provide them.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. Anderson
Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH

RAA/km

Enc.

HUMBLE OIL & REFINING COMPANY

HOUSTON, TEXAS 77001

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

December 12, 1966

BA - let's remember to send this fellow 10 copies Jessing NS - & Yer MORE ~~Mood~~ JA

PA

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your note of November 23 regarding the pamphlets I sent to you. I've placed 50 copies of each in the mail to you and will be pleased to supply additional copies to you and to state council directors should they be desired.

With all good wishes for the Holiday Season and for the New Year.

Sincerely,

George

G. A. Lloyd

GAL:ts

December 28, 1966

Mr. Lloyd F. Reese
RFD 6 Creedmoor Road
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Reese:

Thank you, indeed, for taking the time to write us your comments on Miss Hunter's article. I am glad it said something fine and meaningful to you.

As you requested we are entering your subscription to NEW SOUTH, retroactive to the fall issue. There are, I'm afraid, no student rates just now.

Sincerely yours,

R. E. Anderson
Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH

REA/km

Answered - 12/28/66 - ba

File

RFD 6, Creedmoor Rd.
Raleigh, N. C. 27609
December 26, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

My congradulations on your publishing Charlayne Hunter's article "The Sensitive Nerve" in your fall, 1966 edition. Miss Hunter is certainly well qualified to comment on the subject of interracial marriage. As a sociology major, I certainly appreciate her excellent contribution on this topic. From both a sociological and a humanitarian point of view, I am quite delighted with her comments. Since it is likely that I may face this situation, Miss Hunter's presentation has a very personal meaning.

Enclosed is my application for a subscription to New South. If possible, could my subscription be made retroactive to include the fall, 1966, publication? Please inform me if there are student rates so that I may take advantage of this saving. If not, bill me for the usual amount. My subscription should be sent to my college address as indicated on the enclosed card.

Sincerely,

Lloyd F. Reese

Lloyd F. Reese

For many years, New South magazine of the Southern Regional Council has been a repository of in-depth reporting and thinking about the South. Much of the writing in it has been by Southerners; all of it has been concerned with southern race relations and related problems. The publication has attracted quiet attention across the nation as one source of authentic, often subtle and advanced information and opinion about the nation's number-one area of concern. It has developed a following among those who want to be better than ordinarily informed.

Toward the end of continuing and developing this tradition, changes are being made in the magazine. It will be published four times a year instead of eleven (winter, spring, summer, and fall), and contain, over-all, probably twice the number of pages and articles as previously.

Articles by writers who have distinguished themselves for knowledge and perception about the South and racial problems will continue to appear in it. So will the work of the dedicated reporters who travel the South covering its news crises and probing beneath its subtle surfaces. So will the work of students and scholars of the South engaged in research or creative work about it, and that of people who can write from personal experience of the important things that happen.

The Southern Regional Council, aware that the South is in process of change that will set patterns for years to come, has broadened its own program to include most of the social and economic concerns of the section. The New South

will also reflect the problems and insights of this time of change, calling on Southern Regional Council staff and consultants for reports and articles.

In its new format, the publication will, in short, try to continue its past tradition and standards and at the same time serve the new interests of a South that is yet again new, and changing crucially.

The price will be $3 a year; the winter issue will appear in February. Address: 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

File

UNIVERSAL SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE
P. O. BOX 33039
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77033

to Maggie Long or Pat W

NO

* New South
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

We are a small but growing magazine subscription agency. Present plans call for us to issue our Catalogue Number 6 in late Spring or early Summer of this year.

If you will send us your schedule of subscription rates for New South with our remitting rates as a catalogue agency we will be delighted to list New South in this forthcoming catalogue.

Should you publish any additional titles we would be delighted to list these also.

We are looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Best regards,

UNIVERSAL SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

Lucian R. Smith, Jr.

Lucian R. Smith, Jr.

LRS/eds

February 25, 1964

Mr. James M. Wall, Editor
Christian Advocate
P. O. Box 423
Park Ridge, Illinois

Dear Jim:

I tore the attached out of the paper Sunday, thinking that if I were the right sort at all, I would write you a flowery letter of congratulations. Which would be sincerely meant--as this is.

So then I got your nice letter offering to take me to lunch when you get to Atlanta in June, and requesting some of our fine information. For the former, I will be delighted, and for the latter, I have put you in to get e everything we do, as well as a good sampling of what we have done.

And quite seriously, if at any time you need information about some aspect of the problem, or the South, our extensive research materials are at your disposal. Just call or write.

Again, congratulations on your new job. I am sure you will distinguish it. As for mine, I could not have designed one that would suit me better, personally and professionally, excuse the expression.

It was good to hear from you, and I would like to look at your magazine from time to time, especially when you are dealing with the race problem which you Northerners seem to be having so much trouble with.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Information Director

PW/mg

Enclosure

CHRISTIAN
ADVOCATE
FOR METHODIST LEADERS

TOGETHER
FOR METHODIST FAMILIES

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT: Ewing T. Wayland, Editorial Director
P. O. Box 423, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068 Telephone 299-4411

Please Forward

February 21, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters, Jr.
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

According to the Emory Alumnus you have deserted the Journal to go and work with an organization known as the Southern Regional Council. My recollection of this group is that it has something to do with segregation or integration. Whichever, I congratulate you on your new post and will take advantage of this postage stamp to add that your humble servant has also received a promotion. I am now the editor of this religious periodical and since you were responsible for one of the recommendations that got me involved in this job in the first place you must bear some of the responsibility for my latest move.

In any event, it would seem that your new position would make you extremely valuable to me. As I recall you are gathering all sorts of information on what is happening in the South. We are constantly interested in this sort of thing so I hope you will put me on whatever mailing list you have and then keep us in mind for some special stories. I will be down in Atlanta in June and maybe we can get together for lunch on the Southern Regional Council expense account.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Jim Wall

James M. Wall
Editor
CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

JMW:ds

PUBLICATIONS OF THE METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE · LOVICK PIERCE, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

Since 1780

February 25, 1964

Mr. L. M. Wright, City Editor
The Charlotte Observer
600 South Tryon Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I found the attached extramely interesting and of great value. Thanks very much again for lending it to me, and for your time and help last week--the ingights of the interview, the speech and the clippings.

I am starting the struggle with the writing now, and as soon as we get something completed, I will send you a copy--for your information, and if you have the time, I would appreciate an evaluation.

One of my strongest impressions from allthhe interviews was how strong has been the role of the newspapers, yours particularly, as an influence for good in Charlotte. Not just this, but the awareness of it across the board ought to make you feel mighty good.

Anyhow I enjoyed the stay in your city, and the chance to meet you. If you should ever call on us for infomation or background on anything, I only hope I can be half as much help as you were to me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Enclosure

May 18, 1964

Mr. Richard Wald
Associate Editor
The New York Herald-Tribune
230 W. 41st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wald:

During a brief talk with Jim Bellows the other day, I asked him who on the staff there would be a likely person to receive our reports and rare press releases. He suggested you. I am taking the liberty of putting you on the mailing list, and am enclosing material to indicate the type of thing we do and the nature of our organization.

I hope this will be of value to you. If for any reason you think otherwise, don't hesitate to write and say so.

Meanwhile, if we can be of any help to you or reporters covering civil rights in the South, please call on us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosures

July 2, 1964

Mr. Edward Peeks
The Charleston Gazette
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Peeks:

Thanks very much for sending the papers with three installments of your series this is an excellent, comprehensive job on a subject which has not received the attention that it should. If there are further installments, I hope you will send them also.

As I think I told you, we're preparing an issue of NEW SOUTH on this same subject. I will be sure that you receive a copy.

I hope airings of this terrible situation such as yours will get something done about it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
of Information

PW/mp

July 10, 1964

Miss Peggy Siegmund
Southwest Louisiana Register
P. O. Box 3223
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Miss Seigmund:

I amsitting here shuddering reading the dates on such letters as yours that should have been answered long ago, All I can do is say I am sorry for being such a procrastinator.

If it is not too late, let me suggest this breefly. Try writing a letter briefly seeking out the idea and spirit of the coop to several magazines--perhaps Atlantic, Harper's, and the Saturday Review. My point is that it is better to have a market before you write an article. If the above magazines aren't interested, you could try others.

I think, as I told Dr. McKnight, that there is material there for a good magazine story--playing up the success story and self-help aspects. Perhaps Readers Digest might be interested.

When I talked to Fr. McKnight, I had thought I would be in your state soon, and might try to write something myself. As you can see, though, my progress is slow, and if you can, in the meantime, market the story, I think it would be wonderful. Good luck with it, and let me know if I can be any help. I'll try to be quicker in reply next time.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

File correspondence

Southwest Louisiana
Register
OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE DIOCESE OF LAFAYETTE

Post Office Box 3223
CEnter 4-8569
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 2, 1964

Dear Mr. Watters:

Father McKnight has discussed with me your idea concerning a magazine article on Southern Consumers Cooperative which you discussed with him on his recent visit. It could certainly be a help in making such a worthy cause as the cooperative better known in this country.

I would be very willing to write such an article and take the necessary pictures.

Would you please write me your ideas about it? What magazine you would suggest; should it be channeled through you or direct; any preference you have as to content material; stressing any particular aspect, etc.

I would like to begin working on the article itself as soon as I hear from you. In the meantime, I will begin taking pictures in the event it could enhance the feature.

Thank you for your help, Mr. Watters. Knowing Father McKnight and the dedication of the members of Southern Consumers Cooperative, I feel this is an excellent and worthwhile idea.

Looking forward to hearing from you---

Sincerely,

Peggy Siegmund

Peggy Siegmund

September 24, 1964

Dear Ian:

How good it was to hear from you, and to learn of your progress. That is an impressive pair of papers you work for. I hope the next time I am in New York I can accept your good invitation to get together. And of course if you should get down this way, by all means come to see us. Incidentally, we live now across McClatchy Park from your old home in Ansley Park. When we were househunting, we looked at your place which was then on the market; the saleswoman had known you and said that it was where you lived.

I saw Fred Powledge this spring, and occasionally hear from him. He keeps writing gloomy stories up there; the situation must be without that faint inkling (and often more) of hope we feel down here. I'm enjoying my work at the Council greatly; I find I can practise my profession here in the way it should be.

Again, thanks for your letter, and all best wishes to you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Ian MacCauley
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York 10036

PW:mp

October 29, 1964

Mr. Fred Powledge
City Room
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

Here's one I am right proud of. How are you? Why don't you write that piece for Maggie? Any chance your coming South? Regards to Tammy, Polly.

Professionally yours,

~~Mr. Fred~~ Mr. Fred Powledge,
City Room,

The New York Times TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 NY LACKAWANNA 4-1000

November 30, 1964

Dear Pat:

I'm sorry I missed you the other night, but I was happy to hear that you had become the bigtime tv producer, especially on the subject of Brunswick. That place has always been close to my heart since I saw the big-time preacher come down to teach them how to sing W.S.O., and wound up learning that they knew it all along.

I write, sir, to ask that you send me Louisville, by Ben Muse, which I find I do not have. I have your Brunswick and Ben's Memphis, but no Louisville. Inasmuch as I am proposing to Claude that we (I) undertake a lengthy voyage through the Soufland, and inasmuch as that voyage would extend into Louisville, I'd like to get that document.

We all do fine here, better than before, in fact. We moved in the late summer to a place in Brooklyn that is not nearly as horrid as the place you visited us at. Next time you're up, we want you to come. We have a backyard and a tree that grows in Brooklyn, all only 18 mins from Times^2.

Stopped by the Jnl while I was there. Gad. Harold learned that Walter & Sally were leaving, and it didn't seem to faze him at all. I'm sorry Kelly left. I would have liked to have walked into his office and told him to kiss my ass. But I probably wouldn't have. I asked Charlie Pou if he had whipped Kelly before he left and he said no, he supposed he had gone soft.

We shall overcome, Fred

October 29, 1964

Mr. Calvin Trillin
The New Yorker Magazine
25 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Bud:

I thought you might be interested in the attached.

Enjoyed your Letter from Mississippi - in fact found it the best in all the mixed bag of reporting from out there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosure

January 4, 1965

Mr. Bill Minor, Reporter
Time Picaune
Milsaps Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Bill:

I plan to be in Jackson the week of January 11 and would like to impose on you again for further discussion of the COFO situation. It became obvious to me that the assignment that I had when I talked to you last month wasn't broad enough to justify going into the general situation with any depth.

Now, however, I want to explore it and would be grateful for any background and leads.

Thanks again for your courtesy last month and best wishes for the New Year.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

MAKE 10T

February 19, 1965

Mr. Dan Price
The Associated Press
1300 Connecticut Ave.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dan:

Here is about everything we have done along the lines of what you were asking about. SNCC published a day-by-day log of incidents and arrests last summer which should be available at the COFO office in Jackson. Or you could write for it to Julian Bond, 8½ Raymond St., Atlanta, Ga. John Herbers has done some good reporting on the decline of the Citizens Council which should be easy to find in the New York Times index.

Paul won't be back in town until Monday. I left word for him to send you a list of folks to see, and to let them know you are coming.

Good luck. I'll be interested in reading what you come up with.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

March 17, 1965

Mr. Lee Dirks
The National Observer
11501 Columbia Pike
Silver Springs, Maryland

Dear Mr. Dirks:

The Xerox copy is from the Second Annual Report of the Voter Education Project for the fiscal year April,1, 1963, through March 31, 1964. The report is by Wiley A. Branton, director, Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council.

The rest of the material is self-explanatory. Margaret Price's booklet is dated, but is good for for background.

Call if we can be of any further help.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:slw
Enclosure

April 8, 1965

Mr. Richard C. Underwood
Editor
Together Magazine
P. O. Box 423
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068

Dear Dick:

Have just read the report on Mississippi that you and Newman Cryer did, and found it both informative and unusually sensitive to the nuances. Congratulations.

I enjoyed meeting the two of you despite, as you say, the circumstances. I hope you will be down again, and that you'll come by to see us at the Council.

Give my regards to Jimmy Wall.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

P
W
/
m
p

CHRISTIAN
ADVOCATE
FOR METHODIST LEADERS

TOGETHER
FOR METHODIST FAMILIES

+ file

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT: Ewing T. Wayland, Editorial Director
Richard C. Underwood, Editor *Together*
P.O. Box 423, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068 Telephone 299-4411

January 28, 1965
(Dictated January 26)

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia - 30300

Dear Pat:

Newman Cryer and I enjoyed our midnight conference with you and Reese in Jackson, even though we wondered the next morning whether you really did get off at 6:00 a.m. as you had planned.

We drove north from Jackson up to Greenville, Grenada, and Tupelo. In Greenville, we talked with The Rev. Herb Edwards at the headquarters of the Delta Ministry. He said you two had been there the day before. When we arrived, he was the only one on the premises; the head men had gone off to a meeting in Jackson. It was interesting to hear the other side of the story in Greenville--the difficulty of establishing contact with the white community, and even of getting Negroes out to a meeting if they were school teachers or otherwise employed by the local government.

Still, we came away from the state feeling that Methodists, at least, are pulling together more than they have been, and that there are small signs of progress to be found many places.

I hope we can visit again when we all are not so puncy after a long day.

Cordially,

Rich

Richard C. Underwood
Editor, TOGETHER

RCU:sl

OFFICIAL GENERAL MAGAZINES OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Published by the Methodist Publishing House
Lovick Pierce, President and Publisher

Since 1780

File

CHRISTIAN
ADVOCATE
FOR METHODIST LEADERS

TOGETHER
FOR METHODIST FAMILIES

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT: Ewing T. Wayland, Editorial Director
Richard C. Underwood, Editor *Together*
P.O. Box 423, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068 Telephone 299-4411

April 12, 1965

Mr. Pat Waters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303

Dear Pat:

I am glad to have your reaction to our Mississippi report, since you know the South far better than we ever can. As is always the case when one tries a roundup piece for a mass audience, we had to leave out a lot of things--particularly subjective impressions, of which there were many. Nevertheless, we felt it was necessary to keep our report as objective as possible, to avoid controversy over observations we made.

I enjoyed reading your piece in The New York Times Magazine a few weeks ago. You have the knack of reporting little things that say much.

I don't see another southern trip coming for a good while, but if I ever do get down there I surely will want to try to look you up. Meanwhile, if you ever get up this way, see if you can arrange a phone call or even a visit.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard C. Underwood
Editor, TOGETHER

RCU:sl

OFFICIAL GENERAL MAGAZINES OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Published by the Methodist Publishing House
Lovick Pierce, President and Publisher

Since 1789

Newspapers Misc.

The Charleston Gazette

The State Newspaper

Charleston, W. Va.

April 13, 1965

Feb

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Watters:

I simply want to thank you for that very excellent article published recently in the New York Times magazine on children in the civil rights movement.

It answered several questions for me and shed light on the problems and attitudes of Negro youths involved in the movement.

The next time you see Dr. Dozier C. Cade, my friend and former teacher at Northwestern, give him my regards.

Sincerely,

Edward Peeks

Edward Peeks

July 6, 1965

Mr. Edward Peeks
The Charleston Gazette
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Peeks:

Since you are kind enough to send me from time to time copies of your excellent reporting, I am returning the favor with the enclosed.

I don't think I ever got around to writing you how much I admired the material you sent this winter on the southern scene. I thought the FBI, particularly, was good--the first full account I've ever seen on the Albany ironies.

Keep in touch. And please send us articles of yours that you think we ought to have.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa
Enclosure:ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
The South's Standard Newspaper

WASHINGTON BUREAU
614 Albee Building
1426 G Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Tel. No.
National 8-5962

File

August 26

Dear Pat,

Next Monday I'm going to work for The Sun in Baltimore as an editorial writer. I'll be writing mostly about the South and so would certainly find your publications, reports, etc., most helpful. I would appreciate it if you would get me on the mailing list.

I hear you and Reese are getting ready to work on a book. I look forward to it. I hope I see you before long down there.

Sincerely,

Ted Lippman

October 8, 1965

Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor
The Texas Observer
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Ronnie:

Margaret Long is on vacation at the moment -- a couple of months in Eurpoe. I was mildly surprised to be bucked your letter to her, asking if the Observer were getting SRC publications.

I was surprised because I had the Observer put on our press list late last year. It was only mild surprise because, recently, there haven't been many SRC publications. This, however, should change soon.

Tell you what: I'll send you a copy of each of our 1965 publications and releases and, I'll add here that we'd be pleased to exchange SRC publications, including our (currently) eleven-issues a year magazine, New South, for a subscription to the Observer.

O. K.?

Regards,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

LE ✓
JS

The Texas Observer

An Independent Fortnightly

EDITORIAL & BUSINESS OFFICES

504 WEST 24TH ST., AUSTIN

Ronnie Dugger

Rec'd 10/7/65

Oct. 2, 1965

Dear Mrs. Long,

I don't know that the Observer is getting the publications of the Southern Regional Council. Could we work out an exchange, the Observer for these? Thank you.

Ronnie Dugger

File

Counterpart

A MAGAZINE OF DIALOGUE : LIFE IN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

10 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Telephone 765-4230
Leo Gruliow, *Editor*

October 27, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Here are the proofs of your interesting piece on SNNC Youth. Would you please look them over carefully.

Since the piece ran quite long, a certain amount of cutting and restructuring had to be done. Please make sure that in doing so we have not obscured your meaning.

We plan to go to press immediately and publish in mid-November. Would you therefore be good enough to return these proofs promptly with your o.k., your initials, and any suggested changes.

Thanks!

Regards,

for Gerald Walker E.S.

(Dictated by Mr. Gerald Walker but signed in his absence.)

Encl.

October 28, 1965

Mr. Robert E. Baker
Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I just wanted to say what a beautiful job you did describing the second Liuzzo trial in your story of October 23. You said everything that needed to be said, down to the smell of the courthouse.

A wonderful job!

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Note: The above mentioned clipping is filed in Research; Pat has a zerox copy. The clipping was sent to PA from the NAIRO office.

November 2, 1965

Dear Ted:

I put you on our mailing list when you requested it, but as a measure of my general inefficiency, I am only now getting around to writing a brief word of congratulations on your move.

I must say I miss your column in the Constitution. Unfortunately, I don't see the Sun as often as I would like to; you realize we don't regard Maryland as "the South."

Anyhow, good luck with your work. Send us pertinent samples when you can. And if you are not getting our materials, please let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Ted Lippman
Editorial Page
The Baltimore Sun
Baltimore, Maryland

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher* MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, Inc.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1290 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

November 15, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

The Observer cut the southern senators story too, but probably not as sharply as the Journal. I'm enclosing a clipping.

Thanks for the suggestion about writing for the New South. I like the idea and I'll try to stay alert for possibilities.

I enjoyed our brief visit the other day; I hope we can get together again before too long.

Best regards,

Jim

James K. Batten

Clipping not attach'd in PW's possession.

L

Counterpart

File

A MAGAZINE OF DIALOGUE : LIFE IN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. 10 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Telephone 765-4230
Leo Gruliow, *Editor*

November 18, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

As you know, we had planned to release the first issue of Counterpart in November. For a combination of reasons -- a major one being the advice of our circulation manager -- we have decided to wait until January, after the holiday season. This will enable us to do a better job of announcing the new magazine.

We have read your contribution carefully with the date in mind and are confident that the delay will not affect the interest which it will arouse. We shall send you advance copies as soon as they come off the press next month.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leo Gruliow

Leo Gruliow, Editor

DISSENT A QUARTERLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION MU 7-0890 509 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

December 8, 1965

Dear Mr. Watters,

I've been reading your SRC pamphlet on SNCC etc., and admiring it very much. It seems to me exactly right in approahh, in content, in tone.

So right, in fact, that I've been wondering whether I could persuade you to give us a condensed version of it for Dissent. We're becoming a bi-monthly in 1966 and are planning a section of articles about where "the Movement" stands now. I'd want to print the entire pamphlet, but we don't have room for that.

What I'd be very happy to get would be a condensed version of say 5-6 thousand words, with whatever up-dating you think it needs. I'd need it by January 20 at the very latest, if it were to get into the issue for which we plan this section.

I'm sure you are a busy man, but this seems to me something worth doing. In a pinch, we could try to cut the pamphlet here, submit an edited version for your approval and additions. But I think it would be better if you did your own cutting.

What do you think? It would expedite matters if your answer came directly to my home address: 90 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Sincerely
Irving Howe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Travers Clement, Lewis Coser, Emanuel Geltman, Irving Howe, Norman Mailer, Stanley Plastrik, Bernard Rosenberg, Meyer Schapiro.
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Erich Fromm, Sid Lens, Frank Marquart, A. J. Muste, George Woodcock

April 4, 1966

Mr. Curtis Gans
Editor
Americans for Democratic
Action World
1223 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Curtis:

The Vietnam issue was very impressive; a beautiful professional job. I didn't know your talents included this kind of thing.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: Winter issue, New South, 1966

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for **D**emocratic
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1223 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, Tel. 628-2545

Rec'd 3/21/66

--with best wishes.

Kathleen Paasch
for Curtis Gans
Editor, ADA WORLD

4/1/66
Paper, ADA World attached. not with correspondence under LT dictated JS.

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April 7, 1966

Mr. Robert Baker
Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C

Dear Bob:

I am going to be in Washington Wednesday and Thursday, the 13th and 14th, and would like to talk to such worthies as you and Harold Fleming while there. Maybe we could all three get together.

I don't have anything special in mind, so don't hesitate to say you are too busy.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

April 22, 1966

Mr. Remer Tyson
Atlanta Constitution
Washington Bureau
1426 "G" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Remer:

It was good seeing you at the seminar. It was sure an alert and lively affair.

Al Ulmer told me you were hoping to do some more reporting on Vine City when you are back here this summer. I'll be looking forward to seeing it.

If I can ever be of any help from here on research materials, etc., holler. And if you should run into stuff that might make us a story for New South (copy enclosed), I sure would like to see it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

May 24, 1966

Mr. Leonard Zweig, Editor
Trans-Action
Box 43, Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dear Leonard:

I am placing you on our free mailing list. Moreover, I am having copies of our most recent publications sent to you.

Like you, we too are interested in research reports and research in progress which we may publish. Pat Watters, our Director of Information, is planning to travel to various campuses to find out what is going on. We would be happy to share information. As for our own research, we seldom discuss it until it is published. The big thing we have coming out is a book on the Voter Education Project we conducted from 1962 to 1964. It was delayed for inclusion of this year's elections following the Voting Rights Act.

If all the small things can be ironed out, it will be Wisconsin next year. Part time work would be needed to supplement income. The grant won't cover family expenses.

I don't know if you know Pat Watters. He formerly was city editor and columist for the Atlanta Journal. He is a thinking man and an excellent writer. If he were made interested in your Trans-Action fellowship, you would have all to gain. He is a writer's writer.

Yours very truly,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Trans-action
SOCIAL SCIENCE AND MODERN SOCIETY

Published by
Community Leadership Project
Box 43, Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130
Telephone: (314) Vo 3-0100

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Associate Editors

May 20, 1966

Mr. Samuel Adams
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

I told you at Wisconsin that I would be in touch with you concerning research reports, so here I am.

I am interested in obtaining copies of research reports or notices of research in progress so I may consider them as prospective articles for TRANS-ACTION or items for our Roundup of Current Research in each issue. Could you take care of the necessary arrangements?

What have you decided to do about next year? I have just received word from the Russell Sage Foundation that the grant I applied for has been approved. So I am establishing two TRANS-ACTION fellowships for journalists to study social sciences half-time and work on the editorial staff of TRANS-ACTION half-time. This gives the opportunity for immediate editorial application of lessons learned. I'm telling you this for two reasons - - (1) in case you want to give it some consideration, I'd be pleased to talk to you about it, and (2) if you know of some other newspaper or magazine people who would be interested, please let me know. I think this field of social science writing and reporting will become important first with a few major newspapers and a few major magazines. As I told you, I think you are in a strategic position to move into this area and a year at a university, whether it's Wisconsin or Columbia or Washington, will probably help a good deal. I'm afraid that highly placed editorial people will start getting snobbish about graduate credits in addition to the very important consideration of some intellectual horizon-widening.

You are being placed on our free mailing list.

Sincerely,

Leonard Zweig, Editor
TRANS-ACTION

LZ:sm

August 22, 1966

Mr. Jim Giltmore
WSB-TV
1601 West Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I thought the series on Vine City one of the best things I have ever seen on television. The camera and the interviews told the story with rare honesty.

I hope there will be more like this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:jcs

cc: Mr. Ray Moore
News Director
WSB-TV
1601 West Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

February 21, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Baker
Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Just in case this rather extraordinary story didn't make the wires.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: 1.
Xerox copy of ~~newsuitpc from~~ the Atl. Constitution 2/21/67:
"Sen. Long's Racial Talk Protested"
[talk to Demos on race issue]

February 21, 1967

Mr. F. W. Woolsey
c/o Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Bill:

I thought you did an excellent job on us. The historical perspective was right, and you caught the flavor and tone of the organization.

It was good meeting you; I hope you'll be down this way doing such good reporting again. If we can ever be of any help, let me know.

My regards to Bill Peoples.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Note: Clips in PW's possession.

May 22, 1967

Mr. Christopher Johnson
Foreign Editor
The Financial Times
London, England

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for sending the copies of your articles about the South and civil rights. They are, in a way American journalism finds so hard to achieve, balanced, terse, and informative.

If we can be of help any time, please call on us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Arlie Schardt

1/13/69

Reid

PA
~~BA~~
GB
~~JW~~
JL

Sports Illustrated

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020
212 JU 6-1212

Friday Jan. 10, 1968

Hi Pat,

I'm settled in my new office, and thought I'd pass along my phone no's and addresses for anyone at SRC who may be coming to town.

My office is Room 2061 at the above address. A direct line phone to my office is 212-556-3105.

Julie and I live at: 19 Prospect Place
Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520
Tel: 914-271-5492.

Paul Good sends his regards. We see them often, and Paul has just completed the cutting and narration for the filming of "Cycle to Nowhere." I hope it gets good distribution. You ought to contact Paul about it---maybe SRC has some outlets for showing it (the US Civ Rts Comm. owns the film. Whatinhell they'll do with it under Tricky Dick is anybody's guess).

I'm busier than I ever dreamed possible, what with learning this new job and getting acquainted (by phone and mail at this point) with the 70-odd (or more?) guys SI has all over the map. Even harder, though, is unpacking our stuff at home and doing the incredible amount of cleaning and painting our new house requires.

I enjoyed the NY Times article about Reese's report on Wallace. Could you send me a copy? Best to all,

Arlie

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Sports Illustrated

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

Arlie Schardt, Rm 2061

File

March 20

Dear Friends,

The statement sent out by Mike Harrington and myself received the support of some, silence from others, and a number of interesting letters of comment. Some of these latter contained points that seemed to us sufficiently persuasive to warrant a re-writing of the statement.

We therefore enclose a second and this time, necessarily, final draft. It is hard to get a number of people to agree on anything, and so let me urge that if you find yourself in substantial agreement with this statement, despite objection to a formulation here or there, you sign the statement. If you disagree in some fundamental way, then of course you should not.

But I don't think we can have another round of discussion, amendment, etc., or the thing will never come out. We want to get the statement into the May issue of Dissent and toward that end must have replies by April 2.

A postcard is enclosed. Please say yes or no. And if you say yes, list how you'd like to be identified. The usual disclaimr that people sign as individuals, not for their organizations, will be present.

A word on certain of the criticisms:

1) Some people felt we should say something about the war itself, how to end it. With that I don't agree. This is a statement on the draft, not the war. You don't have to say everything in every piece of writing.

2) Some felt there was too much criticism of 'resistance' as a political strategy, thereby seeming to undercut the intent of supporting the students. This struck Mike & myself as tactically cogent. We have retained the criticism, but shortened it and thereby, I think, strengthened the emphasis of support.

3) Some felt we supported the ~~xxx~~ students refusing the draft on moral grounds, while they were taking their position on political grounds. That is tricky, and we rewrote in order to avoid this particular entanglement.

Democracy is good -- but it sure can be exhausting! So please ~~do~~ respond quickly.

Irving Howe

Draft Statement on the Draft -- Not for Quotation

A significant number of young Americans have decided they must refuse military service in Vietnam, even if the consequence will be their imprisonment. Precisely how many will abide by their judgment to the bitter end, we do not know. Nor does it greatly matter. For it should strike every sensitive American as a fact of the greatest urgendy that a good many of our most serious and idealistic students feel compelled to take this step. It signifies a moral revulsion from the country's policies in Vietnam which it would be utterly foolish to dismiss and coarse to mock.

We know some of these students. We know them as among the best of their generation -- sincere, selfless, brave. If this country does not listen to their testimony, if it simply scorns them as "draft dodgers" or proceeds to impose legal penalties, then there will occur, among other disastrous consequences, a terrible alienation between generations that could only damage our hopes for a new upsurge of social progress in the U.S.

We share the view of the resisting students that the war is politically insupportable and morally reprehensible. We wish therefore to state for the public record the following opinions:

Where students and other people of draft age refuse to obey the draft on grounds of individual conscience, regardless of whether or not their refusal rests on a belief in a "Supreme Being," we respect and sympathize with their decision. We pledge ourselves to support them in their conscientious objection and to provide whatever material and moral aid we can in case they are subject to prosecution.

At the same time we would strongly urge a liberalization of the draft regulations to permit such acts of conscientious objection to a particular war or kind of war. There is no cogent reason why conscientious objection must, in 1968, be based on a formal religious system or be regarded as legitimate only if put forward as an objection to all wars. It is entirely possible to hold to moral imperatives and apply them to specific events on the basis of secularist and/or humanist persuasions.

While supporting these students who as a result of serious conviction and mature reflection decide they cannot fight in this war, we do not find ourselves in accord with those movements of "radical resistance" which systematically advocate that students refuse to enter the armed forces.

When draft refusal is put forward as a matter of conscience, it should be honored intrinsically; but when put forward as a political strategy for ending the war (or reconstructing U.S. society) it must be examined like all other political strategies, that is, in terms of likely consequences, productive or counter-productive. In our opinion, draft refusal as a systematic strategy for ending the war (or reconstructing U.S. society) is likely to prove self-defeating. Lacking the support of more than a tiny fraction of the American people, such a strategy might make the task of ending the war in Vietnam still more difficult by confounding the issue of the war itself with the issue of "draft evasion," something that could well elicit among large sections of the population repressive and chauvinist responses.

Right now, especially in view of recent encouraging events, we believe that the best way of rallying the American people to the need for a sharp change

in our Vietnam policy is through ~~political~~ public and electoral activity, which can include popular demonstrations, work in the primaries, and continued agitation. ~~instruc~~

But however we may differ with some of the draft resisters on tactical grounds, we affirm our solidarity with them in support of their conscientious decisions. Moreover, we believe that the right to advocate -- and counsel -- such a course on the draft is protected under the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We therefore propose to join in support of Dr. Spock, the Reve. Coffin and their co-defendents, through public agitation against their prosecution and financial help to defense committees.

The U.S. now finds itself in a crisis of unprecedented gravity. Shall this country, in the wilful pursuit of a war that millions of Americans find dubious and a smaller but still notable number of us find odious -- shall this country now proceed to prosecute and throw into jail thousands of its finest young people, precisely the ones who in other circumstances might take the lead in social reconstruction? We urgently and firmly declare that the answer must be: No!

April 10, 1968

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
308 Spring Street, S. W.
Gainesville, Georgia 30501

Dear Sylvan:

Thank you for sending your good editorial on Dr. King. It said what needs to be said.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

The Daily Times

TELEPHONE 532-1234 • AREA CODE 404 • 308 SPRING STREET, S.W. • GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA 30501

April 9, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Fprsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat,

Thought you might be accumulating press responses to the King assassination.

Regards,

Sylvan

April 11, 1968

Ms. Virginia Guy
Flare News International
1028 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ms. Guy:

Thank you, but your offer of a news service would not fit our needs. Please do not send any materials.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Flare News INTERNATIONAL

Periodicals • Newspapers

1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
(202) 223-4088

April 5, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This election year, over any other, will be spectacular for its political controversy, intrigue and action.

The nation's capital will be the center of everything important to your hometown and its Negro citizens. No Negro news organization is based in the nation's capital and therefore the explosive, hard-hitting or inside story can be withheld from you.

We'll give you a good send off; non-partisan, objective and strictly reportorial. We'll provide a sizzling weekly column, major news stories and pictures. Additionally we add, when possible, a local angle in national pieces so they will be of particular interest to your readers.

Additional optional services include feature columns, complete news and photo coverage for your special assignments, a research desk to investigate specific information for you, and a Washington bureau address and telephones for your convenience.

This is no gimmick, no political handout and no operational project. -- Strictly news and brotherly cooperation for only limited readership.

Certainly you can afford this reasonable service in these days when our people demand such free-wheeling coverage.

If you are <u>not</u> interested, reply by return mail; otherwise you will receive our initial package and rates.

Very truly yours,

Virginia Guy

Virginia Guy

VG:ddb
Enc.

Flare Inc. NEWS INTERNATIONAL

1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 223-4088

*NOTICE

Please disregard the last paragraph of the enclosed letter. We're including this questionnaire before sending sample package, in order to determine your specific editorial needs.

Subject	How Many	What Category
Hard News		
News Features:		
Personalities, Etc.		
Columns:		
Political		
Society		
Interior Design		
Fashion		
Medical		
Photographs		
Assignments: (by request)		
News, Photography,		
People from your area, etc.		
Washington Bureau Address Telephone Service		

*Regular Weekly Service, includes columns, News Stories, and Photographs - Rate $35.00 per week.

April 26, 1968

Mr. W. W. Bryan, Jr.
The Times-Picayune Publishing
Corporation
3800 Howard Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70140

Dear Mr. Bryan:

I am sorry the press of events has delayed my answering your letter. Of course I will be happy to see you when you get over this way; I am still rueful about missing you before.

I hope you find what you want at the Atlanta papers. If that shouldn't work out, are you familiar with the Southern Courier? It's a weekly published in Montgomery for the Negro community, mainly, of Alabama, staffed by young people, most of them from eastern schools, some of them veterans of civil rights work. It is a highly competent and needless to say valuable operation. If you're interested, you might write to the editor, Michael S. Lottman, Room 1012, Frank Leu Building, Montgomery.

If you should wind up in Atlanta, there are various ways that we might work together to our mutual benefit. Let's talk about it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

The Times-Picayune Publishing Corporation
3800 HOWARD AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, 70140 TELEPHONE 821-1411

The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY

NEW ORLEANS
STATES-ITEM
EVENING

April 3, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters, director of information
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I was disappointed not to have met you at Christmas time last year.

As my stay has lengthened here at the Times-Picayune, I have become more than ever ready to move on, and even fairly desperate (depending on the news or editorial position of the day) to do so.

The Times-Picayune had remained stolidly and forthrightly unperceptive and a non-leader in race relations. I would call it reactionary, but that would have to be proved.

Besides which the T-P is not exciting journalism today and I don't see it as the repository of future inovation and path-finding.

I am making application to ANI through Mr. McGil. I have no idea whether their response will be favorable or not.

It would give me great satisfaction to contribute to the work of your organization. If this would be possible, I wish you would let me know.

Hoping you will see me when next I am in Atlanta, I am:

Sincerely,

W. W. Bryan Jr.

W. W. Bryan Jr.

May 27, 1968

Mr. Jack Bass
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jack:

Thanks for sending the Rivers stuff. I tried my damndest to get somebody interested in the campaign. I had some hopes the Washington **Post** might do something, but haven't seen anything. I hope your analysis is right.

I'm glad you're doing the NEW SOUTH thing.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Recd 5/14/68

May 12, 1968

Dear Pat:

Enclosed is the Mendel Rivers ad. According to one of his very close associates (who helped draw up the ad), the purpose was primarily to show prospective campaign contributors that they were spending money on something. They expect to get 50% of the Negro vote and to win easily.

There is a very outside possibility of a much closer race than anyone anticipates. For one thing, Jim Felder tells me that Payton is picking up strength as Negroes learn that he is a serious candidate. A second factor is that in both Charleston and Beaufort Counties, Republicans are holding primaries for local offices the day of the Democratic primary and cannot vote in both. I know for a fact that Rivers checked with state Democratic headquarters to make certain that GOP's couldn't vote in both primaries, Republican for local offices and Democratic for congressional offices. A third factor is the problem of someone like Rivers in showing concern against a candidate such as Payton, and the possibility of the Rivers supporters deciding their vote not really necessary. This was a factor that I had thought would have played well into Matthew Perry's hands if he had run against Albert Watson--a decision I still regret.

Jack

Jack Bass

Charlotte Observer
S.C.

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga.

COLUMBIA, S.C.
PM
13 MAY
1968

Note: Newspaper in Resch file

September 18, 1968

Miss Lois Coplan
Southern Garment Worker
457 Plaster Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Lois:

Thank you for sending the paper. I am impressed. It is a professional looking and reading newspaper.

Come to see us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

FROM THE DESK OF

Lois Coplan

Hi, Pat:

I know you don't have enough reading material, so I'm sending you a copy of my first paper.

Congratulations on your grant. Hope all is well with you.

Lois

November 1, 1968

Mr. Godfrey Hodgson
The London Times
529 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Godfrey:

Thank you for sending the impressive wrap-up on Wallace. What you said last spring still generally prevails today. Congratuations.

I'm enclosing a copy of our most recent report, in case you didn't get one.

Come to see us whenever you are down this way.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl. - 1.

11/1/68

JS:

Pat requests that the following individual be put on the press list, if he is not already on:

Mr. Godfrey Hodgson
The London Times
529 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

2/21/69

CROSS REFERENCE:

For correspondence to PW and LWD from:

A. G. Sheorey, Managing Editor
Nagpur Times
Nagpur, India

SEE: Field Foundation

Foundations: Leslie W. Dunbar

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence re Hartwell Daley, Bureau Manager of the Journal Pioneer, see

Requests for Information

CROSS REFERENCE

For:

Correspondence re Gerald Walker of New York *Times* magazine

See:

Walker, Gerald

File

PA — as discussed
PW

Pat - I don't think there anything we can do — P

The following budget is an estimate of minimum costs for the Student Voice production department during the next two weeks:

SUPPLIES:

12X15 ½ envelopes	18.00
Bailing wire	14.00
developer	5.00
gum arabic	3.00
repair of verityper	10.00
rollers ground	24.00
layout sheet for newspaper	5.00
carbon arcs	5.00
stamps	30.00
newsprint	100.00
paper for pamphlets, leaflets, etc.	200.00
	417.00

SALARIES

Larry Dixon (layout artist)	100.00
Wilson Brown (printer)	100.00
Dena Malone (part time sec.)	50.00
Will Mahoney (co-ordinator)	100.00
	350.00

TOTAL 767.00

November 21, 1963

Mr. Eugene Patterson
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Gene:

Belatedly, thanks very much for your good note.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

October 28, 1963

PERSONAL

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I'm sorry you're gone. You wrote a good column - a distinguished one because you were doing things that went deeper than most columnists reach. I don't know what it is we lack that fails to hold people like you, but it's our loss. Good luck.

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

March 11, 1964

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I tried unsuccessfully to call to say I would be happy to participate in the St. Pius journalism thing April 1.

Please let me know what time and what I am supposed to do.

I'll look forward to seeing you there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mm

COPY

April 15, 1964

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I was in Jacksonville recently, and the people there at the Human Relations Council asked me to put a word in behalf of their invitation to you to be speaker at their fund-raising dinner this year, which I gather is a crucial one. Knowing all too well the drains on your time and energy and often the impossibility of doing so many things you'd like to, I will just say that this invitation does represent a good cause. I doubt if the present truce in Jacksonville, for example, could have been achieved if it hadn't been for the efforts of these people. Thanks for any consideration you might be able to give them.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

cc: Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Mr. Ernest Lent

July 10, 1964

Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Gene:

I am sending the attached to you not just to get rid of it, but with the thought that you might be interested in the young lady's proposal. I've suggested that she write you.

I know you are grateful.

It was good to see you at the CR Commission dinner the other night.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Pare
PW:mp

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

July 13, 1964

File Eugene Patterson

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Thanks very much for sending on the inquiry from Pamela Nelson in England. When Mr. Patterson returns from San Francisco, I'll see that he takes care of it.

Greetings,

Betsy

Betsy Meade

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

May 6, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Could you suggest to President Allen where such an article might be placed? Maybe you would be interested in it.

Cordially,

RM:gl

Enc.

May 11, 1965

Dear Mr. McGill:

Thank you for the letter from Mr. Allen. Margaret Long is writing to him suggesting that he let us look at his article for possible use in New South.

Enjoyed our recent evening together.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mpa

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

File

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

LAA
~~LJW~~
~~LGB~~
~~BA~~
Ret PW

September 11, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

I am sorry to be late in acknowledging your letter of August 30th but you know how it is.

Your criticisms are accepted constructively. I must say to you that our harrassed news side did pretty well by Julian Bond's seconding speech. As I recall 1964, we didn't do much more than that when another Georgian, Charles Weltner, wowed the Johnson convention with a special speech.

Your point on Maddox calling Bond a Communist does raise an interesting point, however.

We have gotten into the habit, as you know, of assuming that Maddox's excesses will be discounted and will eventually destroy his credibility.

I think to a certain extent this is so.

However, because we have depended on Maddox to make a fool of himself, we have slipped pretty far toward letting him make victims of other people. I tend to agree with you that we were guilty in this instance. I think we owe it to the people he libels to return to the orthodox code of journalism to the extent that, even at the risk of appearing solemnly foolish, we do follow such idiotic charges with a deadpan paragraph indicating that they are idiotic.

I personally have become so accustomed to his people calling me a Communist that I think the charge reflects on their ignorance rather than my loyalty and this isn't after all the 1950s. Nevertheless, I can see your point that some people, and Bond in particular, might consider themselves injured and might in fact be injured by the unrebutted reporting of such rubbish.

Thanks for writing.

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

76 Park Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
August 30, 1968

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
P. O. Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Gene:

This is not for publication. The Constitution's handling of the Julian Bond story in the Thursday, August 29 paper was so rawly unprofessional and against all standards not just of journalism but common decency that damn it, I just want to protest. I have enough nostalgic feeling for those papers over there and enough sense of what they might be and enough respect for you to write this in good faith that it will be accepted somehow constructively.

Surely others have done the same, and you are aware of all the ways the handling betrayed what journalism ought to mean. But just to cite the record:

You ran a front page story leading on Maddox's irresponsible calling of Mr. Bond "a full-fledged Communist or Communist dupe." This is in the very worst tradition of press complicity in the old evil of red-smearing, and the newer one of an amorphous violence, verbal and real, in our public life. The charge should not have been dignified in print, let alone in the lead. (There were legitimate leads to the story, including Maddox's saying he would put Democratic electors on the ballot.) But not only did you use the charge, the story nowhere suggested that it is a lie, and nowhere did it do the victim the obligatory courtesy of allowing him to answer a defamatory attack.

Then on the inside, way inside, on page 16, you have a short AP story with a one-line head on Mr. Bond's speech seconding Eugene McCarthy's nomination. A Georgian making a major speech at a national convention, by all standards you normally use for play, including admittedly lamentable parochial ones, would have ordinarily been out front with a two or three column cut. The inference for its not being there is either Mr. Bond's race or his politics. Whatever the case,

it is shameful that Mr. Bond's hometown paper did not do justice to his performance -- his poise, articulateness, and decency, one of the rare instances in my memory when Georgians could feel proud of their state at a national convention.

I just felt like this ought to be said to you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

cc: Julian Bond

November 19, 1963

Mr. William Fowlkes
Managing Editor
The Atlanta Daily World
210 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fowlkes:

This is to invite you or a member of your staff to be the guest of the Southern Regional Council at the dinner of its annual meeting.

The dinner will be held Monday, November 25, at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs) at the Atlanta Merchandise Mart. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will be the speaker.

While this invitation is primarily social, we feel the speech by Mr. Wilkins may warrant coverage. The dinner is also the most appropriate of the activities of the annual meeting to give you the opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with Council members.

Please let me know at 522 8764 if we may expect you or some other member of the staff.

Cordially,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

January 10, 1964

Mr. William Fowlkes
Managing Editor
The Atlanta Daily World
210 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fowlkes:

We have rescheduled our annual meeting dinner for January 29 at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs), and hope you or a member of your staff will be our guest.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will speak, and as suggested before, this is an opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with our members from over the South.

Please let me know at 522 8764 if we may expect you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

October 27, 1964

Mr. W lliam Fowlkes
Managing Editor
The Atlanta Daily World
210 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fowlkes:

We are pleased that Leroy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, will be guest speaker at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. This is to invite you or a member of your staff to be our guest at the dinner when Mr. Collins will speak.

It will be at 7 p.m., Friday, November 20 at the Biltmore Hotel.

We feel that Mr. Collins's speech may be newsworthy, but we also welcome you for the opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with the council members.

Please let me know at 522-8764 if we may expect you or some other member of your staff.

Cordially,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

February 24, 1964

Mr. Don Deaton
Book Review Editor
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Deaton:

The attached is self-explanatory.

I hope you can work something out, and I can endorse Mr. Francis as a knowledgeable and readable reviewer.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

cc: Mr. Lawrence Edwards

Enclosure

PW/mg

note: this ltr was never sent.

File

Mr. Opie L. Shelton

etc.

Dear Opie:

I have been touched as seldom before in my always bemused lifetime in the South at the thought of the "awful lot of white moderates" of whom I would consider you to be pre-eminent who "subjected themselves to all sorts of epithets in recent years when they stood up and were counted on the side of fair play."

I wonder if you could take time out from your many good works for the betterment of all of us to write a piece about your deep sufferings in the cause of racial equality for our modest little magazine. Ten or fifteen pages double-speaced is our usual length. I know this would stint you some in a listing of your contributions to the cause we both so fervently believe in, and the anguishes of your ordeal in always forthrightly standing up for what you with such utter integrity believe-- but perhaps you could convey for our readers the essence of your sacrifice in that limited space. You would find no more empathetic audience than our readers, some of whose number have even faced murder for their beliefs.

Yours in the cause,

Pat Watters

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Recd 5/23/66

May 20, 1966

Cecil Alexander,
Finch, Alexander, Barnes, Rothchild and Paschal
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Cecil:

I have just read Opie Shelton's piece in the Atlanta Magazine for May: "Patience, Punks and Pinks". I can't recall anything recently that has made me feel more distressed and discouraged.

My heart bleeds for Opie and all those other "awful lot of white moderates" who stood up and were counted and were bombarded with "epithets". My heart bleeds, however, not because this may in a very few cases have been true but because there were so few cases and because people like Opie now line up for hero medals.

What right has he or anyone else in Atlanta white leadership to write a piece like this? I am just back from Denver where I attended the annual meeting of the Council on Foundations. That meeting was supposed to be in Atlanta. It was not, because as recently as December 1965 the Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta, which would have been the local host, vetoed the participation of a Negro on the program: specifically, Rufus Clement! What right has Opie Shelton got to talk about patience when the business committee of which he is a spokesman gives almost no financial aid to the Atlanta University Center, while boasting about it all over the country and in its flashy ads in all the country's magazines? What of importance has any of the Georgia foundations ever contributed to the Atlanta University Center? For that matter, what contribution has Georgia money, including Georgia foundation money, made to the greatest social and political advance in the South in 300 years; while Opie Shelton talks about "patience" some northern based foundations may lose their patience in continuing to have to support southern progress without Georgia money being willing to underwrite a share of it. As a matter of fact, not only here but I believe elsewhere among New York foundations, proposals from southern states that are not for the benefit of Negroes have very little chance, and will not have until southern money begins to pick up its share of the price of racial and human relations progress. With what kind of patience does Opie want the Negro of Atlanta to view the worldwide fame of the "liberal" Atlanta Newspapers, neither one of which will hire a Negro in any decent job?

The plain truth is that Atlanta is fast throwing away the opportunity which it had to avoid going through the kind of problems northern cities are entangled in. Atlanta is more segregated today than ten years ago in its housing and in its schools. I told you two years back that the coalition politics of Atlanta was at stake in the Hollowell election and everything that has happened since persuades me that when the Northside whites refused in that election to allow Negroes to have an equal role, and when a few months later they voted for Goldwater and against Weltner, Atlanta moved toward real trouble, and Opie Shelton's column is just a symptom of how deep the ditch is being dug. I doubt that Opie is well informed about present leadership in the Atlanta Negro community, but if there were an influx of more militant or more radical leaders, Northside Atlanta invited it in 1964.

Finally, where is the "equal opportunity" Opie glorifies and says is here? I see Atwood among his officers; I don't see Mays, Clement, Henderson, or etc? I see Gene Patterson; I don't see Scott. In fact, on his Board or his staff, I don't see a single equalized opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/jo

CC - Morris B. Abram, Esq.
Paul Anthony
Charles Wittenstein
Helen Bullard
Frances Pauley
Phoebe Franklin

OFFICIAL MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

ATLANTA MAGAZINE

Editorial Office, Subscription Office, and Advertising Office, 1104 Commerce Building, Atlanta, Georgia 30303; Telephones: JAckson 4-1311, JAckson 1-0845 (Area Code 404) ■ Printing Offices, Stein Printing Company, 2161 Monroe Drive, N.E., Atlanta Georgia 30324 ■ Typography, Typography Shop.

Subscriptions: $6 a year (twelve issues) in the United States and Possessions. Canada and Mexico: $8 a year. Elsewhere: $12 a year.

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Patience, Punks, and Pinks

Opie L. Shelton

SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE the civil rights movement became untracked. It has now gone off on a tangent sufficiently off course to make some of us question the roles we have played in the drama in the past.

"Opportunity, Equal Opportunity" was the banner under which the original civil rights leadership marched. And that is a goal that no fair-minded person can fault. We all want our chance to compete on an equal footing.

Somehow the "opportunity" facet has been lost in the shuffle. When the Negro leadership finally won the right to compete they turned to other pursuits designed to equip the Negro to battle for his place in the job market. A new leadership group moved into the picture. This new group bears little resemblance to the character of the pioneers in the race struggle. This new crowd seems to seek struggle for the sake of struggle alone. They, for the most part, are a motley group of protesters who care little or nothing about the new opportunities which have been made available to them. This new group seems to believe that only through continued violence and agitation can they stay in the limelight and thus retain their questionable roles of leadership. Even those of their number who have been elected to responsible elective offices are often found playing the role of demagogue.

No one — Negro, white, Indian, yellow, polka dot — deserves anything more than equal opportunity, the original goal.

It is also evident that many of the mature Negro leaders are afraid to call a halt to this new wave of misdirected efforts. They are afraid of being labeled "Uncle Toms." Their memory is short. Just an awful lot of white moderates subjected themselves to all sorts of epithets in recent years when they stood up and were counted on the side of fair play. Many did so at the sacrifice of business, of friends, and of personal tranquility. "Uncle Tom" is a mild sobriquet to those which were hung around the necks of these moderates by their fellow whites.

There is a bitter reaction now beginning to gain momentum among those who have made major contributions to the cause of minority groups. They are unable to associate themselves with this new wave of suspicious irresponsibility which today dominates the Negro leadership.

As one who has been sympathetic in the past, let me pass along a word of advice to the older and more mature Negro leaders who have now retired to the sidelines. You had better get back on your horses and recapture the reins from this crowd of punks and pinks who took over once you relaxed your vigilance. If you don't, you stand to lose much of that which you have fought to gain. Quite frankly, a hell of a lot of people have lost their patience and have become fed up to here with the irresponsible trend which the Civil Rights efforts have taken. (Are you listening, U.S. Government?)

"Equal Opportunity" should mean just that, nothing more. Let's not allow reverse demagoguery to spoil all of the legitimate gains that have been made by those leaders of the past by asking for more-than-equal treatment. Remember that while we may all have been born equal, some of us overcome adverse circumstances more rapidly than others through private initiative.

January 14, 1964

Dear Peter:

On the suggestion to send along to you ideas for a possible Atlantic article, I am enclosing a copy of a history of direct action we have just completed here. (It's the first project I worked on--mainly rewriting, and I am proud of it.) Surprisingly, this is the first time, as far as I know, that anyone has put this sort of thing together. To me, it has two important assets--the chronology of events showing a progression in complexity--such things as the growth from spontaneous to highly organized activity; the increasing involvement of the federal government right up to the civil rights bill; the escalation, so th speak, of weapons on both sides, to mention a few. The second asset is the splitting direct action away from other things happening in the Negro movement or th Negroes, like school desegregation. Most writing on the subject wanders from one to the other, failing to recognize or blurring the unique things about direct action.

Do you think Atlantic would be interested in a condensation? My idea would be to do it with emphasis on the kind of points mentioned above. It could also include developments since it was published.

The direct action leaders down here are planning many big things for the spring and summer, including involvement in the presidential conventions and campaigns. So such a piece would be timely, if that is a consideration.

I haven't done a thing on the novel--except think at odd moments. I hope soon to get through with trying to make money with magazine articles, and get back to it. I'm also enclosing a copy of the speech by Dr. Silver at the University of Mississippi which attracted a lot of attention down here. It serves to back up in terms of facts, if not esthetics, the view of Southern society I took in the novel.

Still hope we will get to see you down this way soon. I'm enjoying my new work, getting a wonderful amount of stimulation from it. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

Enclosures

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.

The Atlantic Monthly Press

January 17, 1964

Dear Pat:

What a good job you have done in the Council pamphlet! I wish it were possible to encourage you to develop it for the Atlantic, but Oscar Handlin has already written, for the March issue, a long-range look at civil rights over the past ten years, and I fear that there would not be room for both.

On another subject, what do you know about the appointments in the Federal judiciary over the past decade, and particularly by President Kennedy? What effect have these appointments had on the civil rights picture? Is there an Atlantic article in this? Would you be interested in it? If not, have you any suggestions?

It is never as easy, on a new job, to find as much leisure time as we predict we will; but once you have got completely settled in, I am sure you will be able to turn once again to the novel.

Please give my best to your wife. I hope to see you soon; but all my friends are leaving Atlanta, except for you and Mr. McGill!

Yours,

Pat

Peter H. Davison
Executive Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Peter Davison

February 13, 1964

Dear Peter:

I am sorry to be so long answering your letter which included the question of whether I would be interested in doing something for The Atlantic on federal judgeship appointees in the South.

I would indeed. Much of the research for such a piece could be done here in the office; local sources close to the situation can fill in the gaps. A lot of the story, as I've always understood it, is the old one of the split in the Democratic Party. A liberal President like Kennedy ends up with conservatives like Dick Russell and Herman Talmadge naming judges for their areas. Generally, I think, the Republican Party has managed to do far better. If the article goes back ten years, the contrast will be clear. The obvious long-time effects of the appointments make the problem one of the really serious ones for the South.

I had hoped to do more groundwork before answering your letter, but have been caught up in first one thing and then another. I leave next week on a spell of traveling that will eat up probably a month more of time. When would you want such an article, and what suggested length?

Progress on the novel continues slow, although I do believe I am ready to put at least a plot outline down on paper now. We saw Howard Zinn briefly when he was here recently, and he spoke highly of you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
W

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON, MASS., 02116

The Atlantic Monthly Press

February 26, 1964

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your good letter which I took up at the magazine editorial meeting today. Your scheme for dealing with an article on federal judgeship appointees in the South sounds promising indeed and I hope that you can write it for us at a length of about 5,000 words. I am enclosing a check for $200 as a partial commission, and if, when it is written, we accept it, we will pay an additional $300. Write it when you can. Since you will be looking back over ten years of judicial appointments, it is not likely to get out-of-date; but it might be good to have it within the next two months.

We like especially your notion of comparing the Republican and Democratic performances and appointments; but I hope you will examine not only the differences in appointments, but the differences in judicial action in the judges' day-to-day handling of cases.

I am glad you have been able to make progress on the novel, and I look forward to the day when it will be done.

My regards to your wife.

Sincerely yours,

Pat

Peter Davison
Executive Editor

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

8 ARLINGTON STREET

BOSTON 16

OFFICE OF THE
PUBLISHER

February 26, 1964

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

For your contribution to The Atlantic Monthly entitled Article on Federal Judgeships we enclose a check for $200.00 in payment of all rights.

Since the ATLANTIC is interested in first American and Canadian serial rights only, we shall be happy, on receipt of your request, to assign the copyright therein to you, at any time after publication date, reserving to ourselves the right to vend copies of your contribution during the term of the copyright as a part of The Atlantic Monthly.

We are advised that this formal procedure is necessary to protect your rights, as well as ours, under the very complicated conditions surrounding the copyright laws.

Very truly yours,

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY COMPANY

Per D. B. Snyder

D. B. Snyder, Treasurer

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON, MASS., 02116

The Atlantic Monthly Press

February 27, 1964

Dear Pat:

I wrote you a day too soon about the federal judges. Now I have before me the March Harper's which contains an article by Louis Lusky called "Justice with a Southern Accent", which only proves that great minds run in exactly the same channels. Take a look at it and see if you don't agree with me that all bets are off. If you do, it's clear that we will have to find another subject to earn that $200, or else start all over.

Yours,

Pat

Peter Davison
Executive Editor

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Davison
Executive Editor
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Mass

March 9, 1964

Dear Peter:

I read the Lusky article in Harper's with much interest. It was a masterful appraisal of the total situation. It is not, however, the story I had in mind in our exchange of letters. What I had in mind was a rundown in detail on the individual judges, Kennedy appointees and otherwise. He gives them a paragraph, naming a few, and then refers throughout his article to the deplorable condition of the district judiciary. My piece would cite chapter and verse on what is deplorable. It would also go more thoroughly into the mechanics of appointments--showing that this is one more example of the disproportionate power of Southern Democratic congressmen, the more insidious because each of these appointments means a lifetime influence.

I point all this out just to be sure we are talking about the same thing before saying that all bets are off.

If you do decide so, however, here are some ideas that might serve as a substitute. I will give them briefly, and if you are interested in any one of them, I can elaborate.

1. I am doing a study now for the Council of three Southern cities that have made it, more or less on public accommodations and other forms of desegregation. I am spending a week in each, asking local people of all kinds how and why and what's next? With enforcement of the civil rights legislation looming as the big thing of this year and probably years to come, a piece on the experience of these cities, the positive factors particularly, would be valuable and timely.

2. Organizational efforts are underway now to rally the positive forces in the South to the effort of seeking compliance and coping with defiance of the civil rights

legislation. The inside story of this effort (we are doing most of it), with an analysis of problems, would be interesting, particularly in light of a none too optimistic view by most of what is likely to happen in many areas of the South in reaction to the legislation.

3. Finally--and I wouldn't include this if I didn't think you have a better basis than most for judging whether I might bring it off--there is the possibility of a personal essay sort of thing out of some of the thought and soul-searching that went into my decision to go to work for the Southern Regional Council. The main point would be that for me--and I think many others--the thing that was most compelling was that this thing that is happening in the South is so damned interesting. Then to say why.

I am holding the check in the meantime. Let me know what to do with it. Your bad news came so fast on the good news I hadn't had time to spend it, and also before I had an opportunity to thank you for the efforts on behalf of the judgeship idea which was yours, not mine, to begin with. Anyhow, I do appreciate it. You have been a real friend.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON, MASS., 02116

The Atlantic Monthly Press

March 13, 1964

Dear Pat:

Yes, I realize that you would do something quite different in your discussion of Federal judges in the South; but even if you were to be more specific, the journalistic novelty would have been rubbed off by the Harper's piece. So I feel we are indeed going to have to rule that out.

Of the three alternative proposals you suggest, none seems to be quite right for the Atlantic, for one reason or another. What you should do is cash that check and keep thinking. So will we. When a good subject emerges from your mind (or, less probably, from ours) we can give you the green light to go ahead with it for us.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Pete

Peter Davison
Executive Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 1, 1964

Mr. Peter Davison
Executive Editor
Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Peter:

Thanks for your letter. I do hope one or the other (or both) of the ideas I submitted prove acceptable.

I start in next week on a vacation's leisurely (I hope) confrontation with the novel. I hope at the end of it to be able to set down coherently and concisely the direction I will be moving in on rewriting it.

I'm enclosing an issue of our New South which contains poetry by a young man you might want to keep your eye on. He is, as I understand it, at Harvard Now and is receiving encouragement from impressive sounding people there. I don't know as much as I should about poetry, but there is a ring, and a swing, to this that moves me.

Have you seen Howard Zinn's two books? (Two, yet!) I'm reviewing one of them, the best I think, The Southern Mystique, for Progressive.

Again, best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PWimp

Enclosure

October 26, 1964

Dear Peter:

It was good to get the go-ahead on telephone terrorism. I am setting up appointments for interviews this morning. One of these will be with spokesmen for Southern Bell here. I hope I won't have to go to any out-of-town, higher level phone people. Is there a deadline?

I was able on the vacation to outline what I want to do with the novel. It will mean rewriting nearly all of the present chapters, and writing a good bit of new material. I have discarded some chapters completely, but in others am retaining material while changing emphasis or tone. I will send a copy of the outline after it has sat awhile, and I tinker with it a little more.

Sorry about Worth Long. He was there for summer school only, apparently. Now, as best I can find out, he is in Washington. I will get your message to him.

I'm enclosing a piece of writing I'm proud of.

And finally, congratulations on your new title.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Mr. Peter Davison, Director
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

December 16, 1964

Mr. Peter Davison, Director
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Peter:

I have completed research and have started writing on the telephone terrorism piece. I hope to get it to you before Christmas, certainly before the end of December. It has taken longer than it should have, but I think I've got some good material.

Once it's done, I hope to be able to concentrate full spare time on the novel.

Best wishes for Christmas and the holidays.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

January 5, 1965

Dear Peter:

From time to time, I've mentioned that I'd like to do a non-fiction book on the Negro movement. I am enclosing a copy of an outline of the kind of book it would be. About half of the material is already written--with only a few changes needed. The rest is in notes and on tape.

I was stirred into doing the outline by one of those vague things--a man with a foundation in New York who on the strength of some of my magazine pieces asked to see other work, including work in progress. I don't know what will come of this, if anything, or even the kind of thing that might come of it. But anyhow it got the outline on paper.

I wanted you to see it, because if you see merit in it and would want to work with me on it--in addition to the novel--that is what I would do, regardless.

I am not yet satisfied with the novel outline; I will send it when I am. I am at the point now where I can put time into this kind of work. One reason I want to divide that time on two books is that I keep having the temptation to put the kind of stuff that ought to go into the non-fiction book into the novel.

Hope you got the telephone piece all right. Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Peter Davison, Director
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

PW:p

February 8, 1965

Dear Peter:

Enclosed is all the material for the civil rights book that I have ready for looking at. The three finished pieces--on the Freedom Walk, St. Augustine, and Ruleville--would require little change. The other fragments are just to give the flavor and feeling I am after. I put them down two years ago when I first began thinking about doing this.

I tried to indicate in the outline that the structure of the book would be loose enough to accommodate things like the three completed pieces. For example, I think just past-tensing the introductory stuff in the Freedom Walk piece would give it the tone of the rest of the book. But in no sense would this be merely a collection of previously written stuff.

I am sending this along now because it will be at least another two weeks before I am clear of what I hope is the last outside writing assignment I'll undertake for some time. After that, I can put all of my spare time into this book and the novel. It is possible even to think of having some office time to put in on the civil rights book. I hope what I've sent is enough for making a decision.

I have all of the raw material--notes, tapes, etc., in hand. It's not unrealistic to think about getting it written in three or four months. Have no fear that I depend on things to write themselves.

As to length, it could easily vary. A very rough estimate would be 350 to 400 typed pages, including those three finished pieces.

I'm sorry I missed seeing you in Boston, and hope by now you're recovered. I've been fighting the bug off myself all weekend.

Enjoyed meeting and talking with Miss Ynpema and Mr. Curtis. Please give them my regards. I never did get her first name.

I'm glad the phone piece worked out. I would like to have the copyright; is this sufficient request?

Thank you again for your interest and encouragement. I'm excited about this thing. In all the welter of books that have come out, none have taken the task (or if you will, sought the vision) I'm after. I am heartened also because others who have seen the things I have share my feeling about what is most important in them. For that matter, aside from Claude Sitton, I don't think anybody else has seen all of these things I intend to write about.

February 10, 1965

Mr. C. Michael Curtis
Associate Editor
The Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Enclosed are the proofs with a few minor corrections. Something I didn't notice at your office is that the football coach toward the beginning is the only victim surviving the cuts whom we named. You may want to make him anonymous so as to avoid seeming to single him out.

Otherwise I want to say again my admiration for the editing job that you did. In fact, I don't see how you did it.

Two other things--I spent $24.85 on phone calls for the piece. And your secretary has me as Miss Pat Watters. I mentioned this just to be sure I don't show up as such in the magazine. (Don't think it hasn't happened to me!)

I enjoyed very much meeting you and Miss Ynpema and the lunch.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p
Enclosure

March 31, 1965

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your prompt if disappointing response on the ron-fiction outline. I intend to keep trying with it.

I will be in touch on the novel when I get done with revisions. I am working on it.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

Mr. Peter Davidson, Director
Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Bring-up Sept. 6 for Pat's attention

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 19, 1965

Mr. David Dempsey
Contributing Editor
Counterpart
10 West 56th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Dempsey:

I don't see any problems to adapting the material in, "Encounter With the Future" to your needs. I will send the material by September 15. Thank you for the opportunity.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

note: Pat has original copies.

Assignment completed & mailed 9/7/65

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Counterpart

A MAGAZINE OF DIALOGUE : LIFE IN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. 10 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Telephone 765-4230
Leo Gruliow, *Editor*

17 August 1965

Dear Mr. Watters,

Gerald Walker tells me that you are willing to do an adaptation of your report, "Encounter with the Future," for our initial issue of COUNTERPART. On the assumption that you haven't heard of it, I am enclosing a dummy issue and a form letter which helps explain our editorial point of view and general aspirations.

Your Report will be one of four on various aspects of contemporary American youth. (The others deal with California and the pleasure seekers; the listeners, or "passivists", who seem to be glued to radio; and the musical romantics, or folk singing generation. There will also be an overview piece on the general theme: Who Are the American Romantics?)

What we would like to have you do is pull out of your Report the material I have pencilled along the margins, and to play up the youth aspects of the civil rights movement. As it now stands, this is more or less implied, and we'd like it to be explicit. Your piece will represent the "activist" segment of the young. I think you can do this very nicely by pointing up your material here and there in terms of our overall plan.

We will need 1500-2000 words by mid-September, earlier if possible, and will pay you $200 on acceptance. If you have any questions, please write me at the above address.

Sincerely,

David Dempsey

David Dempsey
Contributing Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 7, 1965

Mr. David Dempsey
Contributing Editor
Counterpart
10 West 56th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Dempsey:

I hope the attached is satisfactory. The material you marked in the original came closer to 3,000 words than 2,000. This touches all those points, but some of them had to be cut pretty thin. I could, if you feel it needs it, send another 1,000 words of illustrative material to insert. But I am satisfied that what you have here is reasonably reflective of the original.

Again, thanks for the opportunity. I assume that if you do accept this, there will be a note crediting the Southern Regional Council on the original publication.

I found the pilot edition you sent as fascinating a publication as I have read in a long time.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.

September 22, 1965

Mr. David Dempsey
Contributing Editor
Counterpart
10 West 56th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Dempsey:

I hope the attached revision suits your needs.

If possible, and particularly if there is any extensive cutting at your end, I would like to see page proofs -- assuming this is accepted.

Again, thanks.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Counterpart

A MAGAZINE OF DIALOGUE : LIFE IN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.
10 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Telephone 765-4230
Leo Gruliow, *Editor*

15 September 1965

Dear Mr. Watters,

I am sorry not to have written you sooner, but our editor, Mr. Gruliow, has been away and I wanted to have him read your article before giving you a reaction.

In general, you have followed your "assignment"--perhaps a bit too literally, and for this I am probably to blame--but we do have one overall criticism which I am sure you can easily handle in a revision. In general, we felt that the article dealt too much with the various organizations (SNCC, COFO, etc.) in the abstract, and that it did not tell us enough about the people in them. In other words, the material needs to be humanized, and I am sure that in the 1000 words of illustrative material you refer to as being available is what we are looking for. This would mean cutting down on the organizations problems somewhat, and giving us more of the "exhaustion, weariness, despair" etc. of the individual; more anecdotal material, more examples of individual problems encountered by people in the field as it illustrates your theme. I think that once you have identified the structure of the civil rights movement in the South, as you do on pages one and two quite nicely, you can eliminate many of the repeated references to SNCC as an organizational phenomenon and pile in as much material as you can that is illustrative of the personal encounters, the individual ideology of this movement. You do do this to some extent; it's just that we'd like to see more of it. I think the result should come very close to what we are looking for, and if the length runs a bit over what you now have this needn't make any difference. We can always do some trimming at this end.

Do you think it is possible to let us have the revision within the next two weeks?

Sincerely,

David Dempsey
pp PJ.

David Dempsey

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

DD/mj

bc: Mrs. Patricia Schartle.

April 1, 1966

Mr. Peter Davidson
Director
Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Peter:

I have finally completed the revision of my novel, and I am in the process of making last minute changes and having it typed. It is a longer manuscript than before, and I am satisfied, a truer one.

If you are still interested in seeing it, I should be able to send it within a month or two months.

I hope all is well with you. I will be looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

April 4, 1967

Mrs. Emily Morison Beck
Associate Editor
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mrs. Beck:

I will be happy to see you any time Tuesday, April 18, and hope we can be of help to you. It sounds like a good thing to be doing.

My regards to Mike Curtis.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS

8 ARLINGTON STREET

BOSTON, MASS. 02116

April 3, 1967

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am going to be in Atlanta April 17-18, scouting for authors and manuscripts, and Mike Curtis of the Atlantic Monthly has suggested that you might be able to give me some leads. I wonder if I might drop in on you sometime during the morning of Tuesday, April 18; or if that is not convenient, please suggest another time.

Sincerely yours,

Emily Morison Beck

(Mrs.) Emily Morison Beck
Associate Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
So. Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 5, 1967

Mrs. Emily Morison Beck
Associate Editor
The Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mrs. Beck:

Again, let me say how good it was to see you while you were in Atlanta. I hope you were able to reach some on that long list of people I gave you, and that your trip has been successful generally.

I thought of one other project that might interest you after you left. It happens to be one of ours. James McBride Dabbs, former president of the Southern Regional Council, and author of four books on the South (the most recent was Who Speaks For the South?), has undertaken for us a study of southern writing since 1960. One of his interests is to determine what, if any, effect the civil rights movement has had on southern writers, and vice-versa. I think that what he comes up with will be important, and the basis of a good book -- considering the subject and Mr. Dabbs's particular qualities and insights. His address is Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, South Carolina 29104, if you should want to write him.

I sent the novel mansucript on to Peter Davison, and of course am anxious to hear your reactions. Again, my thanks to both of you for considering it.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS

8 ARLINGTON STREET

BOSTON, MASS. 02116

April 5, 1967

Dear Mr. Watters:

I didn't realize when I wrote you for an appointment that my letter would cross yours to Peter Davison about your forthcoming novel. That is exciting news, and perhaps you'll have it ready for me to bear off to Boston with me when we meet, as I hope we can, on April 18! In any case, I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Emily Morison Beck

(Mrs.) Emily Morison Beck
Associate Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
So. Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 25, 1969

Mr. C. Michael Curtis
The Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Your questions and suggestions will be immensely helpful to me as I write. I have had to set the article aside for a while in order to do some editing on a pamphlet the Southern Regional Council is to publish in late April.

I plan to get the piece to you by the end of March. Again, thank you for your thoughtful questions.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Glenda Bartley
Director of Research

GB:js

CROSS REFERENCE:

FOR CORRESPONDENCE TO C. MICHAEL CURTIS OF ATLANTIC MONTHLY, RE CDGM SEE:

NEW SOUTH: CDGM

May 3, 1963

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

While SRC has not published any material directly connected with the Civil Rights Commission proposal to cut off federal aid to Mississippi (nor, for that matter, made any comments about the proposal), I think the enclosed publications help explain why the CRC took such a drastic stand.

Most of the material enclosed is self-explanatory. But I should like to call your attention to conclusions c. and d. on page 45 of our "Executive Support of Civil Rights" pamphlet. I might also suggest that you write Ira Harkey, editor of the Pascagoula Chronicle, Pascagoula, Mississippi. He has spoken out loud and clear against Barnett and other Mississippi demagogues, and it may well be that he commented editorially on the CRC proposal.

Incidentally, I assume you have seen the lead editorial in last week's New Republic on this subject. I must say that I think its arguments against such action are convincing: it would do more harm than good.

Please let me know if we can be of any further assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Enclosures: The Price of Defiance, New South Oct, '62 & March '63, VEP 3/31/63 release, Report on Mississippi, R.Wilkins letter in Cong.

<u>Record</u> 8/29/63, <u>Executive Support of Civil Rights</u>.

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

April 30, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Current is extremely interested in gathering material on the Civil Rights Commission's proposal to cut-off federal aid to Mississippi. I would be very grateful if you would send me any material from the Southern Regional Council on this subject. We are anxious to use this material in our June issue which we are presently working on. Therefore, if you do have any relative material I would be grateful if you would send it right off.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:add

How many additional and exact number

2 c. + d. in conclusions

June 5, 1963

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

I regret to say that we only have about 150 copies left of the March issue of New South on "The Other Mississippi," and we are not planning to reprint this particular issue.

I will be glad to make a limited number of copies available to you but I am afraid it would only be a token number at best.

We will however, have three publications coming out in the near future, which I think will be of interest to you. They are respectively, 1) a study of tokenism, 2) a psychiatric study of children in desegregated schools, and 3) a study of the economic status of Negroes in the South and nation. It may well be that you will want to make copies of one or all of these pamphlets available to your Readers Service and we will do our best to oblige.

I am sorry there are no more copies of the New South you wanted, but whenever we have copies of our publications available, we will be glad to supply you with them.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

May 23, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I wonder if you still have available copies of the March issue of "New South" on "The Other Mississippi." If so, we would be very anxious to distribute copies through our Readers Service as background to material we have scheduled for the body of Current.

If you cannot supply 1000 copies this time, perhaps you could supply a somewhat smaller number?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:add

June 13, 1963

Miss Adele D. Davis
Editorial Assistant
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Davis:

I am sorry thalearn that Mr. Neier has left your staff, but I am sure he has his work cut out for him as Field Director for the ACLU.

Presently, I do not have on hand advance copies of the publication mentioned in my last letter. However, I do expect to receive the first -- that is the "Tokenism" pamphlet late this month, and I will certainly send you a copy as soon as it is received. The same holds true for the other publications.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

June 11, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford, Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thank you for your letter of June 5, addressed to Aryeh Neier, a former associate editor of our staff. Mr. Neier has left to assume the duties of field director for the American Civil Liberties Union.

I regret that copies of New South "The Other Mississippi" will not be available for our distribution. I am afraid that 150 copies would be too few for us to adequately service our readers. However, the three publications you mentioned as being available sometime in the near future interest me very much.

I wonder whether you have on hand advance copies of these publications. They sound like the kind of material we would want to consider for possible use in the body of Current. And, by all means, keep us in mind when you place your print order for these publications.

Many thanks for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Adele Dixon Davis

Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant

July 2, 1963

Miss Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Davis:

Receipt of your letter of June 26, to Mr. Dunbar who is on vacation, is acknowledged. We think well of your idea relative to Mr. Reston's article and information about civil rights organizations.

We are mailing under separate cover our L-Report on the 'Aims and Origins of the Southern Regional Council', which I am sure you will find useful.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

Reid 6/27/63

Return to mig-file

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

PA - please advise us

June 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We plan to reprint in our next issue James Reston's column from the New York Times of June 23, in which he urges the individual average citizen to act in behalf of full equality for all Americans.

We plan to help our readers take up Mr. Reston's suggestion by making available to them free, through our Readers Service, information about civil rights organizations.

Do you have any pamphlet or folder about the Southern Regional Council which we could list. If so, we would need about 700 copies - this being the number of requests we would expect.

I would appreciate hearing from you sometime within the next week.

Sincerely yours,

Adele Dixon Davis

Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant

July 23, 1963

Miss Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Davis:

We mailed to you on Friday, July 19, 600 more copies of the L-Report stating the aims and origins of the Southern Regional Council. We apologize for the confusion and take responsibility for it.

Thank you again for this opportunity of acquainting your readers with the work of the Council.

If we can be of any further service to you, please call on us.

Cordially,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

July 16, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of July 2.

I am delighted to learn that you can supply us with 700 copies of your "L-Report" for distribution through our Readers Service.

To date I have received only one package through the mails containing 100 copies of the "L-Report." In my letter to Mr. Dunbar, dated July 26, I indicated that we would need 700 copies to service the orders that would result from a listing in our Readers Service.

Is it possible there was some misunderstanding on your end? Or were the 700 copies sent out?

Please let me know at your earliest convenience so that if the 700 copies were actually sent out I might put a tracer on them immediately at our post office in New York.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Adele Dixon Davis

Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant

LWD ✓
PA
S
~~ME~~
VJ ✓

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

August 6, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Enclosed, you will find a copy of the August issue of Current. Your publication "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims" is being distributed to our readers in our Civil Rights for the Concerned Citizen packet.

We are indeed grateful to you for making available copies of this report for distribution through our Readers Service.

Sincerely,

Adele Dixon Davis

Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant

enc.

August 20, 1963

Miss Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Davis:

Your letter to Mr. Blackford of August 13 is hereby acknowledged. We are pleased to know that you would like to list as an item available to your readers, our publication Token Desegregation and Beyond. However, the expense involved and the scarcity of the pamphlet make it impossible for us to send you 900 copies as requested. Two hundred copies are as many as we can possibly spare.

Our co-sponsor of the pamphlet, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, of 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, has as many copies of the pamphlet as we do, and they may be willing to share a portion with you.

I am enclosing a copy of our second pamphlet, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, for your information with the suggestion that you may also want to include this study for your October issue. We are pleased to send you 200 copies of this pamphlet also.

Thank you again for this great service.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

VJ - please see

August 13, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I would very much like to list as an item available in Current's Readers Service section for October, your publication "Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond."

I would need 900 copies to service the requests that would result from a listing of this item in our Readers Service.

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Adele Dixon Davis
Editorial Assistant

Coles pham plt.
@ + phone + scarity
ADL has = number
200 - all we can spare

October 16, 1963

Miss Cecile Meltzer
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Meltzer:

We are forwarding to you under separate cover the following:

200 copies of the Henderson pamphlet
100 " " " Coles study
100 " " " Morland study

We are more than happy to cooperate with you and your Readers' Service. However, we regret that we can not send you more copies as you requested, but we trust what we do send will be of some help to you.

Looking forward to responding to your requests in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

October 10, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 20th to Miss Adele Dixon Davis and for your kind comments about our Readers Service.

As offered in your letter, we are very much interested in listing your publication, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," in our forthcoming issue of Current.

Would you therefore please address the copies you have available to my attention, c/o Library Foundation for Voluntary Organizations, 177 East 71st Street, New York, New York, so that it will be available for distribution the first week in November.

We are very grateful to you for your fine cooperation and I look forward to being in further touch with you.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

September 30, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Mrs. Adele Dixon Davis has apprised me of your cooperation in providing us with material for our Readers Service.

We are presently very much interested in listing your publication "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South" by Vivian W. Henderson in a forthcoming issue of Current.

In response to a listing of this item in our Readers Service we would expect at least 500 individual requests. Would you please let me know whether these copies may be made available to us.

I look forward to hearing from you and wish to thank you for your interest, as in the past.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

500

.19 per copy

January 1, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the January issue of Current. You will find your publication "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are continually grateful to you for making available copies of your publication for distribution through our Readers Service.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
Readers Service

send 500 copies

CM:cmi

Fund Free
1-16-64
N.M.

ck $25.00
1/20/64
LK

LWD

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

January 16, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We are very grateful to you for making available for our Readers Service additional copies of the pamphlet The Economic Status of Negroes: In The Nation and In The South by Vivian W. Henderson.

I am enclosing a check in the amount of $25. to help defray the cost of this item to you. I am sorry that, as much as we would like to, we cannot do more.

We are indeed appreciative of your continual cooperation and interest.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

March 24, 1964

Miss Cecile Meltzer
Current Magazine
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Meltzer:

By now you should have received the 800 copies of Direct Action in The South, which was mailed to you on March 17, for distribution through Current's Readers' Service.

If we can be of further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 17, 1964

To: BCC

From: VEH/nm

Subject:

Bernice please forward 800 copies of Direct Action in the South to Miss Cecile Meltzer of Current magazine. I have 4 labels attached accordingly. Thank you.

February 21, 1964

Miss Cecile Meltzer
Current Magazine
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Rec'd 3-17-64

Dear Miss Meltzer:

The Council is indeed pleased to respond to your request for 800 copies of Direct Action in The South, for distribution through Current's Readers' Service.

Presently the supply is extremely low because of the tremendous demand for the publication. However, reprints are in process, and we expect them within a week or ten days. You may therefore, expect to receive your request within a fortnight.

We are happy to serve you and stand ready to do so at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

February 17, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

A copy of the October-November'63 issue of New South entitled "Direct Action in the South" has recently been brought to our attention. We would be very interested in distributing copies through our Readers Service.

As you know, publications of your Council are so relevant to issues focused on in our magazine that we would be most appreciative if you could avail our readers of copies of your publication.

Should we list this issue of New South in our Readers Service we would expect about 800 individual requests for it. Please let me know whether you can provide us with copies for this purpose.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

May 1, 1964

Miss Cecile Meltzer
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Meltzer:

I am enclosing herewith one copy of the Southern Regional Council's Annual Report, as per your written request. We send this to you as information, not for publication.

We are always pleased to serve you at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

CURRENT | 905 Madison Avenue • New York 21, N. Y. • YUkon 8-7900

LWD ✓

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I would very much appreciate your sending me a copy of the Southern Regional Council Annual Report.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

Done

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

July 6, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

It was a pleasure speaking with you this afternoon.

I brought up the matter of the additional copies of "New South" you can make available to us with the editors, and it was decided to list this item in our forthcoming August/September issue. This issue will be out in the early part of August, so we would appreciate having the extra copies of your pamphlet as soon as it is possible for you to send them.

I would like to thank you once again for your generosity in making this available to us -- I know that the material we get from you is always very much in demand by our readers.

Thank you again, and best wishes.

Cordially,

Blynn Garnett

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gb

VJ - pls reply - letter don't of course

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

June 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the past you have generously provided us with copies of various literature published by you for free distribution to our readers through our Readers Service.

Would it be possible for you to supply us with approximately 700 copies of your pamphlet "New South January 1964" free of charge for distribution to our readers? Any help you can give us in this regard would be highly appreciated.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you for all the help you have given us in the past -- and we look forward to hearing from you further.

Cordially,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

:BG

June 30, 1964

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Fwd same day

Dear Miss Garnett:

Pursuant to your request to Mr. Dunbar, by letter dated June 24, 1964, we are pleased to respond.

Regrettably, we can only supply you with 350 copies of the January issue of New South due to the limited number that we have on hand. Although we are only supplying half of what you asked for, it is our sincere hope that these will be halpful.

It is always a pleasure to respond to any request from Current, and if we may do so in the future, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

July 6, 1964

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Garnett:

Pursuant to our conversation this morning, we are sending an additional 200 copies of the January issue of New South. Now that we know you need a minimum number of copies in order to list our publication, we can so adjust our printed orders so as to be able to facilitate you upon request.

It is our pleasure to serve you at all times.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

(200 copies of New South,
Jan. issue, mailed under separate cover)

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

July 2, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 30 concerning our request for copies of "New South."

Although we very much appreciate your offer of 350 copies of this pamphlet, I am afraid that this is so far below our absolute minimum requirement that we would prefer at this time to hold off listing it in the magazine. Since we normally receive approximately 800 requests for an item such as this, it would mean advising at least 500 of our subscribers that the item was not available to them despite its listing in the magazine.

I hope you will understand our position on this, and wish to thank you once again for all the help you have given us.

With best wishes.

Cordially,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

August 21, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am most embarrassed to have to write you that after our phone calls and correspondence, there was some sort of slip-up while I was away on vacation, and "New South" did not get listed for Readers Service distribution in the September issue.

However, if you have no objections, we would very much like to list it in our October issue which will be out in the first week of October. If you do not wish to have it listed in this next issue, will you please let me know as soon as possible since we will soon be going to press? If we do not hear from you, we will assume that you have no objections.

Again my apologies for this mix-up, and my appreciation for all of your help and cooperation (as well as your patience).

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gb

September 3, 1964

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Garnett:

We are pleased that Current is anxious to list in its October issue, the Council's Special Report, Law Enforcement in Mississippi. We can make available to you next week, 700 copies of the report; therefore, please feel free to list same in your October issue.

As always, we are happy to respond to your request.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue New York 21
YUkon 8-7900

September 1, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Once again I come to you for help. A copy of your "Special Report: Law Enforcement in Mississippi," dated July 14, 1964 has just come to our attention, and our editors are most anxious to list this in our October issue. We would need, as usual, between 700 and 800 copies.

If you can possibly make this available to us, I would very much appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible since we will be going to press at the very beginning of next week. Normally, we would not operate this close to the deadline, but as I mentioned, this report just came to us and our editors do feel that this would be a perfect item for us to list in this coming issue.

Anything you can do to help would be greatly appreciated.

Many thanks and best wishes.

Cordially,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gb

April 9, 1965

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Garnett:

Thank you for your letter of April 5 requesting copies of the December 1964 issue of New South, for distribution through Current's Readers Service program. Please know that we are always happy to serve you.

We are forwarding, under separate cover, 500 copies of the issue on "The Book Explosion of 1964."

Miss Margaret Long, editor of New South, has no knowledge of your request presently, but will be very pleased, I am sure, to hear that your editors have chosen this particular issue of New South for distribution.

If we may be of further service, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

April 5, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

It has been some time since we last called upon you for assistance -- I believe not since October, 1964 when we listed your "Law Enforcement in Mississippi" in our Readers Service.

Now we are calling upon you in the hope that you can provide us with approximately 800 copies of the December 1964 issue of NEW SOUTH -- the issue on "The Book Explosion of 1964." The editors have seen a copy of this issue and are extremely interested in distributing copies of it through our Readers Service program.

If it is at all possible to let us have these copies in any quantity between 500 and 800, would you please have them shipped to:

Miss Blynn Garnett
Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71 Street - 2nd Floor
New York, New York 10021

Anything you can do to help will be greatly appreciated, and we look forward to hearing from you further.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible] 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 8, 1965

MEMO TO: ~~XXXX~~ A. P. Brinson (Rev.)

FROM : VEJ

Albert, please wrap for mailing, 500 copies of the December issue of New South to Current, label attached accordingly.

Thanx

June 30, 1965

Miss Glynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated June 9, to Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

In compliance with your request, we are enclosing a board list for your use and information. We feel sure our board members would highly appreciate receiving Current, and it is not at all necessary that you send us a copy of the letter, that is to accompany your sample copies, prior to sending it to them.

We are pleased to know that you have chosen New South from time to time for your Readers Service distribution, and also that you are making Current available to our board members.

It is our pleasure to serve you at all times.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

June 9, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you very much for making 800 copies of your report "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts," available to us for Readers Service distribution. This report will be the first item in the Readers Service listing in the July 1965 issue.

Since your publications have always been extremely successful with our readers, it was our thought that perhaps the members of the Southern Regional Council might find Current of interest.

We would like to send your members sample copies of Current, and/or a brief letter describing the magazine, if you would be willing to provide us with a membership list. Naturally, we would send you a copy of the letter before sending it to your members.

We would very much appreciate knowing whether you think such an arrangement could be worked out, and in the meantime want to thank you once again for all the help you have already given us.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

July 30, 1965

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

Thank you for your July issue of Current.

Your plan concerning mentioning the Council in your letters to board members is in complete agreement with us. We feel sure they will be pleased to have Current available to them.

If we can be of further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary

/nm

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

July 8, 1965

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 30, and for the list of your board members which was enclosed.

We are most grateful to you for giving us carte blanche as far as the letter we will send is concerned. Before sending the letter, however, we would like to know if you would have any objections to our mentioning the Council by name. The letter would simply say that a sample copy of Current is being sent at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Council. Naturally, we are reluctant to use the name of any organization in this way unless we have specific permission to do so.

I am sorry to have to bother you further on this matter, and do want to thank you once again for your generous cooperation.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

P.S. A copy of our July issue containing the listing of "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts" has already been sent to Mr. Jordan, but I am enclosing another copy for your own reference. You will find the listing on the back cover.

Esquire
THE MAGAZINE FOR MEN
488 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 9-3232

9 March 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I'm sorry we held on to your manuscript for such a long time, but it was carefully read by the whole staff, and admired by all. Our decision not to buy it was based on the number of pieces we have done on the race subject, and the problem of coming so far after the event.

I think you are an excellent writer, however, and one I would like to see in our pages. Do you have any ideas you'd like to try on me, or other work in progress ? I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Byron Dobell

Byron Dobell
Managing Editor

Encl.
BD:mar

March 16, 1964

Mr. Byron Dobell
Managing Editor
Esquire
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Dobell:

I am grateful for your good words about my freedom rider piece, and am possibly more sorry than you that you couldn't use it. I am taking you at your word and sending the attached as work in progress--a chapter from a novel I have been working on longer than I like to acknowledge--and the following two ideas:

1. A piece on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, not in the usual manner of awed reverence, or foreboding alarm, but with the approach--without aping the style--of the good stuff you have been using by Thomas K. Wolf (he ought to change his name), a looking at it with this understanding, appreciative, but undeceived, all-seeing eye. I would do it with a visit to the SNCC headquarters here in Atlanta at a lively time, with some action going on, preferably here, but probably just as well if somewhere else. You get people like Julian Bond, a college drop-out during the Atlanta sit-ins, son of one of the nation's most prominent Negro educators. He is calling the local papers and press services with whatever horror has happened, telling it dry and quiet, entirely unemotional, and then turns around to talk some more about the problem of communist infiltration: "Well I'm leery of people who say, 'I'm a socialist' right off, like somebody who would say, "I'm a Republican.' I mean somebody like that is probably a nut on politics..." There's the bulletin board with a printed notice from Mr. and Mrs. J. Christopher McNair and family appreciating "sympathy in the tragic loss of Carol Denise," with a photograph of a young, sweet-faced Negro girl in a winter coat, with a serious mouth, who was one of the four killed in the Birmingham church bombing. Below it is a

photograph of Jim Forman, big and bearish, with a sign saying, "Our leader, the Bear,.." and below this a quote, "Fra Giovanni, 1513, A.D.: "No peace lies in the future which is not hidden in this present little incident..." etc. People wander in and out, girls in jeans and sweatshirts, the Negroes with their hair cut au natural, the whites with no makeup, all pretty and young and built. A white kid who can't be more than 16 is running the off-set press, his freckled, inked face happy and proud to be here, having gotten here from the Washington March where he begged John Lewis to let him come do anything to help. Cordell Reagan, with a high pompadour haircut, and a go-to-hell swagger in just the lifting of his hand, comes in and talks about the interesting rhythm he heard down at St. John's Island where the islanders sing the old church songs and have hand-clappers in different pitches, bass, alto, soprano, that's right man. He is head of SNCC's Freedom Singers who sing the Freedom songs beautifully at mass meetings, but who have made three records that are terrible, the last the worst of all. "I don't know what happens," says Julian Bond; "they just seem to try too hard." Reagan is an old-timer and tells how in the Atlanta jail he said to a cop, "We've taken everything the man can hand out in a lot worse places than this, so don't try to scare us, hear?" Gloria Richardson, her face as hard as her leather coat, might come in, wanting to know where is the action, or Dick Gregory, smaller than you'd imagined, dapper, extemporiaing wise cracks, but looking worried, or serious. Here is a Negro girl, ugly, face splotched with big freckles, sassy, a teen-ager, standing hands-on-hips looking at a reporter, saying, "Yeah I know you. I've seen you. Where? Birmingham? Selma? Hattiesburg? All those rough places..." Here is Worth Long, gentle, intellectual-looking young Negro, big glasses, his first baby a month old, telling how it feels to be beat by a cop. "What do you feel? When he's hitting you? You feel scared if you're afraid. If you hurt, it's good. You don't feel anything. It's like being in a fight, but without anger...There are types they like to beat. I'm one. It's like Bill Hanson--he's one; he says, 'Here we go again.' You can tell when it's about to happen. The guys will set it up..." Here is a pretty, drawl-voiced white girl from Athens, Ga., telling her plans to infiltrate the University of Mississippi. And so on. It would include serious interviews, probably with Forman, Lewis, Bond, and if possible, Bob Moses (who in legend anyhow complained the first year in Mississippi that he had no one with whom he could discuss Japanese poetry). It would tie in rough recent action,

and possibly some I've seen in the past, perhaps Charles Sherrod down in terrible Terrell County, Ga., his voice unctious, insulting in a prayer a raiding party of sheriffs at a voter meeting: "Oh Lord, help us to understand what is wrong with our white brothers..." What it would show is nothing more than what a fantastic phenomenon this is, with these kids and their organization seeming no more serious or profound than any bunch of tough, lively college kids raising hell...until--in the sudden realizations that this particular kid has done this particular unbelievable thing in this particular hell-hole--you realize of course that they are history, and heroes, the saints, God help us...SNCC will be in the news all spring, all summer, probably all year; this piece would have a news peg just about any time.

2. When I was in high school, I worked in a clothing store which catered to the kind of people who have preferences in brand-names of overalls, and the kind of old Negro man who would bring along tissue paper to put in a hat before he tried it on, and the kind of men who buy a worsted suit for $29.95 and put it on lay-away, a dollar a week. This was during the war, and one of the salesmen was a former minor-leage baseball pitcher who was 4-F, and would get drunk every Saturday and spend all of it either listening to on a juke box next door or singing, "Coming In On a Wing and a Prayer." ("One of our planes was missing; With all of its gallant crew; One of our planes was missing; And then this message came through...") There is in the memory nostalgia, of course, for an age we all shared in, and for a culture, there in the store, that might well be unique--certainly individuals who were: The salesman who worked out a system for playing the bug (a mathematical formula based on what numbers had won on what day the previous year) and hit every day for three weeks but was incapable right to the end of the streak--never repeated--of betting more than a penny...The artist who did the windows, four windows, packing every inch of space in them with hundreds of articles, the challenge being how much he could cram in there, temperamental and mean when he was at it... The tailor shop, two old Negro men in the garret, always sweating, who could put cuffs on a pair of $1.95 sharkskin slacks and take up the waist, seam and crotch in never more than 30 minutes wait for the customer...And the old salesman who tied knots in the britches legs of the suits to show how well-creased they were...I would not try to say much beyond recapturing the flavor,

except possibly that I knew then I could escape there any time I wanted to; it wasn't my world; I didn't have to dream about fleeing it on a wing and a prayer, but that now, with it gone, no more such stores that I can find, a block long and half a store wide, I wonder if I did get away from its people, or if, somehow, humming the tune, I'm not caught with them still, measuring time with commissions, ten dollars for a hundred dollars worth of sales, and not going out for lunch for fear of missing a big one, and not realizing how near to closing time it is.

I have never known how to submit ideas, always fearing they wouldn't get across the richness of the material if I didn't make them long, or that they would look like a nut being so long. This time I'm risking the latter.

Let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

May 18, 1964

Mr. Robert Sherrill
Assistant Editor
Esquire Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bob:

I have put your name on the list to receive all of our publications. And at the risk of burdening you I'm enclosing selections of some of our better recent ones.

I enjoyed the evening with you and the Powledges.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters,
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosures

October 1, 1964

Mr. Byron Dobell
Managing Editor
Esquire Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Dobell:

Thanks for your letter. I guess. During my visit this spring, you mentioned the possibilities at Cosmopolitan, or one of those magazines. I've got some material I would like to try out on them, and I wonder if you could tell me who to send it to.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

October 29, 1964

Mr. Byron Dobell
Managing Editor
Esquire Magazine
488 Madison Avenue, N
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Dobell:

I'm pleased enough with the reporting and writing in the attached to want you to read it.

Thanks for the lady names.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

p
w
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m
p

Enclosure

October 1, 1964

Mr. Bill Arthur, Managing Editor
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Arthur:

I am taking the liberty of sending what seemed to me an extraordinary series of photographs for your consideration as the basis of a possible photo-essay.

They were made by Al Clayton, a commercial photographer here. The subject is the baby clinic at the Central Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, the only thing of its kind, as far as I can learn, in the country.

It provides free regular care for some 7,000 children a year from the slums surrounding the church. It's been going on for years, an example of a central city congregation not only resisting the lure of the suburbs, but doing something of value to the people around it.

If you are interested, I could do the writing (I've had articles recently in The Nation, New Republic, Progressive and Reporter), or you could work directly with Mr. Clayton. My main purpose is to bring to your attention the work of an unusually good local photographer on this subject, or for your possible future needs.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

CC: Mr. Al Clayton
Miller, Clayton, Matthews and Associated
477 Armour Circle, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

August 18, 1965

Mr. Ed Guthman
National Editor
Los Angeles Times
Times-Mirror Square
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Guthman:

Please send us five copies of the booklet we understand you have made of Jack Nelson's excellent series of articles on, "Administration of Justice in the South." If there is any charge, please bill us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Ed'd

January 15, 1965

Mr. Ted Kolderie
Editorial Staff
The Minneapolis Star
and Tribune
Minneapolis 15, Minnesota

Dear Ted:

I am happy to put your name on the mailing list to receive our publications. I'm also enclosing a list of previous publications and I will of course send any that you might be interested in.

Good luck with your efforts in this area. If we can be of help anytime, don't hesitate to call or write.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mp

Enclosure

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
STAR
Evening

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

FEDERAL 3-3111
Minneapolis 15, Minnesota

January 13

Pat Watters
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I should probably have made more explicit arrangements about this when I came through Atlanta last spring, but I would like to ~~arrange to~~ get on the list to look at the council's reports as they come out. Our man who'd been following the desegregation problem for a good many years will be leaving the staff in March, and I may get a chance to do a little more writing in this field.

Put me on whatever general mailing list you have, if you can. If you can't send everything to everybody, or operate only on request, let me see some list of publications from which I can choose.

Thanks . . . and best wishes.

Ted Kolderie

February 13, 1964

Mr. Carey McWilliams
Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

Thanks for sending along the Brown University coverage of the Atlanta situation. It was interesting to see it from that particular point of view.

In answer to your kind question of what I would like to do next--the answer is I'm not sure. The Alabama school thing is about the only current surface action, and it seems just more of the old, dismal story over there. I am heading out next week for Charlotte, N. C., where I will spend at least a week researching a report for the Council on how the city has handled its race problems. This will be one of a series on cities of the South which have made relatively good progress. There should be article possibilities in this material--either about the cities themselves or things I run into in each of them. Besides Charlotte, I will be in Brunswick, Ga., and Baton Rouge.

Brunswick by itself is a remarkable story; it is the first deep South city to desegregate its schools voluntarily, and it has desegregated libraries, buses, golf courses and lunch counters without the first demonstration. It is one place where negotiation has proved eminently successful. Much of the reason why is that leaders saw the ruinous effects of demonstrations and strife in other cities (including its sister coastal city of Savannah) and vowed to avoid it there. Thinkol is building a big plant down there and that, too, surely influences things. anyhow, if you think it worthwhile, I will watch for stories during my travels and send you specific queries as they come along, and if you are interested in Brunswick as a starter I can keep that in mind when I get there.

Meanwhile, would you be interested in a subjective sort of piece along these lines: Much of the national coverage of the civil rights movement, in wire service stories, magazine stories and on tv, contains a subtle sort of distortion that may in the long-run (and possibly as soon as the demonstration season this spring) prove of considerable damage to the movement. This is ironic, because the distortion is one which is entirely favorable to Negroes and the Negro movement. In fact, too favorable. It is a distortion which tends to view any person and any action of the movementaas somehow perfect and in a sort of holy glow. (I could cite examples, or perhaps better give a composite description of such coverage.) The fact is of course that the people in the Movement are human beings--with all the faults and virtues of all of us. (Then would follow some descriptions and anecdotes showing human qualities of various people in the movement...like the man I saw on the front row of seven mass meetings in a row singing and shouting the most fervent of all but who, when it came time to march, sheepishly slipped away.) What makes the people great (and inspires the over-idealized writing about them) is their cause. But it's necessary to separate the two--to remember that nobody is as good as much national coverage would have all participants in the Negro movement being. In the first place, this kind of distortion makes the whole thing unreal. And in the second place, it contributes to the great disillusioned unfavorable reaction when in some public action, the movement people behave like human beings. I would raise the question of whether the non-violent discipline itself doesn't contribute to an unreasonable white stereotype of Negroes just as inaccurate as some of the old disparaging ones. This would not be to condemn non-violence. On the contrary, it would be to emphasize what a remarkable achievement it is--coming as it does not from saints but ordinary people with ordinary passions and angers, even as you and I. The whole point--not just of this article, but of the Movement itself--is that each of these people is a human being, an individual, and should have the right to act like one. This would be a loose, inquiring,speculative sort of piece, probably not as baldly put as above, raising the question rather than trying to prove the point.

So you ask a simple question and you get a long, involved answer. I will be interested in your reaction. Haven't seen the issue with the Atlanta piece yet, but the layout, etc., on the direct action interviews looked good.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

THE
NATION

Conners

February 19, 1964

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your letter of February 13. It was of course not too long -- no communication from you is likely to be. But I think on balance we had better hold up on your suggestions for the time being, the more so as I have a major piece from Martin Luther King in the works.

Incidentally do you know anything about this fellow McNama whose proposal I am enclosing, and what do you think of it? I would appreciate it if you would return it with your comments.

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams

February 26, 1964

Mr. Carey McWilliams, Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

I am afraid I know no more about Mr. McNamara (author of the Civil Rights Information Service proposal you asked about) than you do. He came by here shortly before Christmas with his proposal, and I talked with him briefly. He is young, personable, certainly confident, and articulate. Beyond that, I know nothing.

His idea, in general terms, is good. There is probably a need for such a thing. The problem of drawing the line between "information" and "propaganda" is a mighty one, though. All would depend on the ability, experience and wisdom of the staff. Those here who have looked over the proposal raised the question of quality of staff, and one other: whether or not what he proposes to do can be done right on the suggested budget. Our information service, alone, for example, involves considerably more than his total budget.

I wish I could be more helpful. I think you were right in asking about him first; if you have sources in Chicago who might evaluate his capability for taking on such a project, you would be in a better position to judge the project.

I bow to your judgment on the two suggestions I sent in. But I do hope you'll keep them in mind, especially the Brunswick story. I am just back from Charlotte where you actually have a southern city that is beyond surface desegregation and getting deeply involved in more basic

problems of discrimination, including poverty. Also, for a story, have you given much thought to what a dreadful problem enforcement of the civil rights bill is going to be in the South, particularly the Black Belt?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

May 7, 1964

Mr. Carey McWilliams, Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

I think an article on the various Negro candidates in the South would be good. Most notable that I know of off-hand (I'll dig out information on the others) are congressional candidates in Mississippi, Alabama and Southwest Georgia, and the group of Negroes who won local offices last week in Tuskegee, Alabama. The latter includes Dean C. G. Gomillion who received more votes than his two white opponents combined. The congressional candidates in Mississippi and Alabama expect to lose, and then plan to challenge the seating of the winners on voting-restriction grounds.

I will be in New York for a conference Thursday (May 14), and hope either on the 13th or 15th to be able to come by and meet you. I will call when I get there. If you could let me know how many words in time, perhaps I can hand deliver the piece. Otherwise, I can do it as soon as I get home.

Thanks very much for your letter.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

76 Park Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

April 15, 1964

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I was in Jacksonville recently, and the people there at the Human Relations Council asked me to put a word in behalf of their invitation to you to be speaker at their fund-raising dinner this year, which I gather is a crucial one. Knowing all too well the drains on your time and energy and often the impossibility of doing so many things you'd like to, I will just say that this invitation does represent a good cause. I doubt if the present truce in Jacksonville, for example, could have been achieved if it hadn't been for the efforts of these people. Thanks for any consideration you might be able to give them.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Pat Watters

cc: Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Mr. Ernest Lent

October 29, 1964

Mr. Carey McWilliams, Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, New York 10014

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

I am pleased enough with the attached to want you to read it. I hope in the future I can reach something like this level with the stuff I send you.

I think your coverage of the campaign has been magnificent and important.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

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Enclosure

September 26, 1968

Mr. Carey McWilliams
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, New York 10014

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

Here, as we discussed, is the finished typescript on our school desegregation report. You are of course welcome to use all or any parts of it -- with credit to the Council and authors. Or we would be happy to write a piece based on the material.

It goes to the printers tomorrow and we plan to release it on October 11. If you do use it or parts of it, we would not want it to appear before that release date.

Let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encl.

THE
NATION

File

September 12, 1968

Dear Pat:

There is a story in The New York Times September 11 by Walter Rugaber from Atlanta captioned "Tension On Schools Builds In South." What do you make of this? Is the report accurate and in your judgment is there perhaps a Nation piece in what is happening or is likely to happen?

What interests me is the question of whether or not as a result of the Wallace-Nixon-Humphrey campaign a new element has entered into or is entering into the school situation -- which God knows was difficult enough before.

Let me know what you think. Phone me collect if you wish.

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor-in-Chief

November 15, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

Since you were so much in the middle of our search for a managing editor, I wanted you to know, in advance of our making it public, that we have found a managing editor. He is Alex Campbell, and I think he's going to work out fine. Alex is the Washington correspondent of The Economist, and before that was Time magazine bureau chief in Japan and India. He writes very well, thinks clearly, admires The New Republic (important asset!) and will be joining the staff in a couple of weeks.

Very best to you.

Cordially,

G A Harrison

GAH:gs

Jenks
Summary:

1244 Nineteenth Street, NW • Washington 6, D. C. • Federal 8-2494

February 17, 1964

Mr. Gilbert Harrison
Editor-in-Chief
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harrison:

Back in November, you indicated you would be interested in a report on results of the Voter Education Project so far. What with one thing and another, the report is only just now being released. It shows 327,588 new registrants through this effort alone in the eleven southern states from April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963. Wiley Branton, director of VEP, says that things are organized now for an even more impressive push until cut-off dates for the fall general elections, and that Negro registration in these states should be well over 2,000,000 for the election. It stands at approximately 1,751,818 now. He gives a state-by-state rundown on results so far and prospects, and some comments on deterrents still existent to Negro registration.

If you are still interested in a piece, I can mail it by next weekend. Please let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

March 12, 1964

Dear Mr. Harrison:

I have revised the attached attempting to answer your questions--which were good, but difficult ones. I hope this suits. Wiley didn't want to be pinned down on predicted increases by state, feeling he had enough to live up to with the overall prediction.

This has made the piece longer. If cutting is necessary, the state-by-state information would probably stand it most. You might want to eliminate them entirely, particularly if you run the statistical table.

Thanks, once more, for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

March 20, 1964

Mr. Gilbert Harrison
Editor-in-Chief
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harrison:

Don't know where you stand on the VEP piece, but am sending along the following two things as possible addenda.

1. I finally found some figures to illustrate the statement that higher percentages of Negroes than whites vote. The following could insert after the first paragraph (ending, "inability to keep registration records up to date.") on page 5 of the manuscript:

Voting records in Atlanta show this sort of white and Negro voting patterns: In predominantly Negro precincts in the 1961 mayor's race, 80 per cent of registered voters cast ballots. In predominantly white precincts which voted for Ivan Allen, Jr., 69 per cent voted. In predominantly white precincts which voted against Allen, 67 per cent voted.

2. The COFO push in Mississippi this summer will include some voter activity. (See clipping.) I am inclined to want to wait and see what actually develops out there, but the following could be inserted on page 11, after the first paragraph (ending: "it will take federal troops to gain the ballot for the Negro in Mississippi."):

Plans to force the issue by running two Negro candidates for Congress this year have been announced by civil rights organizations. If the candidates lose--as they would be expected to--an effort would be made on the floor of the House to unseat the winning white candidates on the basis of charges of voter discrimination.

Assume you will holler if there are any more questions.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

Carbon of letter to New Republic

NEWS R

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The Justice Department was asked to "confess error" in its prosecution of nine civil rights leaders in a petition bearing 7,000 names, presented to Burke Marshall here this week.

The petition charges Negroes are systematically excluded from Federal juries in the South.

The nine were indicted by a Federal grand jury in Albany, Ga. last year on perjury and conspiracy charges. The govvernment alleged that they had conspired to injure the business of a white man who had served on a jury that returned a favorable verdict for a south Georgia sheriff accused of shooting a Negro.

All the defendants have been convicted, and are appealing their cases.

One defendant is Joni Rabinowitz, a SNCC worker.

July 28, 1964

Mr. Alex Campbell, Managing Editor
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Campbell:

I had seen the Friends of SNCC report previously, and re-reading it confirmed a general impression that it is for the most part all right. I haven't done the research that would be necessary to confirm all of its assertions, the most important seeming to be the business of the two cases of police brutality to Negroes, and the denial that Miss Rabinowitz was guilty of the federal charges.

They've got the gist of the two police brutality stories; I would certainly want to check them out, though, before printing them.

As to all the legal rigermarole and technicalities, I'd be careful. My understanding has been, based on hearsay and the like, that Miss Rabinowitz really was a case of mistaken identity, but that they did have the goods on the movement for the motivation of the boycott.

All of this though, is like going in and arresting a man who has just been knocked in the head with a big club for staggering on the sidewalk. The point of the report is that Justice ignored all the flagrant and really brutal violations of civil rights of Negroes down there (distributing handbills a crime!) and then moved with such vigor in this thing against them. I would emphasize that, and not the merits or technicalities of the case.

I've always wondered about the administration's attitude toward Albany, as reflected in such things as Robert Kennedy's

hurry in December if 1961 to congratulate not the civil rights people but Albany officials for ending demonstrations. A grand old Talmadge-type politician, Taxi Smith of Albany was a big 1960 Kennedy worker.

There is, I think, court action underway or pending now in Albany under the civil rights law, a new chapter to watch with interest.

I've gone through the report and stuck in a few question marks and nit-pickings which should be self explanatory

I hope this is useful. At the risk of burdening you, I'm enclosing two things Howard Zinn did for the Council on Albany, and a marked section in a thing I did that outlines three instances where justice might have acted on behalf of Negroes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

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Enclosures - 3

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Alex Campbell
Managing Editor

July 21, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
76 Park Lane N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am attaching a copy of a report which has been sent to us.

Will you please give us your opinion of this?

Sincerely,

Alex Campbell/s

AC:gs

1244 Nineteenth Street, NW • Washington, D. C. 20036 • Federal 8-2494

October 29, 1964

Mr. Gilbert Harrison
Editor-in-Chief
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harrison:

I am pleased enough with the attached to want you to read it. I wish somehow we could get to something like this level with the stuff I do for you.

Hope everything is well with you and that the elections go to suit you. You all have done a magnificent job on the campaign.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

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Enclosure

File

Conclusions:

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor-in-Chief

November 2, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat,

That's a splendid job and I'm glad you sent it along. It reminds me of something I wanted to ask you. Are you in a position, or is someone in your office in a position, to draw up a list for us of the "civil rights crimes" in the Deep South--or possibly only in Mississippi and Alabama--over the past five years and how the stories have ended. What bothers me is that although from time to time we read of some outrageous occurrence--murder, beatings, church burnings, etc.--we never know the end of the story. I have in mind something very lean and factual: merely what occurred, where, and what subsequent action was taken by the law enforcement authorities. Was anyone indicted for the crime, was he tried, was he convicted or not, if convicted what was the sentence. This is not so much an article; it is a tabulation, a factual roundup that gives us by date and place a description of violence and a note on what, if anything, was done about it. To have all this on one or two pages in The New Republic would be, I think, quite useful and in a horrible way impressive.

What do you think?

Cordially,

Gil

GAH:gs

1244 Nineteenth Street, NW • Washington 6, D. C. • Federal 8-2494

November 11, 1964

Mr. Gilbert Harrison, Editor-in-Chief
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Harrison:

I think the tabulation of civil rights crimes would be possible, and well worth the doing. Our files of newspaper clippings should provide most of the information needed. By the nature of things, the list will center on Mississippi and Alabama, but I don't want to leave out some of the things that have happened in surrounding states, like the Penn murder in Georgia this summer, and subsequent acquittal of whites charged with it.

It may take awhile to compile this. Do you have a time in mind?

I talked with Mr. Campbell yesterday about doing a short piece on an analysis we have just completed of the Southern Negro vote last week. It should reach there by Monday.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
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m
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April 7, 1965

Dear Andy:

I have just read your coverage of the SNCC situation and just wanted to say what an excellent job I think you did.

You caught the situation better than a lot of us who live with it. And it was damn good to see it in print. My only quibble: Some few white Southerners do regard civil rights workers as equals. Perhaps presumptiously.

Come to see us when you're back down this way again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

Mr. Andrew Kopkind
The New Republic
1244 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

November 18, 1963

Mr. Claude Sitton
Southeastern Correspondent
The New York Times
80 Park Lane NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Claude:

This is to invite you or John Herbers to be the guest of the Southern Regional Council at the dinner of its annual meeting.

The dinner will be held Monday, November 25, at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs) at the Atlanta Merchandise Mart. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will be the speaker.

While this invitation is primarily social, we feel the speech by Mr. Wilkins may warrant coverage. The dinner is also the most appropriate of the activities of the annual meeting to give you the opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with Council members.

Please let me know at 522-8764 if we may expect one of you.

Cordially,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

January 10, 1964

Mr. Claude Sitton
Southeastern Correspondent
The New York Times
80 Park Lane, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Claude:

We have rescheduled our annual meeting dinner for January 29 at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs), and hope you or John Herbers will be our guest.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will speak, and as suggested before, this is an opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with our members from over the South.

Please let me know at 522 8764 if we may expect you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

October 27, 1964

Mr. Claude Sitton
National News Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Claude:

We are having Leroy Collins as the guest speaker at our annual meeting this year. He will speak at the dinner Friday, November 20 at 7 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel.

If you are in town we of course want you to come. We would also appreciate it if you would get word to whomever would be the appropriate person on the staff down here that he is cordially invited.

Please let me know if we may expect someone.

Hope things are going well with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mp

January 5, 1965

Mr. Claude Sitton
National News Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Claude:

Tom Pepper, a young man from Atlanta who will finish work on a master's degree in economics and political science at Harvard this Spring, was by here last week talking about possibilities for him in newspaper work.

What he would like of course would be to go to work for the Times. He is under the impression however that he would have to break in somewhere else, and he had the idea that some papers would be better for this than others.

I told him I didn't know about all such as that and suggested that he try to talk with you directly about it.

I bother you with all this because in my estimation Tom is the most intelligent and most promising young man I have seen thinking about a newspaper career. He interned for two summers while I was on the city desk at the Journal, and has since been overseas with the Army and worked last summer in some kind of coveted internship program at the Pentagon.

I think he is the kind of man capable of doing the kind of reporting you believe in. I assume he will be in touch with you and I hope you can give him some good advice.

Thanks. Hope all goes well with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

July 30, 1965

Dear Claude:

The Harvard students who are putting out the Southern Courier are planning a conference toward the end of August for their staff, stringers and other interested parties. The program will include everything from discourses on southern newspapers to discussions between the working press and civil rights workers. They plan to ask you to be one of five experts on hand, and I promised to put in a good word--for whatever it's worth. I can see a lot of advantages from such a conference, particularly if it's intelligently run, as this one gives promise of being.

Assume you've seen their paper. I think not the least of its virtues is that it shows to whatever southern newspapermen are willing to look just how much of a still considerable story going on in their backyards they are missing.

I trust all is well with you. Best regards.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Claude Sitton
National News Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Enclosures: 1. News release of October 18, 1965 on double standard of justice for whites & Negroes in the South;
2. Special Report: Southern Justice: An Indictment

and

covering note to Claude Sitton.

Note: Correspondence addressed to Sitton, National News Director, N. Y. Times, Times Square, NY.

October 26, 1965

The Editors
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please help us correct one misapprehension arising out of coverage of the report on the double standard of justice for whites and Negroes in the South issued October 18, 1965, by the Southern Regional Council and the southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The report did not support the current suggestions for new laws making it a federal offense to murder civil rights workers, and establishing a special federal civil rights police force.

The position of the report is that failure to achieve impartial administration of state and federal law already on the books is the real problem. It urges basic reform of southern law enforcement, including selection of juries on a truly representative basis. If such reform can be achieved, the new legislation would not be needed. If it is not, there seems little likelihood that the proposed legislation would improve the situation. The proposals could make it worse, having potential of their own for abuse.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 2.

March 3, 1966

Mr. Fred Powledge
175 Congress Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of February 24.

It is good to know you are getting some well deserved rest. I wish the same could be said for me, but I am keeping a very busy schedule.

I am turning your change-of-address request over to the department that handles our mailing lists, and you can rest assured that you will begin receiving our publications more promptly in the future.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Information

SLA:js

175 Congress Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201
February 24, 1966

Rev. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Sam:

I told Jean Honrath all about you, and she promised to give you a call, at the very least, on her way out of the mountains. Since then I've heard from her, and she's working in the VISTA program with mentally retarded kids in California. Her address is 36 Sanchez Street, San Francisco.

I assume your negotiations in re the second oldest profession are going along slowly but surely. Be careful. I have been on a leave of absence for a month now, and I am like a pig in soil, I am so happy, relaxed, &ct.

In case you're wondering what the real purpose of this letter is, it is to ask you to put me back on your mailing list with my home address.* Somebody at the Times hasn't been doing a very good job of forwarding my mail, and I fear I'm missing some things. If you consider me still worthy of getting the information, sir, I'd like very much to get it.

Call when you're here. Home number, where I am mostly now, is 624-7007. We live in Brooklyn, just 30 minutes from Times Square, and will guarantee to provide you with liquor and dinner on a moment's notice.

Cheers,

Fred

Fred Powledge

* above.

The New York Times
Times Square

October 21, 1967

Dear Bill:

A belated note to thank you for the warm and gracious hospitality that you, Dale Clark and other Sigma Delta Chi members extended to me during my visit to Atlanta.

I especially enjoyed the interesting and informative luncheon chat with Richard Freeman, Rodney Cook and others. It gave me some new insights into your problems and what you're doing about them.

Thank you again, Bill, and please give my regards to Mrs. Howland.

Sincerely,

Claude

Claude Sitton
National News Director

Mr. William Howland
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

Pat thought you'd like to see this
Bill H

October 29, 1964

Mr. Bill Cook
Newsweek Magazine
C. & S. National Bank Building
57 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

I wanted to be sure you got a copy of this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
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p

Enclosure

January 14, 1964

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I find I am unable to make the suggested January 20 deadline for sending (speculatively) the article on reading and thinking among young Negro civil rights people that we discussed in an exchange of letters last month. I have completed several interviews, with pretty good results, but find I need to talk with at least two more people. One of them is in Mississippi and the other is in New York, but the chances are good of seeing them both within the next month.

Meanwhile, here is more explicitly what I had in mind for the article: In some of the things they have written and in their conversations, young militant workers in the civil rights movement often state almost as an article of faith that they want more than the end of segregation. If that were all there is to fight for, they say, they wouldn't continue the struggle.

What more do they want? They express it often negatively: The don't want the values or the way of life of the Negro middle class from which many of them came, or the white middle class whose representatives they battle on the racial issue. They don't want a two-car garage, 9 to 5 conformity, hypocrisy, installment payments. Some shudder at the idea of wearing a business suit.

They are not fighting for a stake in American society as it is, they say. But they don't have a blueprint, beyond the racial revolution, for what American society ought to be. Do they have any organized pattern of thought, philosophical or otherwise, from which they draw inspiration? The answer would seem to vary with the person. For some it is feeling: "It's like when I was in the Army in Japan, eating, and seeing little hungry kids watch me eat. I realized somebody else is hungry. I asked myself why can you eat, and he can't?"...For others, it seems to be a

melange of things read and heard, in college and currently; Gandhi, Camus, James Baldwin, others. For some, it is a carefully worked out personal philosophy. In all, there seem to be traces of existentialism, America's Beat Movement, Nineteenth Century liberalism, Marxism. In talk and attitudes, "accept me as I am" is a strong feeling.

From here on would be quotes from them. I don't know yet what conclusions would be drawn--probably that out of a variety of personal and intellectual sources, these kids are groping toward something new, precisely what, they don't seem to know themselves, and that before dismissing them, it is important to remember that the difference between them and past social protesters who have fallen by the wayside in America is that they are already the architects of a highly successful method of social revolution, and that they have a going revolution in which to test and perfect this method.

All of this will have to be from the viewpoint of an outsider--with consequent disadvantages and advantages. I think it's interesting, and maybe important. With your permission, I'd like to send the article on when I can get it done--hopefully within the next month.

And thanks very much for your gracious reply to my last letter.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW/mg

January 28, 1964

Miss Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor
The Progressive
408 West Gorham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Sheridan:

Thanks for your note on the review of the Trillin Book. Besides Mr. (Calvin) Trillin at the New Yorker, I think it might be good to send the marked copies to the two subjects of the book: Mr. Hamilton Holmes, 732 Jones Avenue, N. W., Atlanta, and Mrs. Walter Stovall, 15 Cornelia Street, New York, N. Y.

Again, I hope you will consider me for reviews of other books--on the area, the race situation--or what have you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
PW/mg

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

MARY SHERIDAN
Associate Editor

June 10, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

That assignment was difficult, and I think you have done an admirable job in pulling the books together. I like your review very much, and, since it reached us just too late for the July issue, we plan to publish it in August.

A check will be sent to you within the next week. By all means feel free to send us a list of any people to whom you would like to have us send a marked complimentary copy.

Sincerely,

Mary Sheridan

Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor

MS/bh

June 1, 1964

Miss Mary Sheridan, Associate Editor
The Progressive Magazine
408 Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Sheridan:

I am embarassed and apologetic, but I am going to miss your deadline of June 4 for a review on four books on civil rights: Oscar Handlin, Harry Golden, Dr. King, and Black, White and Gray, an anthology.

I've just gotten an assignment from the council to go down to St. Augustine, Florida, to cover Dr. King's demonstrations there, and will be on the go for at least three days (and nights). With any luck at all, I can get the reviews written over the weekend and to you by Monday, which is the eighth.

If I don't hear from you otherwise, I will aim for then. And again, please forgive me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

File

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

MARY SHERIDAN
Associate Editor

September 24, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat Watters:

Please forgive my delay in thanking you for your review. It reached us just too late for the October issue and hence we plan to publish it in November. A check is enclosed.

Would you like to have Poverty in America? I am not at all sure that this is really for a general audience, but it might be useful in your research--and I would be delighted to leave the decision of reviewing it up to you.

Sincerely,

Mary Sheridan

Mary Sheridan
Managing Editor

bh
Enclosures
Airmail

June 17, 1964

Miss Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor
The Progressive
408 Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Miss Sheridan:

I am glad that you can use the review. Other than the authors (particularly Harry Golden at The Carolina Israelite, 1312 Elizabeth Avenue, Charlotte, N. C.,), I'd suggest sending copies to Mr. Dugger at the Texas Observer, Austin, Texas; Ralph McGill; publisher, The Atlanta Constitution, Box 4689, Atlanta 2, Georgia; Mrs. Lora Doktor,, 1147 E. Nevada Street, Detroit, Michigan.

Thanks again, and I hope you'll give me another chance soon to prove I can meet a deadline.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

July 28, 1964

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
408 Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I was grateful for your letter and check, and hope you will find the attached on St. Augustine suitable. Meanwhile, I'm enclosing my carbon of the Wallace rally editorial with a cut marked and this suggestion--that if you use the St. Augustine piece, a paragraph could be added to the editorial to suggest that here is yet another example of what the Republicans have bought with Goldwater and his following.

I hope this isn't presumptious. I just hate the idea of your buying the thing and not getting to use it. And of course think what it says is worth saying.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mp

Enclosures - 2

October 29, 1964

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
408 Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Mr. Rubin:

Thought you would be interested in the attached.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosure

April 28, 1964

Mr. Barry Bingham, Managing Editor
The Reporter
5660 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Thank you for your letter. I will send on speculation (I hope by Monday) 1500 words evidences that violent elements of Negro society may become involved in racial protest in the South.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

THE REPORTER

660 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TEmpleton 2-8800

June 9, 1964

Dear Mr. Watters:

We are happy to confirm that your article:
THE MOB BEHIND THE MARCHERS
is appearing in The Reporter dated June 18, 1964.

We are requesting that a check for $200
be made out in payment for the article, and you
should receive it in about a week.

In the meantime, if you will send us a list of up
to ten people to whom you would like copies of
the issue sent, we'll be glad to take care of it.
Copies, of course, are being sent to you.

Sincerely,

Jean Reavey

Editorial Department

June 17, 1964

Miss Jean Reavy
Editorial Department
The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Reavy:

Thanks for your note on "The Mob Behind the Marchers," June 18 issue. The following might be interested in getting marked copies:

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Mr. Peter Davidon, Executive Editor
Atlantic-Little Brown
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. & Mrs. Cordell Reagon
334 Chappell Road, N. W., Apt. 4-C
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mr. Worth Long
SNCC Headquarters
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mrs. Lora Doktor
1147 E. Nevada Street
Detroit, Michigan

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

August 5, 1964

Miss Shirley Katzander
Director of Promotion
THE REPORTER
660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Katzander:

Thank you for sending an advance copy of Pat Watters article, "The South Learns To Live with the Civil Rights Law," appearing in the current issue of The Reporter.

I read it with a built-in bias in favor of anything done by Pat, whom I've had the pleasure of knowing over the years in Atlanta. It's no wonder, then, that I agreed with what Pat had to say in this article. More importantly, though, unfolding circumstances since Pat wrote the article bear out his analysis and prognostication of southern reaction.

I'd like to see more in your magazine by Pat Watters, who is a knowledgable and sensitive chronicler of the southern scene.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:vg

File

August 6, 1964

Miss Shirley Katzander
Director of Promotion, The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Katzander:

Thank you for sending me an advance copy of Pat Watters article, "The South Learns to Live with the Civil Rights Law." It sweeps nothing under the rug, nor does it distort or exaggerate our problems. I consider it a model job of reporting --- it not only gives the facts straight, but also the feel of the situation.

Cordially,

Charles F. Wittenstein

CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
Southeast Area Director

CFW:ru

bcc: Pat Watters

August 14, 1964

Miss Jean Reavey
Editorial Department
The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Reavey:

The following might be interested in getting marked copies of the August 13 issue, with my article, "The South Learns to Live With the Civil Rights Law."

Mr. Peter Davison, Executive Editor
Atlantic-Little Brown
8*Arlington Street
Boston 16, Mass.

Mrs. Lora Doktor
1147 E. Nevada Street
Detroit 3, Michigan

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

October 29, 1964

Mr. Robert Bingham
Managing Editor
The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Thought you might be interested in the attached. I think I finally got it in focus.

Did you know that a chunk of the civil rights bill compliance piece I did for you got reprinted in Current, and that some outfit bought the Japanese rights to it?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
P

Enclosure

File

THE REPORTER
660 Madison Avenue
New York City 10021
TE 2-8800

Max Ascoli

Rec'd 1/4/68

January 2, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

After eighteen years, Philip Horton is leaving The Reporter to use his talents in other fields. You will no doubt miss him, as will we all, aware as we are of the invaluable contribution he has made to The Reporter.

George Bailey will be acting in Phil's stead, keeping in touch with our top writers and with those who have previously worked with us on special projects. Having been a correspondent abroad, George wants to add to his experience a view of things, both foreign and domestic, from headquarters.

Needless to say, we look forward to your continuing contributions to The Reporter. Should you wish to get in touch with me at any time, I will be very happy to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Max Ascoli

November 19, 1964

Mr. Lowell Brandle
St. Petersburg Times
P.O. Box 1121
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Brandle:

Thanks for sending the carbons of your story. I don't think anybody can really be sure about the questions you raised. You may be interested in these estimates of the percentage of the total electorate voting by states: Alabama 61.8; Arkansas 71.2; Georgia 66.3; Florida 70.6; Louisiana 74.2; Mississippi 74.6; North Carolina 65.3; South Carolina 62.7; Tennessee 75.8; Texas 86.8; Virginia 83.3; all eleven states 73.4. These are conservative estimates based in some instances on incomplete returns.

If you run up on anything that further confirms your suspicions, please let me know, and I'll do likewise.

Thanks again. I'm enclosing also a study of the Negro vote which we completed this week. Forgive me for not answering sooner.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

July 22, 1965

Mr. Donald Baldwin
Executive Editor
St. Petersburg Times and
Evening Independent
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Don:

Thank you for your letter of last week. My pace has been too brisk to get started on the diary I promised, but things are clearing up now that I have found housing for my family. That was a terrific experience, it kept me busy both during off hours and working hours.

We suscribe to the St. Petersburg Times, but our clippers failed to get the third installment of Jack Nease's articles on "Women Job Corps." Please have the original of the installment on POLITICAL PLUMS sent to us. It was a topnotch job, and I am jealous because it was not done under my own by-line. You also had an excellent piece on the garbage strike -- another subject which interested me.

My warmest regards to friends there. You may expect a personal note from me later.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

July 27, 1965

Mr. Jim Skolfield
Lirbraian
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Jim:

Thanks so very much for the use of your clipper. You will never know how much you have helped us. You are the best Greek I know.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

June 29, 1965

Mr. Donald Baldwin
Executive Director
St. Petersburg Times and
Evening Independent
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Don:

Here is an advance copy of a really good in-depth look at SNCC. Get past the first few pages and you won't stop reading until you've finished the 34 pages. You will agree that Pat Watters has done a good job.

I have reported to work a few days early. I will keep in touch and send you goodies like the booklet I am enclosing.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure
One copy of Encounter

June 30, 1965

Mr. Jim Skolfield
Librarian
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Jim:

I am getting into harness at the Southern Regional Council in my new position as Director of Research. I need the help of a good librarian, and am calling upon you.

Staffers here have been using scissors to clip newspapers, a slow and laborious task. Please tell me, or better still, obtain for me a half dozen clipping rulers styled after those used in your department. I recall your saying that they are patented by the New York Herald Tribune, but just as you refused to pay their big price, and have found other means of getting them, we would likewise want to do so.

This letter gives me an opportunity to say again how much I enjoyed working with you, and to give notice that you and I still are co-workers.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:vm

P.S. We will pay whatever the cost is to make these newspaper clippers.

August 18, 1965

Mr. Donald Baldwin
Executive Editor
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Don:

I hope to come by to see you enroute to New Orleans on Thursday. You are one of those persons who is able to clarify my thinking and direction, and your help will be needed to find creative approaches to a civic education program that will increase the competence of Negroes to participate in the political process in the South. You have had an abiding interest in this and, I know, will find some time to confer with me.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

October 22, 1965

Mrs. Lowell Brandle
c/o St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. Brandle:

A noble heart has been stilled.

St. Petersburg, the South, and the nation, have lost the warmth and wonderful spirit of a writer whom I consider among the greatest. His ability to empathize with people, in both low and high stations of life, made him one of St. Petersburg's best emissaries of good will.

With respect for everyone he saw no barriers -- color or creed -- generally based his judgment of men on their character.

Eleanor and I share the loss; one which the Times and St. Petersburg will never be able to replace.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

November 18, 1963

Mr. Al Kuettner
United Press International
1211 Williams Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

This is to invite you to be the guest of the Southern Regional Council at the dinner of its annual meeting.

The dinner will be held Monday, November 25, at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs) at the Atlanta Merchandise Mart. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will be the speaker.

While this invitation is primarily social, we feel the speech by Mr. Wilkins may warrant coverage. The dinner is also the most appropriate of the activities of the annual meeting to give you the opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with Council members.

Please let me know at 522-8764 if we may expect you or some other member of the staff.

Cordially,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

January 10, 1964

Mr. Al Kuettner
United Press International
1211 Williams Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

We have rescheduled our annual meeting dinner for January 29 at 7 p.m. at Stouffer's Hearth Room (downstairs), and hope you will be our guest.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, will speak, and as suggested before, this is an opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with our members from over the South.

Please let me know at 522 8764 if we may expect you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

October 27, 1964

Mr. Al Kuettner
United Press International
1211 Williams Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

We are pleased that Leroy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, will be guest speaker at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. This is to invite you or a member of your staff to be our guest at the dinner when Mr. Collins will speak.

It will be at 7 p.m., Friday November 20 at the Biltmore Hotel.

We feel that Mr. Collins's speech may be newswprthy, but we also welcome you for the opportunity to meet or renew acquaintances with the council members.

Please let me know at 522-8764 if we may expect you or some other member of your staff.

Cordially,

Pat Watters,
Director of Information

PW:mp

United Press International

GENERAL OFFICES
NEWS BUILDING, 220 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

File

Written From
ATLANTA BUREAU
1211 WILLIAMS ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GA.
TRINITY 6-7373
MAIL ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 4662

Oct. 28, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., NW,
Atlanta, Ga. 10003

Dear Pat,

Barring an unexpected news emergency, I will be delighted to be at your annual meeting Nov. 20.

For our news purposes, will you please be sure we get an advance story on the meeting and a text of Collins' speech as soon as it is available. He usually makes good speeches and this one will be of unusual interest since it will follow so close behind the election.

Also, I have been trying to sit down with this man Collins for some time on this whole thing of civil rights. I would consider it of special favor if you could set up 30 minutes or so for me privately with him while he is here.

Sincerely,

Al

Al Kuettner.

August 19, 1965

Mr. David Cooper
Raleigh Correspondent
The Winston-Salem Journal
805 Odd Fellows Building
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

I have placed you on the mailing list to receive all of our materials. I am enclosing a ~~report~~ publication.

If we can ever be of any service, please call on us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Aug 17, 1965

DAVID COOPER
RALEIGH CORRESPONDENT
805 ODD FELLOWS BLDG.
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Watters:

When I worked for another newspaper in this area, I used to see the publications and studies distributed by the Southern Regional Council from time to time. I found many of them most helpful in my work. Now, operating a one-man bureau in Raleigh, I no longer have that access.

Oh
M.

I wonder if it would be possible to get on the list for distribution of materials you may be sending to newspapers and newsmen in the future. I may have misdirected this request to you, and, if so, would you pass it on to the proper person with the Council.

My thanks in advance for any help you can give me in this regard.

Sincerely Yours,

David Cooper

David Cooper
Raleigh Correspondent
The Winston-Salem Journal
805 Odd Fellows Building
Raleigh, N.C.

September 14, 1965

Mr. David Cooper
Raleigh Correspondent
The Winston-Salem Journal
805 Odd Fellows Building
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Lo and behold, the Civil Rights Commission figures turned out to be the counties we gave them. However, we hope to have a county-by-county list as near complete as possible within the next few weeks. I will send it as soon as we get it done.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

September 20, 1965

Mr. Dave Cooper
Winston-Salem Journal
Twin City Sentinel
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Dave:

Thank you. We sure could use a copy of the county-by-county list you found.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Friday

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thanks for your note. In the meantime, I have secured a county by county list here that may be more up to date than what you have. I will send you a copy as soon as I can get one made--probably early next week.

The list I have is taken from 1964 registration statistics reported by all but two or three counties.

Again, thanks

Dave

Dave Cooper

February 28, 1966

Mr. Tom Pepper
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Tom:

The reason I haven't been in touch is that I am holed up at home writing a book which boils down eventually to answering your question, "Why did Julian fire Chuck?" I'll let you know when I get it all figured out.

Forgive this and other silences. I am writing a chapter-and-a-half a week.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Pepper

WINSTON-
SALEM, N. C.
JOURNAL
and
SENTINEL
27102

WINSTON-SALEM
FEB 22
A.M.
1966
N.C.

Mr. Pat Watters,

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street, NW,

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Rec'd 2/23/66

dear pat,

so, why did julian fire morgan. the story in monday's times does not go into this at all (at least in the edition i got)

when you visiting.

we doing well, anne has job teaching at north carolina school of the arts, that special school for would-be musicians, dancers, and actors. she teaches 7th and 8th grade english and history in the afternoon, thus doesnt have to work in morning. one kid, asked about hobbies, said besides piano plays guitar and violin.

Best,

Tom

April 14, 1967

Mr. Tom Pepper
Winston-Salem Journal
and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27102

Dear Tom:

Ain't heard from you in a long time. How're things? Atlanta piece all done? Piece for us on Winston-Salem as microcosm of failure of poverty program all done? Got you an overseas job yet? Thought about my proposition? Enjoying yourself?

I read all that about the Winston-Salem hero. Seemed to me sort of a super-symbol of all the irony and tragedy and danger of our present predicament. Wish I had been there. Could you send me your paper's coverage?

I have just finished a piece on the CDGM thing, ending up suggesting that it was a great victory for the national liberal forces signifying even less than nothing -- that they were able to save one program that was doing what the whole poverty program is supposed to do, an exception that proves the general rule of the failure of the poverty program, and a stark demonstration of the inability of the liberals to force the same issue on the whole program.

Let us hear from you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

VIA AIR MAIL

June 5, 1967

Dear Tom:

It was good seeing you, talking the other night. I'm sure by now you've gotten word they accepted the piece, and my record of being wrong will be unmarred.

I'm returning the manuscript with illegible nitpicks in the margins. Also enclosing the book review I told you about.

As soon as you get an address and get settled in NYC let me know. I'll meanwhile find your letters and give weighty, ponderous answers.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Tom Pepper
2505-A Queen Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27103

File

may 11 67, thurs

dear pat,

enclosed is a xeroxed copy of the revised version of the piece. the revision is much better than the original.

harper's rejected the revision. my editor called it a "definite improvement," but said the other editors didnt go along with his "guarded enthusiasm." he suggested the atlantic or ramparts.

in fact, i dont think the editors at harper's read the second version. they took three weeks to return the first one. three days for the second one. they have another writer, i am sure, and the two weeks in which they gave me to revise the piece was a formality.

in any case, could you read it and advise whether i could do well by sending it to atlantic. if so, how, to whom, and with what, if any, "political" maneuverings--i.e., do you know anyone there.

i lean toward atlantic now, only because i want to do the best i can with it if i can. i believe it is too long and too academically-inclined [redacted] (in pp 21-27) to appeal to mass media other than atlantic. ramparts i think [redacted] is too sensationalizing. have you any other suggestions. *

please feel free to kill any still-existing enthusiasm i have about the piece. [redacted] especially i dont want [redacted] you to feel any obligation re atlantic, only if you like the piece, perhaps you could suggest how i might approach atlantic--i.e. wont atlantic realize it's been rejected elsewhere, and wont they not want to repeat someone else's piece.

i do feel okay about this version, incidentally. it's much better than the other one.

Many Many Thanks &
Best regards,
Tom

* PS - Bill Emerson once expressed interest through a 3rd party

August 6, 1945

MEMORANDUM

To: Miss Clay

From: Guy B. Johnson

William Y. Bell, Jr., has discussed with GBJ the preparation of an article on Atlanta Negro service men for the Atlanta Constitution. The attached memorandum from Mr. Bell indicates that we can use the Atlanta Daily World files for obtaining information on outstanding deeds by Atlanta Negro service men.

If there is time during the week while I am on vacation, someone might go to the Atlanta Daily World and work on this project. It might be possible to get enough material in one day. I should think that twelve or fifteen good examples of bravery in action, including quotes from citations would be enough. Care should be taken to get the names, addresses, title, award, etc. in each instance.

Enclosure

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

USE OF PHOTOS OF NEGRO SERVICE MEN IN SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS

The following is a partial list of Southern newspapers which carry photographs of Negro service men and women. A check in column (1) indicates that the paper uses such photographs; a check in column (2) means that the paper uses the courtesy titles of "Mr.", "Mrs.", etc., in referring to parents or other relatives of theservice men and women.

Our information is derived from newspaper clippings, and our clipping service gives us only partial coverage. The list includes only those papers which have come to our attention during the past eight months and which publish pictures of Negro service personnel. Omission of a particular paper from the list may mean either that we have had no clippings from that paper or that it does not use such pictures. Our clipping service gives us no coverage for Arkansas, Kentucky, and Oklahoma, and only partial coverage for Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Some newspapers have special pages or sections of "News of the Negro Community." Some papers confine the use of courtesy titles to these special sections and some do not. This list does not attempt to distinguish between these two types of practices.

NEWSPAPER	PICTURE	COURTESY TITLE
ALABAMA		
Birmingham News	X	X
Greenville Advocate	X	
Livingston News	X	
FLORIDA		
Madison Enterprise	X	
Mount Dora Topic	X	
St. Petersburg Times	X	X
GEORGIA		
Athens Banner-Herald	X	
Augusta Herald	X	
Hiawassee Herald	X	
Louisville News and Farmer	X	
Pearson Tribune	X	
Sandersville Progress	X	
Savannah News	X	
Statesboro Herald	X	
Warrenton Clipper	X	X
LOUISIANA		
New Orleans Times-Picayune	X	

NEWSPAPER	PICTURE	COUNTRY TYPE
MISSISSIPPI		
Holly Springs Reporter	X	X
Marks Democrat	X	
Pontotoc Progress	X	
Summit Sun	X	
Woodville Republican	X	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Aberdeen Herald	X	X
Albemarle News and Press	X	X
Ashboro Courier	X	X
Brevard Transylvania Times	X	X
Carthage Blue	X	
Clinton News	X	
Charlotte Observer	X	X
Durham Herald	X	X
Durham Sun	X	X
Gastonia Gazette	X	X
Statesville Record	X	X
Laurinburg Exchange	X	X
Lexington Dispatch	X	X
Morganton News Herald	X	X
Mount Airy Times	X	X
Newton News Enterprise	X	
Oxford Ledger	X	
Raleigh News and Observer	X	X
Reidsville Review	X	X
Roanoke Rapids Herald	X	
Rutherfordton News	X	
Shelby Star	X	X
Smithfield Herald	X	X
Wadesboro Intelligencer	X	X
Wilson Times	X	
Winston-Salem Sentinel	X	X
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Gaffney Ledger	X	
Myrtle Beach News	X	
Rock Hill Herald	X	
TENNESSEE		
Chattanooga Daily Times	X	X
Cleveland Banner	X	
Johnson City Chronicle	X	X
Knoxville Journal	X	X
Manchester Times	X	
Nashville Banner	X	X
Newport Plain Talk	X	X

NEWSPAPER	FEATURE	COUNTRY TITLE
TEXAS		
Fort Worth Press	X	
Fort Worth Star Telegram	X	
Guero Record	X	
Gainesville Register	X	
Waco News Tribune	X	
VIRGINIA		
Appomattox Times-Virginian	X	X
Emporia Independent-Messenger	X	
Hopewell News	X	X
Portsmouth Star	X	X
Radford News Journal	X	X
Roanoke World	X	
South Boston News	X	X
Suffolk News-Herald	X	X

How Southern Newspapers Treat News of Negro Soldiers

The following is a partial list of Southern newspapers which carry news about Negro service men and women. A check in column (1) means that the paper prints news stories; a check in column (2) indicates that it uses photographs; and a check in column (3) means that the paper uses the courtesy titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." in referring to parents or other relatives of the service men and women.

Our information is derived from newspaper clippings and our clipping service gives us only partial coverage. The list includes only those papers which have come to our attention during the past six months and which publish news or pictures of Negro service personnel. Omission of a particular paper from the list may mean either that we have no clippings from that paper or that it does not use such stories or pictures. We hope to prepare a comprehensive list showing which papers do or do not follow certain practices. You ca nhelp us by sending us notes on the practices of newspapers which you read regularly.

NEWSPAPER	(1) NEWS STORY	(2) PICTURE WITH NEWS	(3) COURTESY TITLE
ALABAMA			
Birmingham Age Herald	X		
Birmingham News	X	X	X
Livingston Home		X	
FLORIDA			
Crestview News Journal	X		
Mount Dora Topic		X	
St. Petersburg Times	X	X	
Tampa Tribune	X		
GEORGIA			
Atlanta Constitution	X		
Atlanta Journal	X		
Augusta Herald		X	
Hiawassee Herald		X	
Louisville News and Farmer		X	
Pearson Tribune		X	X
Sandersville Progress		X	
Savannah News		X	
Warrenton Clipper		X	X
LOUISIANA			
New Orleans Times-Picayune		X	
MISSISSIPPI			
Holly Springs Reporter		X	
Jackson News	X		
Marks Democrat	X		
Pontotoe Progress	X		
NORTH CAROLINA			
Ahoskie Herald	X		X
Albemarle News and Press	X		X
Ashboro Courier	X		X
Brevard Transylvania Times		X	X
Carthage News	X		
Charlotte News	X		
Durham Herald	X		X
Lurinburg Exchance	X		X
Lexington Dispatch	X		X
Morganton News Herald	X		X
Mount Airy Times	X		X
Newton News Enterprise	X		
Oxford Ledger	X		
Raleigh News and Observer	X	X	X
Reidsville Review	X		X
Roanoke Rapids Herald	X		
Rutherfordton News	X		
Shelby Star	X		X
Smithfield Herald	X		X
Wadesboro Intelligencer	X		X
Wilson Times	X		
Winston-Salem Sentinel	X		X

(Continued on Page 8)

ARKANSAS State Press

LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1945

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CLIPPING SERVICE 1895
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Holly Springs, Miss. Reporter
May 8, 1945
3

More Jones spent Sunday afternoon with Robert Waller. After a few days illness, Mr. Roberts is much improved.

—0—

Pvt. Percy Freeman, son of Esker and Daisy Freeman, entered the army in 1941. Before going overseas he rereceived his training in N. C. Since hs return from overseas, he has been stationed in Georgia, Kentucky and North Carolina.

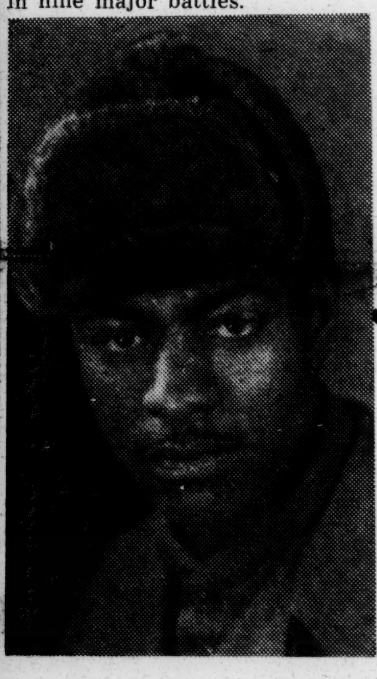
—0—

Birmingham, Ala., News
May 26, 1945

ALABAMA'S Fighting Forces

DEATH REPORTED— Clyde Walker, steward's mate first class (above), who was reported missing on Feb. 21 near Iwo Jima, has now been reported killed on that date. Memorial services were held for him at sea. He is survived by his mother, who lives in Jacksonville. Walker had been on duty with the Navy in the Pacific for three years, and had received nine stars for participation in nine major battles.

MISSING IN ACTION—David T. Albet (above), has been reported missing in action while on overseas duty with the Navy. He is the fourth son of the Will Albets, Trafford, to enter the service. His brothers are Sgt. Robert L. Albet and Pfc. Willie James Albet, both serving overseas, and Edward Albet, who has just entered the Army.



KILLED IN ITALY—T-5 James I. White (above), 24, of Florence was killed in action April 6 in Italy where he was on duty with the infantry. In service since 1942, Corp. White had been overseas since June, 1944, and had been awarded the Combat Infantryman's Badge. A native of Tuscaloosa County, he is survived by his mother, who lives in Florence, two brothers and six sisters.

KILLED IN ITALY—T-5 Thaddeus L. Sharpe, 34 (above), was killed in action April 6 in Italy after serving overseas 18 months. He was on duty in Trinidad for 10 months with an Army band, and had been in combat eight months at the time of his death. Surviving him are his mother, who resides in Montgomery; three sisters, and eight brothers, two of whom are overseas, Sgt. Nathan Sharpe, France, and Pvt. Burnice Sharpe, Aleutians.

William E. Abernathy Killed On Iwo Jima

Pfc. William E. Abernathy, 23, of Jacksonville, was killed in action March 26 on Iwo Jima, according to word received by his parents, the Key Abernathys, of Jacksonville.

PFC. ABERNATHY

Pfc. Abernathy, who was with an aviation squadron in the Pacific, entered the Army in July, 1942, and went overseas six months later, in December, 1942.

He is survived by his parents; five sisters, and four brothers, two of whom are in service, Pvt. James D. Abernathy, Camp Hood, Tex., and Pvt. Jessie J. Abernathy, Ft. Benning, Ga.

MISSING IN ACTION—Two Alabamians recently reported missing in action overseas are shown above. Pfc. Leroy James (left), whose parents reside in Cottonton, has been missing in Italy since April 14. Pfc. Jimmie Tarver (right), whose family reside in Midway, has been missing since April in Germany.

Governors Urged to Name Negroes to Policy Boards

By ALVIN E. WHITE
Written for Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Recent racial flare-ups here in Washington and in St. Louis and Youngstown, O., show the need for wider use of Negroes in high religious, educational and governmental posts, some Negro organizations contend.

The Southern Regional Council's executive committee wrote recently to the governors of 13 southern states, asking that Negroes be considered in appointments to boards that develop policy for public services.

"Over a period of time," the letter said, "the benefit would be felt in many ways. The administration of public services would reflect greater attention to the needs of Negro citizens. Needless irritations and inconsiderate acts which are now routine in many state services would be greatly lessened. Most important, perhaps, the loyalty and common civic pride of the Negro citizen body would be considerably strengthened."

The letter suggested that the governors consider Negroes for public welfare boards, prison, parole and pardon boards, boards of health and education, hospital authorities, labor commissions, apprentice training boards, agricultural commission.

Newspapers

February 9, 1950

Mr. Howard G. McClain, Executive Secretary
Temperance League of South Carolina
Methodist Center
Lady Street
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. McClain:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you about your proposal to study the publication policies of weekly newspapers in South Carolina.

Enclosed is a copy of the questionnaires we sent out to weeklies in Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia in the preparation of "Race in the News". Probably you will not want to question the editors in such detail about racial news. Perhaps questions 4, 7, and 12 would be most pertinent, but you can judge that.

We are glad you are including these matters in your survey and look forward to seeing the results. Let us know whenever we can cooperate.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

SOUTH CAROLINA FEDERATED FORCES

F. C. BEACH
PRESIDENT, CHESTER

A. L. PARKER
1ST V. P., HONEA PATH

A. McKEE BRABHAM
2ND V. P., CHARLESTON

CLAUDE McINTOSH
3RD V. P., COLUMBIA

1301 HAMPTON STREET
COLUMBIA, S. C.
TELEPHONE 4-1679

MAXIE C. COLLINS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MISS DOROTHY OUZTS
OFFICE SECRETARY

E. P. PAULK
RECORDING SECRETARY
GREENVILLE

F. C. HELMS
TREASURER, COLUMBIA

February 6, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Reginal Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of the South Carolina Democratic Digest in which I think you will be interested. This Digest is printed under the editorship of Maxie Collins.

Some time ago you requested some information from me about the investigation of Negro teachers who were found to be cheating on the Certification Examinations. I have been informed that it seems practically impossible to get the facts at the present time. However, I will endeavor to get what information I can in the very near future and send it on to you.

In another connection we are planning to make some studies on the publication policies of weekly newspapers in South Carolina. We would like to include in this investigation the kind of material that you would be interested in. If you would supply us with the several questions which would provide the most pertinent leads we will try to get that information for our mutual benefit.

I appreciate the opportunity for the brief chat on Thursday morning and was sorry that I could not discuss several other matters with you.

Very sincerely yours,

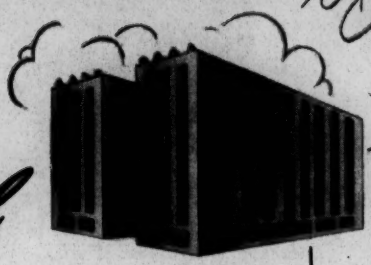
Howard

Howard G. McClain
Executive Secretary
TEMPERANCE LEAGUE of
SOUTH CAROLINA

Enclosure (3)
HGMc/JMH

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

Newspaper Clippings



Hotel Minnesotan

MINNEAPOLIS 1, MINNESOTA

RECEIVED FEB 23 1950 Southern Regional Council

Feb. 20, 1950

Dear George:

It isn't likely that the AP, UP or INS will pick up the inclosed "news" and that the Constitution or Journal would print it if they did. So I send it for your delectation, approbation or condemnation.

Have had a very gratifying ten-day visit here, with a fine climactic conference Saturday to strengthen our works.

Trust things are going well with you — or at least no harder than they are with the RLF.

My best always.

Witherspoon

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE
Monday, Feb. 20, 1950 ★ 19

Negroes Termed Great Preachers

Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Atlanta, Ga., executive director of the National Religion and Labor foundation, Sunday spoke at a meeting in Phyllis Wheatley house sponsored by the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

Speaking on the subject, "Is the South Progressing?" Dr. Dodge said, "The only great preachers in the South are Negroes because they are the only ones who have the freedom to speak."

"The smallest minority in the South is made up of people who dare to live as free men, defying southern traditions," he said.

Purpose of the foundation which Dr. Dodge directs is to promote understanding and closer co-operation between organized labor and organized religion.

MACON TELEGRAPH - 22 FEB 50

This Is a Sound Racial Philosophy

In The Telegraph's Round Table of February 20 ,appeared a letter entitled "Booker T. Washington's Philosophy Needed Today." The letter was written by Dr. E. H. Miller, an imminent Negro educator who is now professor of French at Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C. Dr. Miller holds an A. B. and B. S. from Howard University, an A. M. degree from Teachers College, Columbia University, and a Ph. D degree from the University of Dijon, France.

In his communication to The Telegraph Dr. Miller makes a summary of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington who was undoubtedly one of the outstanding representatives of his race and is still a source of pride to the South without regard to color.

In his letter to The Telegraph, Dr. Miller quotes Booker Washington as saying the Negro is always agitating about segregation, which is no real issue at all "because the Negro is separated everywhere, both North and South." Booker Washington is represented as saying that much of this is by the Negro's own choice in order to keep alive. It should be recalled here, however, that it is sometimes the work of mischief makers outside the Negro race and that the issue is more or less thrust upon the colored people.

However that may be, the Washington philosophy goes on to suggest that segregation or separation which brings with it an equal opportunity, "is best for the Negro, either North or South."

As the great Negro leader of the last generation saw it, there are no great or insurmountable problems which confront the Negro race except as the Negroes make the problem themselves.

Booker Washington advised that the trained Negro should spend more time teaching the young Negro to get hold of wealth, property, business and be thrifty, to have a high moral character and face the facts in a common sense way, fortified with these things according to the Washington philosophy is fully equipped to live side by side with the white man in peace and harmony and a better day for both races will result.

It was a pleasure to print this communication from the distinguished Negro educator at Claflin University and it would be a valuable contribution to better race relations if this philosophy were more generally understood and put into practice.

Newsp

March 3, 1950

Mr. Louis I. Jaffe, Editor
The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jaffe:

We were so taken with the editorial from the January 10 issue that we took the liberty of reprinting it in New South, as herewith.

I have heard that later ones on this matter have been quite up to the standard of this one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Newsp

March 20, 1950

Major E. H. Robinson
Robins AF Base, Georgia

Dear Major Robinson:

Thank you for sending us that narrow and old-timey editorial from the Macon Telegraph February 22. In my observation, that kind of recommendation is getting rarer in the bigger southern papers. The very fact that the telegraph pounced upon it and Mr. Miller's statement is evidence that such a statement is a rarity among Negroes.

The Council's view was best put in "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" which you saw, of course. It will take both individual effort (from people in both races), plus administrative effort, and much strengthening of law to do the job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Robins AF Base, Ga.
10 March 1950.

Dear Sirs:

What does this mean?

How much of this goes on?

Where does the Council stand on such acts as Judas?

Sincerely,
Ed L Minor
Maj. USAF

CAC
Is it a number?

Gen
Mar 10 '50

Newspapers

STATEMENT ISSUED TO ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
BY DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
December 10, 1950

That's just plain ignorant. The Council is about the only organization in the South which, in all our region's most difficult problems, works for truth, tolerance, unity, and the constructive course. This is the exact opposite of Communism; indeed, it is the one best weapon against Communist ideas. Dr. Mays' article was in this spirit. It would help Mr. Harris and all his ilk if they would heed the views of responsible Negro leaders.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Date May 23, 1951

TO Dr. George Mitchell

FROM Milton Kulick

SUBJECT Attachment

Do you think it is worthwhile getting ~~through~~ approval and reprinting the attached with a SRC imprint to be used for educational mailing describing work with the SRC generally - "Race in the News", specifically. What do you thikk?

Regards (warm).

Milt

mk/c

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1951
Southern Regional Council

gon handled by phone

Race in the Newspapers

June 23, 1950

The Chronicle-Star
COMBINED WITH
THE MOSS POINT ADVERTISER

EASTON KING IRA HARKEY
Editors and Publishers
Published Every Friday at Pascagoula, Mississippi By
THE ADVERTISER PUBLISHING COMPANY
Publication Office—210-212 Delmas Avenue, Pascagoula, Mississippi

OVER And UNDER The EDITOR'S DESK

(The following is text of an address delivered to the recent convention of the Mississippi Press Association by Ira Harkey, co-publisher of the Chronicle-Star and Moss Point Advertiser.

According to Jimmy Arrington, publisher of the Collins Commercial, and nationally-known after-dinner speaker, it is the first time in the association's 84 years that the subject has been included on the program.)

I understand I'm supposed to talk on handling the Negro in the news. I'll modify that to read "How the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star and Moss Point Advertiser Handles the Negro in the News." In other words, I am not going to advocate that all of you rush out of here and start doing as we do, however much I wish you would do just that.

I am going to tackle this thing sort of backwards. Because there would be questions on why we do as we do, I will start out by telling you that. Then we will go into the how of the matter—it is fairly simple. Then we will see what has been the reaction of our county, Jackson county, to the innovation.

Now, why—in a few words, the heart of the matter is this: Mississippi will not abandon its 48th ranking among the states until it starts treating the Negro as a man instead of a second class citizen, a biped like us but closer related to the simian. Because he is regarded as "just a nigger," not a man, he is an economic anchor attached to Mississippi's progress.

The fault is not his. Nor is the fault the purely accidental and physical characteristic of black skin. It is a long, long story, but the fault originally lies chiefly with the so-called radical Republicans who imposed a stern and humiliating penance upon the Confederate states following the Civil War.

Hatred of the black by the white resulted. As the years passed and the poor white—every white was then poor, except the scallawag and carpetbagger—was pitted against the floundering Negro for the means of making a livlihood, that hatred was molded into its present historic, unreasoned, illogical and evidently ineradicable prejudice. That is history.

Now a touch of religion. What man can at one and the same time feel that traditional hatred and call himself a Christian—or be a member of any religious group that believes in a benevolent diety? If Christianity sanctions such an attitude, then we might just as well all be candidates for Zoroastrianism or some such bloody religion as that of the ancient Aztecs. So, for religion.

Now . . . reason. How reasonable is it to hate millions of fellow Americans because their skin is black? No more logical than it is to hate all tall men, all men with blue eyes, all men with red hair, all men who wear green shirts. The Negro is not a lesser man because he is black, but a lesser man exactly for the same reasons that many a white is a lesser man—he doesn't have a chance.

Now we get to economics via poetry . . . John Donne wrote—"Ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee." What he meant was that when one person suffers, the whole of society suffers. And the converse is true. This is my rough way of putting it: What's good for you is good for me. I believe that by raising the level of the low man, the top man is forced a bit higher and all the rest of us in the middle rise accordingly. And in the case of the Negro, let's dismiss as merely ludicrous all this talk about social equality and marrying your daughter. The Negro does not want social equality. All of them could not have it, ever. Because there is no social equality for all in any society, even among the white man. As illustration of what the Negro wants—an old man once told me, "I don't want to sit down and eat dinner with you. All I want is to be allowed to make enough money to eat the kind of vittles you do."

If the Mississippi Negro and his poor white neighbor, through equal education and opportunity can be transformed into a healthy and productive citizen, every resident of Mississippi will be benefitted. It can be done. But we have to do it for him, and for us. You can't expect a dog to housebreak himself. It can be done. And the first step is to treat him like a man.

I believe the Chronicle-Advertiser has taken that first step.

I'll digress a second or two at this point to say that somebody probably will ask for an investigation after these few words. I suppose I am a liberal, but let me say beforehand that I am not a Red, a Wallaceite, a hireling of the Kremlin, an admirer of Eleanor Roosevelt. I am not even a homosexualist.

Now, what we do at the Chronicle is merely this: We report news of Negroes exactly as we report news of whites. A feature story is a feature story regardless of the color of the principal. If a happening is news when whites are involved, the same happening by any reasoning is news when Negroes are involved. Often it's even better news. A Negro success story, for example, has far more human interest than the same story about a white.

We don't segregate the news about Negroes. There is one newspaper that carries a column headed "News for the Colored Folks." Think. Is that one column the only one Negro readers are supposed to read? Or does the editor presume that that column is the only one in the paper in which Negroes would be interested or could understand?

The basic change at the Chronicle has been this: A year ago, the Chronicle-Advertiser, like most southern papers, big and little, had scattered through its pages the word "colored." John Smith, colored, was arrested . . . Joe Brown, colored, was fined for speeding . . . Washington Lincoln, colored, was awarded . . . Four colored men are being held . . . and so on.

Why the "colored?" Is it pertinent in this type story? No. We are taught that the well-written news story does not waste words, includes only information that is pertinent to the point of the story.

The automatic inclusion of the tag word—colored or Negro—in every story concerning Negroes no matter what the story is, is as ridiculous as doing it also with everyone. How about . . . Harold Lee, Jew, was arrested . . . or James Watson, Polish-American was charged . . . or Hiram Cavendish, Irish-English with a bit of French, was booked with . . .

As the fact that a man is a Negro is purely a physical, and wholly accidental, characteristic, how about including some other physical characteristics in our stories. Let's say James Jones, 6 feet 1 and a half inches tall, weighing one hundred and seventy pounds, with red curly hair, medium length eyebrows, and brown eyes, will be the commencement speaker at Biloxi high school Friday night.

I had thought much along this line during the three years after I left the navy and was looking for a newspaper in Mississippi or Louisiana. Last July, after my partner, Easton King, and I took an option on the Chronicle-Advertiser, the first change I made was to do away with the perpetual, automatic tag—colored. Except where it is pertinent. And that, so far, has been only in fugitive descriptions. In such stories, other physical characteristics also become pertinent. But in the majority of the rest, the automatic tag is not only bad journalism, it is an injustice to a people who badly need a bit of help. Treating him like a man does help. And when we help him, we help ourselves.

I would like to say that this is not a "Negro policy." We carry out the same policy in doing away with all tags—such as veteran held for murder, ex-GI sought in holdup—unless they are pertinent. We do not regard ourselves as pro-Negro. We are pro-people. We are not bleeding hearts, we just don't like undignified treatment of any people not just Negroes or Jews or fat men or guys named Oswald.

Now what happened when we dropped the tag? Nothing. Because nobody noticed it. It was not until we had the misfortune of being written up in Newsweek that anyone did notice. There were several garbled points in the story—it was the week-after-Christmas issue and 1500 words filed by their correspondent were cut to about 300.

Several folks in town who had no use for us started the word around town that we were Reds. This despite the fact that Easton King had managed the paper for seven years and his earned reputation for integrity was well known. One person bought up 30 copies of the magazine and sent them around to the big people in the county. One man branded Newsweek as a Communist publication. Then, Billy Fitspatrick, editor of the New Orleans States and good friend of Easton's and mine, mentioned Easton in his Sunday column. He referred to Red King. That was a sensation. There was proof. Red King! Indeed! Fact is, nobody in New Orleans ever called Easton anything but Red. It's the usual nickname, applied to the color of his hair, not, as he says, to the color of his politics.

Gradually the yacketing stopped. People began to feel sorry for us poor maligned fellows. The accusations lost their impact, people began to think, they came and looked at us, talked to us, decided the whole business was foolish.

Then came a story about our paper in the Christian Science Monitor. It was a full story, telling how we felt as well as what we did. We haven't heard any more "red" talk since. The Christian Science Monitor could be called a Communist publication only by a hot prospect for Whitfield.

Now, one or two Mississippi editors have told us or told friends that they wish they could "get away" with what we are doing. If they are not doing it, how do they know they can't "get away" with it? How our people feel about it can be illustrated by our increase in circulation—since last July, we have averaged better than one new subscriber a day. And even the Newsweek article brought only letters of congratulations. Some from folks out in the woods, where our gentle prejudice is sometimes fierce.

Now, with all this talk about rededication and getting back to sweat of the brow and own two feet stuff, how about rededicating ourselves to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. They indicate that we the people believe everyone is entitled to his opportunity.

For Additional Copies Write to
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Sept. 10, 1951

President E. C. Peters
Paine College
Augusta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Peters:

That was extremely kind of you to go right to the source and get the information we wanted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Newspapers

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia
Sept. 7, 1951.

SEP 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Following our long distance telephone call yesterday I went down to the offices of the Augusta Chronicle. I talked with Mr. R.L.M. Parks, the Editor, about the news story to which you had referred. We looked up this matter in the August 29th issue. These are the facts in the matter.

> The article in the Chronicle was a brief one and was on the last or next to the last page. It was a rewrite of an announcement out of Washington from the Department on Atomic Energy. It concerned a statement by the director of the Washington office as reported by a representative from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. There was nothing in this article about any statement by Senator Maybank, or anyone else from Washington.
>
> Mr. Parks told me that the Charleston News and Courier did carry a front page statement regarding this matter with a quotation from Senator Maybank, and that he had considerable influence regarding appropriations. He did not tell me, however, that the article stated (and I did not see the article personally) that Senator Maybank had said "No segregation, no appropriation" If Senator Maybank made this statement evidently it was quoted in the Charleston paper.

This is as much as I know about the matter. As a matter of fact, I do not recall that the Augusta Herald had anything to say about it, and I read the Augusta Chronicle only on Sundays. If I get any further information on this matter I shall be glad to relay it to you.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E C Peters

E. C. Peters, President.

ECP:G

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Newspapers

Sept. 21, 1951

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Ralph:

That was a fine little story in today's Constitution about the kids from Washington High with Ford Foundation scholarships.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Newspapers

Sept. 21, 1951

Professor William Warner Moss
The College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Va.

Dear Warner,

See I not some traces of thy fine hand in the good firm statements in the New York Times?

Warm congratulations on the clean-up. It will greatly help the College.

Couldn't the honest colleges get up Conference Rules of their own? The key to clean athletics, I opine, is unpaid coaches. Conversely, the root of all evil is paid coaches.

Love to Dossie and the crew.

October 17, 1951

Mr. David S. Weaver
Director of Agricultural Extension
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Friends in Asheville very kindly sent me a copy of the September issue of Extension Farm-News, commenting on the praiseworthy manner in which pictures and news of special interest to Negro farm people had been woven into the paper.

I should like to add my own commendation of the paper and of the North Carolina Extension Service for following this heartening and, I am sure, useful practice.

Here is a copy of a bulletin on that general subject which the Council got out a couple of years ago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl: Race in the News

October 17, 1951

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
48 Walnut St.
Asheville, N. C.

Dear George:

The pictures are very nice. Many thanks to you for sending them. I have written the enclosed note to Mr. Weaver, as Director of Extension.

We have done a little better in money matters this year, but still don't know how we will carry on another year unless the Ford Foundation comes through and responds to a major request we have made of them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Newsp agen

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
48 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

October 12, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The enclosed September 1951 issue of Extension Farm-News from State College at Raleigh carries a new arrangement of pictures of Negroes in extension activities which I thought you might like to have for your files.

Keep me in touch with what you are doing. Naturally I'll keep eyes open for financial help in this area, but do not see anything to promise at the moment.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

GMS/j

EXTENSION FARM-NEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING

Vol. XXXVII | SEPTEMBER, 1951 | No. 1

College Playing Important Role In World Affairs

In at least two ways, State College is now playing an important role in international affairs.

The institution has become one of the leading world centers for training agricultural scientists of Marshall Plan countries, according to I. O. Schaub, who disclosed that 40 foreign scientists have studied agricultural research, education, and extension methods here this summer.

Agreement Signed

At the same time, Chancellor J. W. Harrelson announced that the College is one of four Land Grant institutions in the nation which have recently signed agreements for collaboration in Point Four agricultural projects in Latin American countries.

Under the agreement, the Chancellor said, the College has contracted with the U. S. Department of Agriculture to furnish biometric surveys in cooperation with the Department in areas to be decided upon as the need arises. The surveys are designed to afford accurate information as to the seeds and plants suitable to certain climatic, soil, and physical conditions.

Ideas Exchanged

Schaub said a "two-way exchange of ideas" is resulting from the visits of foreign scientists. They learn from us by observing our practices, he pointed out, while we learn much from the information they bring us.

The visitors have studied in every department of the School of Agriculture for periods ranging from a few days to three months. An additional 100 are expected by next summer.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The mailing list for Extension-Farm-News is now being revised.

With this copy you will receive a card which you are requested to fill out and mail back immediately. Please indicate on the card whether your address is correct and whether you wish to continue receiving this publication.

Be sure to return the card at once. Otherwise your name will be removed from the mailing list.

The above does not apply to county farm and home agents, vocational teachers, and similar groups.

ON TO WATERLOO—Winners in the State 4-H Dairy Judging Contest held recently were (left to right, front row) Dwight Gladden, Route 3, Vale; Jean Lytton, Long Island; Edwin Boger and Verious Angell, both of Route 2, Mocksville. Miss Lytton has entered nurse's training and will be replaced on the State team by Lawrence Spencer, Route 1, Guilford College. The team will participate in the national contest at Waterloo, Iowa, Oct. 1. Accompanying the group will be Alex Buchanan (back row, left), assistant Catawba County agent, and J. D. George, extension dairy specialist.

'Know-How' Drive Gains Momentum; County Organizations Functioning

Reports from throughout the State indicate that public interest in the referendum to be held November 3 is growing by leaps and bounds.

From Cherokee to Currituck, "Nickels for Know-How" has become a familiar slogan to business and civic leaders as well as to farmers and farm women.

Campaign Launched

The whys and wherefores of the plan to raise money for expanded agricultural research and education are being explained in an intensive educational campaign which began September 7 with simultaneous meetings in all counties.

Governor Scott and President Gordon Gray of the Consolidated University recorded a 15-minute conversation which was broadcast by virtually every radio station in North Carolina on the opening day of the campaign.

Big Vote Sought

Permanent county organizations were set up at the September 7 meetings and they will continue to function right up to, and on, the referendum day. E. Y. Floyd of Raleigh explains that every effort is being made to get more farm people to the polls on November 3 than on any previous voting day in the history of the State.

If the "Nickels for Know-How" plan is approved by a two-thirds majority, a contribution of five cents per ton will be collected on all feeds and fertilizers sold in the State during the next three years. Proceeds, amounting to $125,000 or more, will be used to expand research and speed up the flow of research information to farm families.

The referendum is being held under authority of an enabling act passed by the 1951 General Assembly. The North Carolina State Grange, North Carolina Farm Bureau Federation, and the Agricultural Foundations, Inc., are charged with the responsibility of conducting the balloting.

Press Comment

Press comment on the plan has been favorable.

Greensboro Daily News of September 7 said in part:

"Dean James H. Hilton of State College's School of Agriculture is talking right down the *Daily News'* street when he stresses the value of research in North Carolina and urges its expansion in the name of a richer State, a sounder economy

(Continued on Page 3)

Loan Facilities Available to All Cotton Growers

Facilities for placing cotton under Government loan are available to every lint grower in North Carolina who wishes to use them, points out J. A. Shanklin.

Agencies Approved

He says 57 banks have been approved as lending agencies and 71 of the 107 bonded warehouses in the State have qualified to act as receiving agents for the Commodity Credit Corporation. The Cotton Growers Cooperative Association has agreements with 62 of these warehouses to act as their agents, and there are some 100 other representatives of the association who can execute papers for loans. In addition, clerks in Production and Marketing Administration offices are in position to help in obtaining loans.

Shankin reminds farmers that Agriculture Commissioner L. Y. Ballentine, Dean James H. Hilton, and the State Cotton Committee, headed by Extension Director D. S. Weaver, have all joined in urging growers to consider using CCC loans as a means of insuring orderly marketing of the large 1951 crop.

Average Loan Rate

The loan rate, at 90 per cent of parity, averages about 33½ cents a pound for middling 1-1/32 inch cotton. While the risk is relatively small, the farmer stands to gain if prices advance later in the season.

The storage charge is 40 cents per month and the rate of interest on CCC loans is 3 per cent. Farmers have until next July 31 to redeem their cotton. They do not have to pay interest on cotton which they do not redeem.

Detailed information is available from county agents, PMA offices, and other sources.

Short Courses Set

Three short courses in dairy cattle, field crops, and beef cattle will be given at the College January 7 through February 1, Dean J. H. Hilton has announced. The courses, designed to provide intensive, practical training, are offered to meet the growing need and demand for off-the-farm study. Enrollment is open to any person over 16 who is interested in improving his knowledge of agriculture. Application must be made not later than December 15. Full information is available from the Division of College Extension.

EXTENSION FARM-NEWS

F. H. JETER, Editor
WILLIAM S. HUMPHRIES, Managing Editor

Published on the 15th of each month by the Agricultural Extension Service of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina.

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J. H. HILTON, Dean of Agriculture.
DAVID S. WEAVER, Director of Extension.
LANDIS BENNETT, In Charge, Extension Visual Aids.
WILLIAM S. HUMPHRIES, Associate Editor, Extension.
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LANE M. PALMER, Associate Editor, Experiment Station.
WILLIAM C. HAAS, Assistant Editor, Experiment Station.
NORMAN YOUNGSTEADT, Extension Artist.
RALPH MILLS, Assistant, Visual Aids, Experiment Station.
JOHN MATTOX, Assistant, Visual Aids, Experiment Station.

Entered as second-class matter on or about September 15, at the Post Office at Raleigh, N. C., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Exchange copies should be addressed to the Editor, Raleigh, N. C.

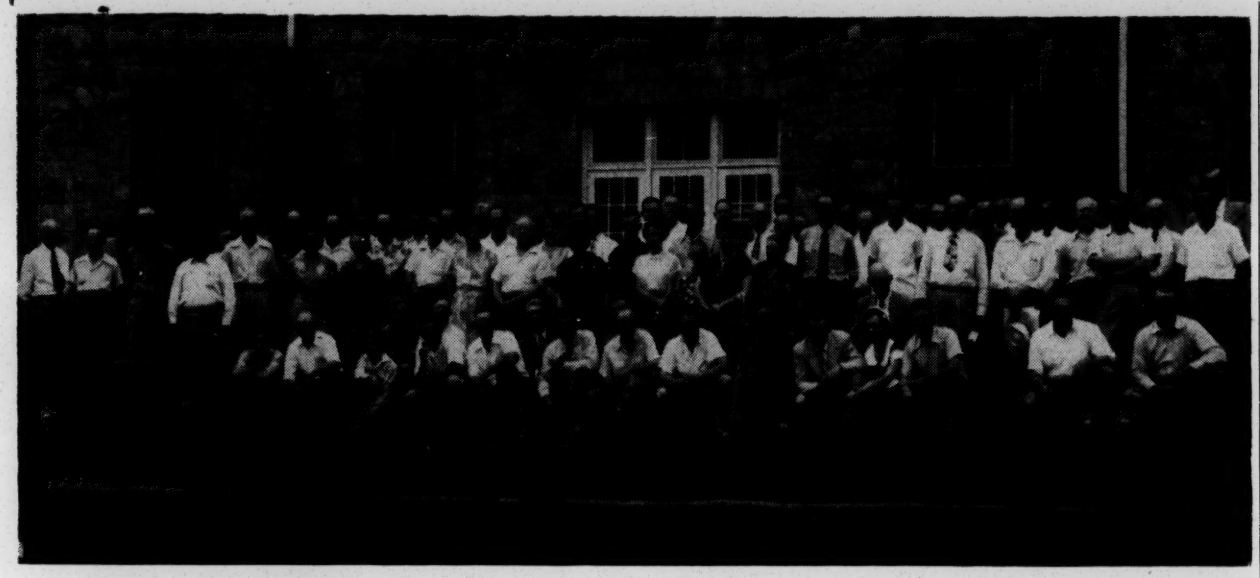
LESPEDEZA LADY—Peggy Coleman, Rockingham County 4-H girl, stands in bicolor lespedeza she helped plant three years ago to prevent erosion and provide food for quail. W. F. Wilson contributed the photo.

Burley Advice

Burley growers should concentrate on producing tobacco for the cigarette market rather than for snuff and pipe, believes W. E. Colwell, head of the Department of Agronomy. Speaking at a burley field day at Waynesville, he pointed out that about 390 billion cigarettes were produced last year and nearly a third of each of these cigarettes was made up of burley. For high yields and good quality, Colwell advised liberal use of manure, closer spacing of both rows and hills, careful topping, and at least one priming.

Another of North Carolina's great pioneer extension workers retired to his own vine and fig tree on September 1. . . . Roy D. Goodman completed 37 years of hard and earnest work for his people in Cabarrus County on that date. . . . He will enjoy life on "Woodside Farm," his country home, in the Winecoff Community. . . . He and Mrs. Goodman intend to let the two sons, Victor J. and Earl L., continue to operate the home place as they have done, so successfully, for several years. . . . *The Concord Tribune* joined with other Cabarrus citizens in a six-page tribute to the former farm agent in its issue for Sunday, August 12. . . . And well deserved. . . . Congratulations to Miss Ruth Current and her staff as well as to the delegates from the 26 districts of the Home Demonstration Federation for bringing the 1952 meeting of the National Home Demonstration Council to North Carolina State College. . . . The Council met in East Lansing, Michigan, this year. . . . We prepare next for those district planning meetings at which we shall set up our Extension program for 1952 as a link in North Carolina's fast expanding over-all agricultural development for the future. . . . Two-day meetings will be held in each Extension District for all county home and farm agents. . . . Extract from a home agent's narrative report for August: "A lovely memorial was read for the three club members who have passed away. They served delicious cake and punch, and the building was prettily decorated in yellow and green, the club colors. They displayed the new silver and dishes which has been purchased recently.". . . But read this one from the monthly report of G. W. Conrad of Mitchell: "Attended 1 community Fairy meeting.". . . Must have had a dream of a time. . . . A wonderful visit with the North Carolina Press Association at Wilmington and the opportunity to tell the Editors about our "Nickels For Know How" and our "County Progress" programs. . . . The 65 boys who attended the Forestry Camp at Lake Singletary learned about trees, forest management and woods craft but they got an added kick out of the four-day affair when Director Weaver went down and talked to them about dogs. . . . John Gray said the Director was kept on his feet for two hours answering questions and explaining his illustrated lecture. . . . Sam Buchanan places the membership of the Hereford Association at 225 and says all of them plus a hundred more attended the annual meeting and field day in Guilford County on August 25. . . . Jim Graham, secretary, did a good job in helping W. H. Kimrey and others in J. I. Wagoner's office handle the occasion. . . . They still talk of the delightful tour and the fine lunch served by N. W. Cobb, manager of the Reedy Fork Ranch. . . . This is one of North Carolina's active livestock organizations. . . . Jerry Bason declares that Lawrence Lee Cook of Alamance has found a way to sit down and prime tobacco. . . . A boon to mankind, if true. . . . William Chaffin, Jr., sends word that N. B. Nicholson was the perfect host when a group of Pender poultrymen visited Union County. . . . "Big Nick" guided them to two farms where the successful owners were only tenants a few years ago. . . . Poultry made them landowners. . . . Sam Mitchiner has been ill and spent a few days during the latter part of August in the hospital. . . . This gem from Evans Gardner, head horticulturist: "Nothing adds more dignity and contentment to the art of living than attractive surroundings. A well landscaped home, although simple, is an outward expression of neighborliness and confident living.". . . Evans wrote it one Sunday night. . . . Beautiful. . . . W. C. Davenport says the busload of twenty-nine 4-H club members and local leaders from Wake County enjoyed their second annual three-day visit to Washington, D. C. . . . A different group goes each summer and then make reports to their local churches and schools. . . . Use of the recommended varieties of tobacco, corn, and small grain would add a 41 million dollar increase in annual farm income to North Carolina, estimates Dr. Bill Colwell, and by the way, this agronomy group is really on the ball. . . . Dr. Gordon Middleton was the man of the month for the *Carolina Co-operator* for August. . . . A justly deserved tribute to one who has spearheaded some wonderful breeding work with grain crops. . . . He had a big hand in giving us Atlas wheat, Colonial barley, and Arlington oats. . . . Dr. Ralph Cummings, Station Director, and Dr. Colwell, Agronomy chief, along with other members of the soils and crops groups took a prominent part in the 16th annual meeting of the Soil Science Society of America at State College, Penna., in late August. . . . Drs. Cummings and Colwell are both directors in the American Society of Agronomy which held its 43rd meeting at the same time. . . . These men with strange accents that you bump into on the State College campus and almost anywhere over the State are visitors under the ECA's foreign visitation program and they tell us they like to come to North Carolina because here they find something of the real America. . . . Dr. I. O. Schaub looks after the visitors and is making the college a world center for the training of the visiting scientists. . . . W. A. Stephen and Mrs. Stephen are in England attending the International Beekeeping Congress. . . . Reciprocity. . . . The likable couple will visit Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany, Switzerland, and France. . . . No, not Russia, anything but that. . . . Eleanor Mason is back where she belongs. . . . At her old desk in the HD department. . . . Life over there already seems much simpler and routine more satisfactory. . . . No one is happier than Ruth Current and surely she deserves the wonderful sort of clerical ability that Miss Mason can bring to the headquarters office. . . . Our capable Dr. Landis Bennett, with the aid of Bill Humphries, has made a motion picture of a club family for Jack Watts of Durham. . . . It tells of the Keith family teaming up for a more abundant farm life. . . . Congratulations to D. D. Williamson, et al., of Yadkin for organizing the first rural telephone cooperative in the United States, under the new telephone expansion idea. . . . Over 600 country families have taken phones in two exchange areas. . . . Mrs. Willis, Mrs. Wagner, Mr. Cone, Mr. Stafford and Mr. Hendricks judged the 13 farm families in Dr. Dorton's famous Cleveland County "Better Acres" contest. . . . Orchids to Luke Powell and his Currituck pasture campaign begun for the fall. . . . Luke tells them how to have pastures, step by step, and leaves nothing to chance. . . . Should you wish to get pickled, get a copy of Miss Rose Ellwood Bryan's new "pickling" circular. . . . It's a honey and, as usual, the demand is greater than the supply. . . . Our manners to Major J. C. Ferguson for bringing that newly designed airplane to Raleigh and showing local pilots how to use it for crop dusting. . . . Congratulations again to Bill Humphries of our news staff for the center-spread feature article in the September *Kiwanis Magazine*. . . . Bill and Ralph Mills collaborated

(Continued on Page 3)

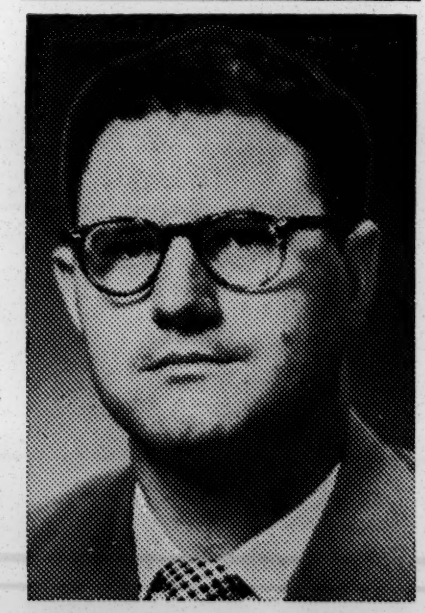


WERE YOU THERE?—No doubt there was a beehive of activity at Cullowhee last month when the North Carolina Beekeepers Association held its annual summer meeting. In addition to talks, demonstrations, and discussions, the group visited apiaries in that section. P. J. Gibson sent in the picture.

PERSONAL MENTION

(Continued from Page 2)

to produce an illustrated article telling of the Raleigh Kiwanis Beach Cavalcade by which 350 orphans were entertained at Fort Macon. . . . Our long-time friend J. P. Quinerly of Columbus County retired on July 1 after years of service to the agriculture of the State. . . . He has served as county agent, assistant agent, and as Farm Bureau representative, doing a good job in all positions. . . . R. L. "Bob" Thompson, Jr., of Lenoir County, has succeeded Neil Bolton as Agricultural Agent in handling the "Better Farming for Better Living" program in Southeastern North Carolina. . . . Bob says that for the present he is just trying on Neil's shoes. . . . Here's a bet he fills them acceptably. . . . We wish for Mrs. Virginia Sloan Swain complete happiness in her new job with the Raleigh High Schools. . . . Having a home is, after all, more important than serving the rural homes of the State, important as that is. . . . The Negro 4-H Clubs have set out to establish a $50,000 Club Foundation and no one has worked harder at it than Miss Idell Jones, efficient Negro Club Specialist. . . . Roger Murdoch says the trip by Iredell farm folk to Kentucky and Indiana was just as successful as the other one last year. . . . Our belated congratulations to Dr. E. T. York to whom student members of the State College Agronomy Society dedicated their annual publication, *Crops and Soils* last June. . . . Dr. York is one of those men who does a wonderful job in such an unassuming manner that no one really realizes it has been done. . . . Finally, again we must honor members of our own editorial staff, Lane Palmer, Rudolph Pate and Norman Youngsteadt for spade work, compilation, preparation and printing of the literature and other media used in the "Nickels For Know-How" campaign. . . . If the Agricultural Foundation gets its proposed five cents a ton on feeds and fertilizer, these three men should receive the thanks of all concerned. . . . It was hard, digging, concentrated labor to prepare such splendid materials.



JOINS STAFF—John M. Curtis is Extension's newest marketing specialist. Born in Randolph County and educated at N. C. State and the University of Maryland, he comes to his new post from VPI, where he was an agricultural economist. Except for his thesis, he has completed work for a Ph.D.

Wins Scholarship

The $200 Sophomore Sears Scholarship in the School of Agriculture for 1951-52 has been awarded to Johnny Kermit Atwell, Route 1, China Grove, who received a similar award for his freshman work last year. Atwell, 18, has made a scholastic average of 89.0 on his college work and was awarded the Alpha Zeta Scholarship Cup at the College last spring. He is majoring in dairy husbandry.

SUPERSTITIOUS?

"There may be a few superstitious people in the Extension Service, but not all unusual behavior of extension workers can be attributed to superstition," says G. H. Farley, former assistant agent in Transylvania and Henderson counties and now Cherokee agent.

Visiting a farm in the Newfound community of Buncombe County while making a survey recently, Farley encountered a big black dog. Canines were not being counted, but this animal probably didn't know that. The dog charged toward Farley and took a big bite out of his trouser leg.

Agent Farley was forced to make a strategic withdrawal—without getting the information he wanted. Next day, however, he donned a heavy pair of high-top boots, returned to the scene, and with cautious movements proceeded to accomplish his mission.

'Know-How' Drive Gains Momentum

(Continued from Page 1)

and higher living standards generally.

"Pointing out that Tar Heel farm income was $786,000,000 in 1950, Dean Hilton declared that with proper research and dissemination of the results thereof that amount might easily be increased by half a billion dollars within the next decade.

More Know-How Needed

"North Carolina's natural resources, its indigenous opportunities, are here waiting for utilization. But that utilization is not coming without more know-how, meaning increased production per acre, increased diversification, greater utilization of farm by-products, more efficient operating, processing and marketing facilities. In every instance these go back largely to research. . . .

"And by research . . . we refer to not merely the work of the classroom and the laboratory, but the practical application of findings and conclusions there. That means that whatever research we engage in in North Carolina must be taken to the people, to those whom it will benefit, and wrought into their programs, their plans, their activities and operation. For only in that way will the real pay-off come.

Heavy Responsibility

"If money is raised for doing that which Dean Hilton envisions, there will be heavy responsibility indeed resting upon those agencies to which it is entrusted to do the job right and to follow through to a grass-roots application. The research that we need in North Carolina must go not merely into books but into practice. And here we are looking far beyond State College's research staff and facilities to the home demonstration and farm agents who are out on the working line."

BIRD'S EYE VIEW—This is an aerial view of the expanded facilities on the College Poultry Farms at Raleigh. The turkey plant is at left and the new research plant at the right. The research plant includes a brooder house with 7,300 capacity, four laying units, a single-mated house, and the central building.

Program Planning Work Benefits All Departments

(The following article, one in a series on the work of extension departments, was prepared by members of the Program Planning staff.)

Before attempting to describe the responsibilities and activities of the Program Planning Department, it should be pointed out that we are primarily a "service" rather than a technical subject-matter department. This, perhaps, will help explain why many of our activities are not too closely associated with the actual development of a specific program. All of them, however, are related to some phase of the overall responsibilities and activities of Extension.

As a matter of fact, our work consists largely of developing plans, procedures, techniques, materials and information for use by others. Much of the time this involves the coordination and correlation of work between departments, individuals and agencies. This is one phase of program planning.

Another phase is the process of helping to determine, develop and carry out programs, There is still another and that is the many activities not directly related to program planning, but necessary to the organization and conduct of a good extension program. A brief description of some of the major activities within the department will further explain the nature of our work.

Long-Time County Planning

In long-time county planning, we follow one of Extension's most fundamental objectives—helping people to help themselves. This particular activity includes helping county extension and other agricultural workers, leading farm men and women and business representatives to determine the situation, possibilities and ways of improving the pattern of farming and homemaking throughout the county.

This involves helping them to assemble, analyze and interpret factual data and develop plans for the necessary organization and methods of procedure. We have given this type of assistance in 17 counties and in no case have we attempted to determine the situation or program for them. We have, however, at their request, arranged for the appropriate specialists and other technicians to meet and advise with the crop, livestock, home improvement and other committees relative to specific recommendations to be included in the final program. We then assist in developing ways and means of presenting and explaining the program to the people of the county, and in setting up an organization to help in carrying it out.

Annual Plans of Work

In Extension we have an annual plan of work which when properly developed is an organized plan of selected projects and activities showing in detail what is to be done, when it is to be done and how it is to be done throughout the year.

PLANNER—F. S. Sloan, Macon County native and 1928 graduate of State College, has been Extension's State program leader since 1941. Prior to that time he had served as county agent, horticultural specialist, and district agent. He lists golf as his hobby.

When preparing plans of work, county extension agents and specialists should, insofar as possible, base them upon the State and county long-time program. This department in cooperation with the administration prepares the forms, instructions and certain other materials for use by the district agents, specialists and county extension workers in preparing their annual plan of work.

This includes preparation of a general statement relative to the situation and problems and then editing, duplicating and distributing the outline of project plans prepared by the specialists for use by the agents.

Plans of work are not submitted to or approved within this department, but many of them are reviewed from the standpoint of organization and content.

Reports

While we receive many questions and comments relative to the various reports it should be understood that none of these reports are requested or approved by this office. This statement should not be construed as an effort by this office to avoid criticism, but rather as an effort to clarify who receives and approves the various reports.

For example, county extension agents report to their district agents, district agents and specialists report to the State home demonstration agent and the assistant directors. We do, however, prepare most of the forms and instructions and then edit, analyze and summarize the agents' monthly and annual reports, and the specialists' weekly reports making different types of analyses and summaries for use by the administration and district agents in their supervisory work.

It is recognized that the preparation of reports is not one of the most pleasant or popular duties of an extension worker, but is a very important part of our extension work and their value is in direct proportion to their accuracy and completeness. The information contained in narrative and statistical reports is used to inform others in extension and the public in general of the activities and accomplishments.

Workers Receive Training

In 1949 plans were worked out with the College to include two courses in the regular curriculum designed to serve as pre-service training for those students who are interested in extension work.

Under a cooperative employment arrangement the Program Planning staff is responsible for teaching these courses. One is a course in "Rural Adult Education" and the other is "Principles and Techniques of Extension Education." A total of 45 under-graduates and three graduate students were enrolled for one or both of these classes during the winter and spring terms.

The first in-service training school since 1945 was held at the College in June with more than sixty extension agents and a large number of specialists and district agents attending. One member of the Program Planning staff served as chairman of the program committee and as presiding officer for the school, with another member having charge of the physical arrangements and serving as conference secretary.

Consideration is now being given to holding a similar school each year, and also to the possibility of working out with the College authorities a three-week extension short course each year.

In addition to these scheduled training activities, considerable work has been done in the preparation of materials for use by district agents and others in their supervisory and in-service training work.

Farm and Home Week

Farm and Home Week may not be looked upon as a specific responsibility of the Extension Service, but it does require considerable time and effort. With this department having the major responsibility of planning the program, handling registration and making other necessary arrangements, it is easy to understand why this becomes a major activity.

It is felt, however, that through this cooperative undertaking between the College, State Department of Agriculture, agricultural agencies and farm people, the time devoted is well spent because of the good which it accomplishes from the standpoint of public relations and coordination of effort. It gives a broader insight into the problems, needs and desires of the people throughout the State and helps in the development of leadership which is so important to successful agricultural and homemaking programs.

Other Activities

There are a number of other activities carried on within the department which in one way or another are very important to the overall extension program. Space will not permit and it is not deemed necessary that these be discussed, but it is hoped the above explanation will suffice to give an insight into the work of this department and of our desire to assist in every way possible to further develop and increase the effectiveness of the entire extension program.

The Program Planning staff consists of F. S. Sloan, State program leader; J. W. Crawford and Maud K. Schaub, program planning specialists; two secretaries and two statistical clerks.

Finding the Answers for Farmers: Much Time, Labor, Travel Involved

How much work is required before an agricultural scientist can come up with the right answer to a farm problem?

"Plenty!" would be a good reply. For example:

In checking soybean varieties, Experiment Station workers first examined some 9,000 strains. Of these, more than 1,000 were tested in replicated experiments in various sections of the State.

Roanoke and Ogden, of course, were found to excel all others in grain yields. Accordingly, these varieties are recommended.

But back of this recommendation lie some 40,000 miles of travel and 15,000 man-hours of work.

Many similar stories could be told, says W. E. Colwell, head of the Department of Agronomy. To cite another case, during the past five years more than 14,000 plots of corn have been hand-planted, thinned, harvested, and weighed. Some 660,000 stalks have been counted and tabulated as to stalk strength, disease and insect resistance, and maturity.

During the same period, more than 4,500 plots of wheat and 7,000 plots of oats have been tested.

So when a farmer hears the words "recommended variety," he can be certain of two things: First, somebody (probably a lot of somebodies) has done a lot of hard work; second, the information being given is not guesswork but is based on the most extensive scientific research which available funds will support.

LEADERS—New Young Men and Women's Conference officers are, left to right: J. B. McLawhorn, Route 1, Hookerton, president, who succeeds Jim McGee of Union County; Kay Sugg, Route 1, Snow Hill, vice-president; Marion Britt, Elizabethtown, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Mildred Rhyne, Gastonia, historian. The YMW program, designed for older rural youth, stresses education, recreation, and community service.

WINNERS—McLawhorn also won first place in the Rural Youth Talk Meet and will represent the State in the national contest at Chicago in December, with trip expenses to be paid by the Farm Bureau. Runners-up were Metta Moore, Hoffman, second; Barbara Mitchell, Brown Summit, third; Kennedy Sharpe, Hiddenite, fourth. Harry Simmons was the winner's coach.

BEAUTY AT MILLSTONE—If you men will take your eyes off the young ladies for a minute, we'll tell you about the rocks, water, and trees that make Camp Millstone so beautiful. On second thought, though, let's go back to the girls: That's Shirley Wooten, Sampson County, on the left, and at right is Jeannette Bass, Wilson County. They attended the YMW Conference at Millstone last month.

Analyze Self, YMW Group Advised; House Stresses Value of Character

Analyze yourself. Take inventory of yourself. *Find* yourself.

That, in brief, was the advice given by the three major speakers at the State Young Men and Women's Conference held at Camp Millstone during the last week in August.

Miss Lucille Browne, Greensboro vocational guidance specialist, spoke on choosing a vocation; Mrs. Corinne Grimsley, on choosing a mate; and University Chancellor Robert B. House, on choosing a personal philosophy.

Aptitude Tests

In choosing a job, said Miss Browne, young people should take aptitude tests, talk with persons experienced in various fields, and otherwise find out all they can about themselves and their prospective vocations.

Mrs. Grimsley said that in selecting a mate, being the right kind of person is much more important than trying to find the right kind. Developing a healthy personality and an acceptable personal philosophy, she added, will help solve many social problems before they even come up.

"Character is one thing you don't take a risk with," Chancellor House told the group. He said the way to develop a personal philosophy is to start where you are, fix your values according to definite standards, and then, of all the things to which you are exposed, select those that fit your pattern and hold on to them.

Summary Given

Gayle Wells, assistant home agent in Columbus County, summarized the discussions by saying:

"Notice how all three decisions—choosing a job, a mate, and a personal philosophy—are correlated. We can and should get as much help as possible from others, but—after finding ourselves—we must make our own decisions. The important point, stressed by all three speakers, is this: Your future is what you make it."

Choplin in Greece On ECA Mission

Paul Choplin, Wilkes County agent for the past several years, is one of five American farm agents chosen to go to Greece this month as advisers to the agricultural extension service of the Greek government under the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Mrs. Choplin and their three-year-old son are accompanying Choplin. They will remain abroad at least one year.

The American agents will provide know-how assistance in Greece's extension work, started last December.

PROMOTED—Mrs. Corinne Justice Grimsley has been appointed extension specialist in charge of family relations, according to Miss Ruth Current. She holds a B.A. in English from Converse College, an M.A. in personnel administration from Columbia, and has done graduate work in psychology at Duke. She has been a member of the extension staff since 1948.

Good Seed Supply For Fall Planting

Tar Heel farmers who want to grow improved varieties of small grain during the coming season should have no difficulty finding seed.

Good supplies of Atlas wheat, Colonial barley, and Arlington oats are available for fall seeding, according to officials of the Crop Improvement Association.

Arlington, newest of the improved varieties, was in short supply last year. But with many farmers during the past season getting back 40 bushels of good seed for each bushel they planted, there should be enough to go around.

The 1951 wheat crop, much of which was Atlas, was one of the best in many years. In addition, there is a good-sized carryover of certified Atlas seed from last year.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture has called for continued high production of grain crops during 1952.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Jams, Jellies, and Preserves, Extension Circular No. 360 (Revised), by Rose Ellwood Bryan. Gives step-by-step directions for making all three of these popular sweets, as well as instructions for preparing fruit juices and flavoring syrup. Numerous recipes are included. 16 pages.

Sodium Fluoride for Worming Hogs, Extension Folder No. 84, by J. Clark Osborne and Jack Kelley. Gives directions for using this simple, safe drug for controlling round worms in swine.

The 1951 list of certified seed growers has been released by the North Carolina Crop Improvement Association, according to R. P. Moore, director in charge.

DELEGATE — Hazel Vivian Cameron, 17, member of Johnsonville 4-H Club in Harnett County, was one of eight Tar Heel delegates to the Regional 4-H Camp held in Arkansas. A first-place State Dress Revue winner and junior leader in her community, she has completed three projects in clothing and four in poultry during seven years of club work, according to Mrs. Ida P. Hinnant. She is entering North Carolina College at Durham this fall.

Fumigate Grain

It's a good idea to examine stored grain at this time of year for signs of insect infestation, says George D. Jones. He recommends fumigation with a standard mixture of ethylene dichloride and carbon tetrachloride at the rate of three to six gallons for each 1,000 bushels of grain. The fumigant should be applied in temperature above 65 degrees and should remain on the grain for 24 to 36 hours. After thorough airing, the grain is safe for use as food or feed.

Clinic Discusses Credit Problems

Money is power, as everyone knows. But not every farmer knows how to obtain money for necessary adjustments in his operations, and as a result the movement toward balanced farming in North Carolina drags.

That in brief was the conclusion reached at a credit clinic held in Durham last month by representatives of the Production Credit Corporation of Columbia, S. C., and officials of the State College School of Agriculture.

Purpose of the conference was to discuss how to aid farmers who need financial backing to seed new pastures, buy machinery, obtain cattle and hogs, and start poultry flocks to supplement their income from crops.

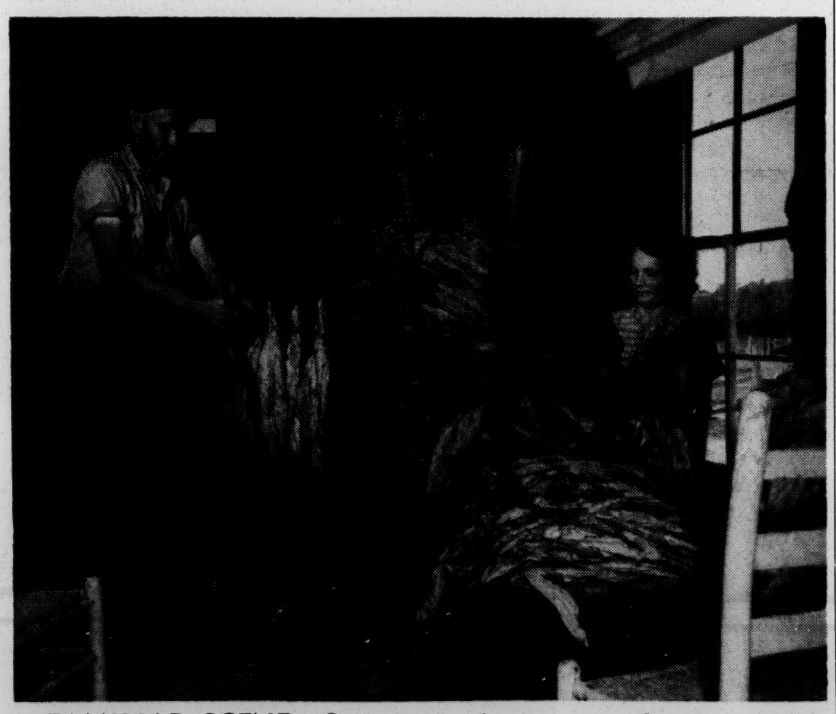
Summary Given

H. Brooks James, head of the Department of Agricultural Economics, summed up the clinic by saying that more North Carolina farmers should use available credit facilities to make needed adjustments in their operations. Adoption of recommended practices based on research, it was pointed out, could greatly increase farm income. Credit could be used and the borrowed money repaid largely with the extra returns obtained.

This could be done, the group agreed, without imposing too great a strain on the borrower or causing his family to suffer unusual hardships.

Similar conferences will be held at Goldsboro on November 14 and at Statesville on November 16. Among those attending the Durham meeting were Dean J. H. Hilton and R. A. Darr, president of the Production Credit Association.

3,000-PLUS FROM ONE—S. J. Hodges checks up on the yield of Arlington oats. His report: One grain produced 48 shoots averaging 67 grains each, giving a yield of 3,216 grains from one stalk. With Arlington, says Hodges, such yields are average rather than exceptional.



FAMILIAR SCENE—Stripping tobacco is a familiar chore to thousands of North Carolina farm families. The State's per-acre flue-cured yield jumped from 810 pounds for the period 1930-39 to 1,341 pounds in 1950 as more and more growers adopted practices based on scientific research.

Asheville Market Subject of Report

A 35-page report entitled *The Wholesale Produce Market at Asheville, N. C.* has been published by USDA's Production and Marketing Administration in cooperation with the North Carolina Department of Agriculture's Division of Markets. The report is based on a study made with the assistance of the Asheville Agricultural Development Council, Inc., and other groups.

Some 400,000 people in the Buncombe area depend on wholesalers in Asheville for an important part of their food supply, says the booklet. In 1949 wholesale handlers of fruits, vegetables, poultry, and eggs in the city handled the equivalent of more than 4,500 carloads of these commodities, valued at about $9,500,000.

The most important conclusion reached, according to the report, is that "the need for improved wholesale marketing facilities in the city is primarily that of correcting the present unsatisfactory conditions in the Lexington Avenue Market area." The chief defect of this area, it is pointed out, is that it is too small to take care of the business.

'Help!' Yell Farm Dictionary Writers

(From *The Lincoln Times*)

A committee of brave and selfless men is struggling at Michigan State College to compile a comprehensive and authoritative "Dictionary of Agricultural Terms." This long-needed work is intended to be a monument to the centennial year of the college, which comes up in 1955. But, unless the American farmer at large comes to the rescue of the committee, publication may have to be put off for the 125th or even 150th anniversary.

They're having trouble right now in the "M's," though they don't claim to have all their problems cleaned up even that far.

The *Livingston County Press*, of Howell, Mich., reports that there is disagreement on whether "middle-buster," "middle-burster" and "middle-breaker" are all the same implement. One farmer, who was unwilling to decide, remarked that a "lister" is the same as a "middle-buster." But a second farmer says it's no-such-of-a-thing!

So, if you know (for sure), write to John N. Winburne, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

PERSONNEL

NEW APPOINTMENTS

Helen Jean Anderson, Asst. Home Agent, Statesville.

J. C. Barber, Jr., Asst. County Agent, Gastonia.

Hilton Carlton, Asst. County Agent, Wilson.

Lou Jean Dedmon, Asst. Home Agent, Gastonia.

Johnsie Ruth Gambill, Asst. Home Agent, Roxboro.

W. R. Hefner, Asst. County Agent, Morganton.

R. S. Kirby, Asst. Home Agent, Snow Hill.

A. F. Martin, Asst. County Agent, Whiteville.

C. R. Perdue, Asst. County Agent, Wadesboro.

Mrs. Rita C. Preston, Home Agent, Washington.

Mrs. Celeste S. Sawyer, Asst. Home Agent, Elizabeth City.

Myrle L. Swicegood, Asst. Home Agent, Raleigh.

TRANSFERS

Mary B. Gaskins, Home Agent, Gatesville (from Elizabeth City).

G. H. Farley, County Agent, Murphy (from TVA payroll).

W. G. Tussey, Asst. County Agent, Salisbury (from Wadesboro).

L. B. Outlaw, Jr., Asst. County Agent, Kinston (from Wilson).

Sarah F. Wise, Home Agent, Jefferson (from Roxboro).

PROMOTIONS

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Jones, Home Agent (from Asst. Home Agent), Snow Hill.

CHANGE IN NAME

Julia Bradshaw to **Mrs. Julia B. Brazelton,** Asst. Home Agent, Nashville.

Maxie Henderson to **Mrs. Maxie H. Haire,** Asst. Home Agent, Elizabethtown.

TALKING IT OVER?—Abner Knowles, left, tried to make the photographer believe he was discussing serious matters with his district agent, C. M. Brickhouse. Truth is, though, the two probably were making plans for a forthcoming fishing trip.

Anne Parker to **Mrs. Anne P. Hodges,** Asst. Home Agent, Greenville.

RESIGNATIONS

J. F. Brown, Extension Dairy Specialist, campus.

Mrs. Almeta Edwards Fisher, Home Agent, Washington.

L. A. Highsmith, Asst. County Agent, Goldsboro.

Isabel McDonald, Asst. Home Agent, Statesville.

Mrs. Iva Hurst Robertson, Asst. Home Agent, Raleigh.

R. L. Sloan, Associate County Agent, Morganton.

Away from It All

W. A. Stephen, extension beekeeping specialist, and Mrs. Stephen are spending eight weeks in Europe to attend the International Beekeeping Congress at Leamington Spa, England, and tour Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany, Switzerland, and France. Stephen represented the American Beekeeping Federation at the congress. The couple will return during the latter part of October.

Agronomy Group Attends Meeting

State College was well represented at the annual meetings of the American Society of Agronomy and the Soil Science Society of America, held recently at State College, Pa.

R. W. Cummings gave a report as chairman of the coordinating committee for the two organizations. W. E. Colwell presided over sessions of the Plant Nutrients Division. W. W. Woodhouse, Jr., served as chairman of a section on production and management, and W. L. Nelson, chairman of the joint committee on fertilizer application, presided at a special program on fertilizer technology.

G. C. Klingman was in charge of the Student Essay Contest.

Marie Raynor of Maple Hill, 1951 winner of the "Green Pastures" public speaking contest sponsored by the North Carolina Bankers Association, gave her winning talk on "Green Pastures—Their Place in the Economy of North Carolina."

Others appearing on the programs were D. B. Anderson, H. L. Lucas, C. H. Hanson, D. S. Chamblee, C. O. Gardner, P. H. Harvey, R. E. Comstock, H. F. Robinson, G. D. Hill, W. G. Woltz, S. H. Dobson, C. H. M. van Bavel, E. V. Miller, N. T. Coleman, and A. Mehlich.

Pou Is Promoted

J. W. Pou, native Tar Heel, 1938 graduate of State College, former assistant county agent and extension dairy specialist, has been appointed head of the Dairy Department at the University of Maryland. He has been extension dairyman at the University since 1947.

LEARNING ABOUT WILDLIFE—Dozens of 4-H members from all parts of the State attended the annual Wildlife Conference held at Camp Millstone, August 20-24. The conference covered a variety of subjects ranging from reptiles to rabbits and furs to fishponds, with instruction being given by representatives of the State Wildlife Resources Commission. For camp duties the delegates were divided into three groups known as "Foxes," "Ducks," and "Frogs." Recreational events were held each afternoon and evening. Delegates to the camp were selected on the basis of their wildlife project work during the past year. The 4-H wildlife program is sponsored by the Federal Cartridge Company.

Around The State

Some 493,000 cantaloupes, 47,000 watermelons, and 1,600 bushels of tomatoes were sold through the Scotland County Produce Market during the past season. Prices for cantaloupes were very good but the tomato market was very unsatisfactory throughout the season, according to E. O. McMahan.

Ten boys have been selected for the Durham Jaycee Pasture and Livestock Club for 1951, reports J. M. Watts. Each will receive $30 worth of materials to establish permanent pasture for livestock projects. The club, which now has 40 members, was formed four years ago by the Durham Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Jaycees have spent $1,200 on the project to date.

A group of agricultural and business leaders from Forsyth, Rockingham, Davie, and Stokes counties recently visited the livestock auction markets at Culpepper and Front Royal, Va., to get ideas for constructing a similar market at Winston-Salem. John W. Crawford accompanied the group.

Living on a Belgian farm is "very interesting and different from our farm life in America," reports Elizabeth Guice, International Farm Youth Exchange delegate from Henderson County. "The people here," she said in a recent letter from Belgium, "live in small villages surrounded by fields. One family may have several fields, each in a different direction. The farming land may be in one direction and the pastures in another. The gardens adjoin the yard and house. Some of the houses have dairy rooms joined by a narrow covered walkway."

Dreams of a new community building are about to come true for people of the Gilkey community, Rutherford County, says Mrs. Mildred Stallings. The Home Demonstration Club and other groups worked together to raise funds, bought a lot last spring, and laid the foundation late this summer. Gilkey is competing in the Western North Carolina Community Development Contest, using the community building as its major project.

Farmers expecting to enter the State Corn Contest for 1951 should make certain their yields are harvested in accordance with contest regulations, advises E. R. Collins.

The rules on harvesting, Collins explains, are quite specific, and the State Committee reserves the right to disqualify any contestant for failure to comply with all regulations.

A. AND T. HOLDS ANNUAL CONFERENCE—Hundreds of persons attended the annual Farmers and Homemakers Conference held last month at A. and T. in Greensboro. The view above shows part of the group attending a dairy program. Below is a scene showing one of the many classes and demonstrations given in homemaking.

Agent in Cabarrus Joins Retired List

Roy D. Goodman, 62, who can claim a major share of the credit for Cabarrus County's shift from one-crop farming to a diversified program of agriculture, retired on September 1 after 37 years of service as an agricultural worker and leader.

Retirement of the veteran county agent was marked by *The Concord Tribune* with a special issue which included a six-page tribute to Goodman. He was the oldest officeholder in the county in length of service.

Goodman, who was appointed agent in Cabarrus in 1914, one year after his graduation from State College, led in such projects as Bang's disease and cattle tuberculosis control, promotion of livestock farming, and diversification.

He will spend his retirement time on "Woodside Farm," his country home in the Winecoff community, with his wife, Sopha Moose Goodman. Two of his sons, Victor J. and Earl L., jointly operate the farm.

COMING EVENTS

SEPTEMBER

28: Feeder calf sale, Sanford.

OCTOBER

1: Feeder calf sale, Boone.
2: Feeder calf sale, West Jefferson.
2-6: Southern States Exposition, Charlotte.
4: Duroc sale, Wilson.
5: Feeder calf sale, Hillsboro.
9: Feeder calf sale, Laurel Hill.
10: Feeder calf sale, Pembroke.
11: Duroc sale, Dunn.
11-13: Carolinas Yam Festival, Tabor City.
12: Junior Dairy Cattle Show, Oxford.
16: Grade yearling steer and heifer sale, West Jefferson.
16-20: N. C. State Fair, Raleigh.
17: Purebred ewe sale, Raleigh.
18: Hereford breeders' sale, Durham.
22-23: Fat stock show and sale, Elkin.
24: Berkshire hog sale, Raleigh.
26: Tamworth swine sale, Lexington.
26: Watauga Hereford breeders' sale, Boone.
27: Rockingham County heifer sale, near Wentworth.

NOVEMBER

1: Spotted Poland China sale, Hillsboro.
7: N. C. Purebred Hereford breeders' sale, Kinston.
8: Dr. Little's purebred Hereford sale, Statesville.

Tar Heel Group Attends National Council Meeting

Accompanied by Miss Ruth Current, Miss Lorna Langley, Mrs. H. M. Johnson, and Mrs. P. P. Gregory, most of the 26 district chairmen of the North Carolina Federation of Home Demonstration Clubs attended meetings of the National Home Demonstration Council and the Country Women's Council, U.S.A., at East Lansing, Mich., last month.

The more than 2,000 delegates from 40 states and Puerto Rico voted to hold their 1952 meetings at N. C. State College. Miss Jennie Williams, homemaker and ranch owner-operator of Banner, Wyoming, was elected president.

Miss Current has announced that the 1952 meetings will be held in Raleigh's Memorial Auditorium from October 27 through 31.

Points to Be Stressed

Four points were selected for emphasis during 1951-52. They are: health and safety, legislative and citizenship, family living, and international affairs.

The health program will include emphasis on the importance of early diagnosis for tuberculosis and cancer. Plans for financing doctors in rural areas will be expanded. More scholarships for training nurses will be made available. Health insurance benefits will be extended to more rural families.

Conference Keynote

Throughout the week the program was keyed to the conference theme—"Democracy, the torch we hold." Speakers stressed the need for cooperation in building world peace and the part that the million and one-half Council members can play in making world peace a reality.

USDA Extension Director M. L. Wilson, discussing the part home demonstration work plays in better family living, said: "It helps to maintain a balance of such material aspects as technical advances and work-saving methods, to such non-material aspects of life as citizenship activities, reading and increasing interest in world affairs."

Entertainment

Entertainment a-plenty was sandwiched in between the serious talks and discussions. Included were picnics, square dancing, and reading of poems by Edgar A. Guest.

~~Transmission~~ Newspapers

TOLEDO BLADE
TOLEDO, OHIO

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

December 6, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On December 5 The Blade began publication of a 16-article series probing the present-day relationship of the 15,000,000 U. S. Negroes to their fellow Americans. The series was written by William Brower, a general assignment reporter on our paper, who made an extended personal inquiry into every corner of the nation.

Mr. Brower, who is a Southern-born Negro and who has been a member of The Blade staff since 1947, spent three months and traveled 15,000 miles to determine what effect recent years have exercised upon the long struggle of the Negro for the rights guaranteed him by the Constitution.

This series is a fair, hard-minded approach to a subject that is rarely discussed without either passion or prejudice. It is significant that Mr. Brower came back "reassured and hopeful."

I thought you might be interested in seeing what he has written and am enclosing clippings of the first two articles. If you would be interested in seeing the rest of the series as it appears, I will be happy to see that it is sent to you.

Cordially,

Harry R. Roberts

Harry R. Roberts

HRR:TC
Enc.

Acknowledged 12/14/51

Newspapers

December 26, 1951

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mr. Comer:

How warmly you are to be praised for the matter of the Dutch farmers described in last Thursday's Times!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

4, misc.
Newspapers

January 23, 1952

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal & Guide
719 E. Olney Rd.
Norfolk 1, Va.

Dear Mr. Young:

I am glad to have your letter of January 14 regarding the Council's press releases. We certainly want the Journal and Guide to have them. In fact, it has been our steady custom to send the Journal and Guide—usually by air mail—all of our special releases and issues of New South which contain material of possible news interest.

Perhaps the difficulty arises from the fact that we have addressed our releases simply "Editor, Journal and Guide, etc." We have not sent them to you personally, since we felt that they would be confused with ordinary mail and would, moreover, impose on you the unnecessary routine task of relaying them to your news staff. Henceforth, we shall be glad to send a second copy marked for your personal attention, or to revise our present practice in any way you suggest.

I might add that sometimes an article in New South, which we did not think warranted a news release, is picked up by the wire services or the New York Times without our advance knowledge.

We read the Journal and Guide regularly, with interest and appreciation, and are gratified to find our releases used fairly often. We have just received your National Edition dated January 26, and were pleased to see the Council's Statement of Policy and Aims reprinted in full.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 16, 1952

MEMO TO GSM

This is a puzzle. I have sent the Journal & Guide, air mail, a copy of every release put out, with the single exception of the last one on the Florida violence. (My reason for not sending that one is a bit fuzzy, but somehow I didn't see the need.)

Perhaps the confusion arises from two facts: (1) I have been sending the releases addressed simply "Editor, Journal and Guide." I didn't send them to P. B. Young, Sr., personally because I thought his possible absence from the office might cause the release to lie about on his desk like any other kind of mail. (2) Quite often, as you know, the press stories do not originate with a release from us, but are based on New South itself. Whenever this seems likely to happen--as in the case of the recent housing issue--I habitually send a copy of that New South, air mail, to the Journal & Guide, addressed as above.

Maybe the corrective is for Mr. Young to tell us exactly how he would like releases and newsworthy issues of New South to be addressed to the paper.

Although the Journal & Guide has not used all the releases we have sent them, I have several clippings of recent vintage of stories marked "special to the Journal and Guide," drawn directly from our releases.

HCF

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

January 14, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell: We get out six (6) editions each week, starting Monday and running through Thursday. These editions are for separate regions and are replated as fresher news comes in. We do not receive SRC releases and would like very much to do so.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. YOUNG, Publisher

PBY:LHL

~~Rumiz.~~
Newsp.

January 25, 1952

Mr. Robert C. Ruark
United Feature Syndicate
220 E. 42nd St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ruark:

I happened to be on a trip through the South when your column of, roughly, January 10 on Herman Talmadge and the television came out. I have never known of a single newspaper column to bring so frequently the comment that the nail had been struck exactly upon the head.

I saw in the course of my trip quite a number of influential white and Negro leaders in the South, and time after time they brought up independently how neatly you had said what needed to be said.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

H, misc.

January 25, 1952

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Alex:

I had intended to send Ruark a letter. The copy of his column which you so very kindly sent me prompted me to do it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Newspaper treatment

February 21, 1952

Miss Ethel Simpson
Executive Director, YWCA
112-118 West North Street,
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Miss Simpson:

Thank you very much indeed for sending the copy of the editorial from the Lighthouse and Informer. We had seen it, since we get the paper in our office. Dr. Mitchell also had it mimeographed and sent it to a large number of people whom he knew to be interested. We consider Greenville our "shining example" and think this is the best possible compliment, especially since it comes from a man who has found living in South Carolina difficult. Enclosed, for your information, is a copy of the editorial as we used it, and a copy of the letter written to Mr. McCray.

I hope things are going well with the Greenville YWCA, and especially with the "Expansion Program". Please give my best wishes to Peggy Davis.

We are always interested in hearing news from Greenville. I have promised myself a trip up there to see some friends and will look forward to a visit at the YWCA when I come.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

Young Women's Christian Association
112-118 West North Street
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

That perhaps you in the Southern Regional Council office might like to see this, if you have not already done so —

Ethel Simpson

From: The LIGHTHOUSE AND INFORMER - Columbia, S. C. (Negro Newspaper)
Editorial, Saturday, Jan. 19, 1952

A thoughtful citizen at Greenville was kind enough to send us a brief two-year summary of a general, but systematic inter-racial efforts there to improve facilities for colored citizens, along with other improvements for the community.

What Greenville has been attempting isn't exactly news to us; nor is it news to readers of the Lighthouse and Informer. Since a survey of that city about three years ago by the Southern Regional Council, whose findings and recommendations were made available to the public at the time, studied interest on the disposition of shortcomings and efforts to correct faults uncovered have kept many people aware of the city

The "self-examining" summary which has come to us lists a great many projects that began in 1950 or after the SRC survey. Many of these have been advanced appreciably, some just begun; some are yet in the planning stage. But considering the overall magnitude of the task Greenville set out to do, thus far it has had remarkable success and has done itself proud.

Full information as to what success the city has had with its "Big-Idea"-we believe-may be obtained from the Community Council of Greenville County, P.O. Box 1085, Greenville, S.C. But a few of the changes over the little over two year period include: Additional facilities for Negroes at General Hospital, where Negro physicians can now practice; capitalization of the word "Negro" by the Greenville daily news-papers; a cleanup campaign in the Gower Street School area; in parks; YWCA paid worker; participation of Negroes in numerous religious and civic meetings; a slum clearance program; restroom facilities in at least two stores for Negroes, etc. These are just a few of many things undertaken.

There is no attempt of the Community Council to evaluate the wholesome effect this biracial, above board and honest effort has had on the beneficiaries. But we have observed it; and have commented on it before the issuance of the latest summary.

We think the happiest Negro community in all S.C. Today is at Greenville. Last fall, following a visit there by this writer, we commented upon the spirit of the citizens, of the close cooperation between the two races, of what appears to be solid-backing of the Negro community by white Greenvillians. We found no bitterness; we heard of none. All Greenville Negroes need do - it seems - is to let it be known they wish a community fault corrected. The entire community evaluates it and if it is a valid complaint, with both races working around the conference table, they explore it with available resources. The white citizens don't get angry and hunt out "ring-leaders" among the Negroes. The net result has benefitted the community and today a Negro in Greenville will tell you quickly he's prouder of his community than the whitest white man.

Over-looked in all this present day babbling about Negro unrest and aggressiveness, is the fact-exemplified at Greenville- that it doens't take a whole lot to make a Negro happy. He is growing, and realizes that he still has many more years of growth ahead of him. We have observed in many communities and places the desire, willingness on his part to work along with the resources of his community and grow along with it. In no instance where good faith and honest efforts have been the resort of the ruling folk has he not gone along with the program. In other instances, where deceit, hatred, conniving, dishonesty and even ill-tempered contempt have been the rebuff of his pleas he has turned elsewhere for help- and has gotten it.

Negroes, more so than any other people we believe, want peace and neighborliness. They remember yet the privations and sufferings of a human being, considered not exactly human- just a pawn and a whim. And just as they are satisfied with the efforts in Greenville- being a full part of these efforts- they can be satisfied in every other community. And they will be just as soon as some white leaders change their thinking to the extent of saying "Come on in here and let's work this thing out. It's your community and state just as it is mine," instead of taking nasty, punitive attitudes usually starting bad relations before the Negro finishes presenting his plea.

Newspapers —
fair treatment

March 4, '52

Mr. Dwight Palmer
General Cables Corporation
Greybar Building
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Palmer,

Cordial thanks from our Council for the fine full-page ad. in to-day's Atlanta Constitution, from the General Cables Corporation, promoting employment on merit. It is the first thing of its kind we have seen here in the South, and it may prove an ice-breaker that will have historic significance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GENERAL CABLE CORPORATION
420 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

DWIGHT R. G. PALMER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

March 10, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your expressed appreciation of our message in the daily press. It is helpful to know we have such approval and is a stimulus for us to continue our effort.

Dwight Palmer
C.

Ho, misc

or clippings submitted

March 31, 1952

Mr. James M. Howard
Route 4, Box 321
Fort Pierce, Fla.

Dear Mr. Howard:

We are very grateful for your helpful letter of March 29.

Tuskegee keeps and publishes annually a record of prevented lynchings. They have their own standardsfor deciding on cases, and this may or may not fit. But I will notify them of it.

It is heartening to know that the newspaper played it with care, and we are glad also that you spoke praisingly to the sheriff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 31, 1952

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Dept. of Records & Research
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

Here is a copy of a letter to us from one of our members in Florida and of my reply.

I should think it would take some independent inquiry on your part to decide on the case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

JAMES M. HOWARD
MAIL ADDRESS: ROUTE 4, BOX 321
RESIDENCE: 2306 SUNRISE BOULEVARD
FORT PIERCE, FLORIDA

29 March 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

The two clippings attached hereto tell the story of one more bit of good work by a Florida law enforcement officer. I know you will be glad to record it. The newspaper* too deserves credit for the matter-of-fact way in which the incident was reported.

Negro Held Following Alleged Attack On Local White Woman

Feb. 24, 1952

A Negro identified by officials as Curtis Thorpe, this place, was taken in custody Saturday afternoon following an alleged attack on a local white woman in the downtown business district.

Thorpe was said to have a criminal record.

No further details of the alleged attack were available Saturday night.

Negro Charged With Attempted Rape Held In Another County

3-25-52

A 30-year-old Negro was charged Monday morning with assault with intent to commit rape after having been moved to custody in another county for safekeeping Saturday night.

The Negro, Curtis Thorpe, was apprehended by police officers Lewis Rudd and Roy Allred Saturday afternoon after the alleged attack on a white woman in the downtown area. He is said to have served jail terms in both Marianna and the county jail. Bond was set at $1,000.

He was turned over to county authorities and moved to another location, not revealed.

There was no doubt about the "alleged" attack. The attempt was made behind the counter of a downtown store in the early afternoon when the woman was alone.

I talked with one of the sheriff's deputies afterward. He said, "We had to get him out in a hurry. A lot of people knew about it and they were pretty sore. We knew the man. He was a local Negro. We knew he was kind of crazy but we never thought he'd do anything like this."

Later I spoke with the sheriff, B.A. Brown, commending him for his quick action. He said, "We didn't want any trouble. The South has had too much of that kind of notoriety."

If you mention this or record it anywhere, it happened in St. Lucie County, where Brown has been sheriff for about twenty years.

Yours very truly,

James M. Howard.

James M. Howard.

* Fort Pierce News-Tribune

Thanksgiving Day Services Planned; Proclamation Out

Thanksgiving Day services here on November 27 will attract thousands of worshippers.

Most of the local devotionals will be in the form of union services between the churches of the various areas of Norfolk. Masses will be said at the usual hours in the Catholic churches, and those of the Jewish faith will have their Thanksgiving gatherings either the Friday before or the Friday after the holiday.

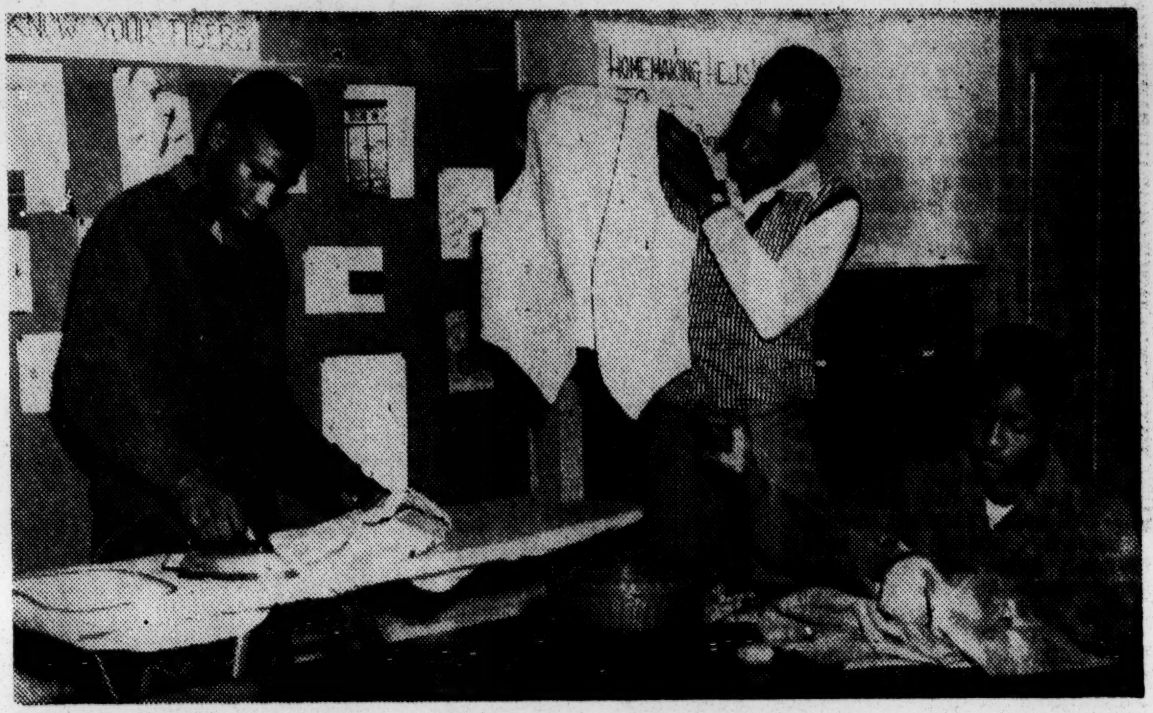
President Harry S. Truman has issued his annual Thanksgiving proclamation in which he asks the American people to "offer a prayer of gratitude for the spirit of unity which binds together all parts of our country." His proclamation setting Thursday, November 27, for the observance of Thanksgiving Day is as follows:

"In the cycle of the seasons, another year marked by the abundance of God's gifts is nearing its end. At such a time we are wont to turn to Him and with humble hearts to offer thanks as a Nation for His manifold blessings.

"We are moved by the inspiring autumnal beauty of our land, which uplifts the hearts of men. We are thankful for the natural and human resources which have enabled us not only to enjoy high material and spiritual standards ourselves but also to help others in the effort to achieve or protect their wellbeing.

"We are grateful for the privileges and rights inherent in our way of life, and in particular for the basic freedoms, which our citizens can enjoy without fear. This year it is especially fitting that we offer a prayer of gratitude for the spirit of unity which binds together all parts of our country and makes us one Nation indivisible.

"Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United



EVEN IN SEWING, IT'S A MAN'S WORLD—Boys in the homemaking class at Jacox Junior High School are proud of any conquest they can make over the women in the field of sewing. James Sweatt (left), presses his almost finished vest; James Joyner (center), holds his up for favorable comment, and Moses Boone sews on a sport shirt. In Mrs. O. J. Shields' class, the boys are conscientious in their work and haughtily turn down any assistance offered by the girls. Jacox, like other schools in the city, is having open house this week in observance of American Education Week. (Staff Photo.)

Norfolk County Realty Transfers

Norfolk County

Milton E. Umphlelt to Moody L. Turner, lots 3, 4 and 5, block 31, Norfolk Highlands Subdivision, Washington; tax $1.20.

Hodges Manor Corporation to Perry F. Parrish, lot 78, Hodges Manor, Western Branch; tax $15.

Hodges Manor Corporation to James E. Coner, lot 83, Hodges Manor, Western Branch; tax $15.30.

Earl V. Jennings to Nicholas Stravros, lots 31 through 38; block 35, subdivision A, Washington; lots 37 and 39, block 36, subdivision F, Washington; and lots 39, 40, 41, 41, block 35, subdivision A, Washington; tax $56.10.

Charleston Avenue, plat of Prentis Park; tax $13.20.

Rosa F. Martin to Marion D. Morris, parcel of land, 11th Avenue; tax $11.25.

Glora Tyson McDonald, lot 26, block 42, Effingham Street, map of Brighton; tax 90 cents.

Herbert A. Irving to Amanda Frieda Jones, lot 17, block 55, plan of Brighton; tax 30 cents.

J. H. Holland to Frank B. Morton, lot 10, block G, plat of Westhaven Park; tax $11.40.

Charles W. Snead to Mrs. Louise Collins Merritt, lots 13, 15 and 17, block 93, plat of Virginia Realty and Investment Company; tax $2.25.

Decision Deferred On Traffic Court

The City Council agrees with City Manager H. H. George, III, that a decision on a special traffic court should be held in abeyance.

George recommended to the Council Wednesday afternoon that the decision on the court should be held up until plans are completed for the new civic center.

He said the only space available for the court at present is in the Old Municipal Building.

"The schedule adopted for building new quarters to house all [illegible] nicipal activities will [illegible] termine to [illegible]

News & = N. & e

November 26, 1952

Miss Beth Rogers
524 Austin St.
Norfolk 3, Va.

Dear Beth:

Nice picture. Proud of the NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH. I have written the editor, as enclosed.

The Leading Lady in the Norfolk Women's Interracial Committee is Mrs. Arnold F. Strauss, Algonquin Park. Mighty nice person, and she would be delighted to know of your interest.

I went for a couple of days this week to Rock Hill to make my speech for lay groups at the two R. C. churches at Rock Hill. Father Shean put me up at the Oratory, and I reveled in the Oxford-like schedule of complines, evening occasion, bed, the bell for Mass in the morning, and so on. He and his friends plan very wisely for the future of the South.

Come back to see us and to stay.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 25, 1952

Miss Beth Rogers
524 Austin St.
Norfolk 3, Va.

Dear Beth:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town making speeches, so I will undertake to answer the part of your letter that requires a reply. Neither Mrs. Dixon nor Rev. Albert Pereira are members, but do bring 'em into the fold if you can. I'm sending seperately our new mimeoed version of WHAT KIND OF SOUTH, for you to give to them.

I read Dorothy Day's book recently, and felt that she must be a true saint. I found in her book what I was looking for in THE SEVEN STOREY MOUNTAIN. Maybe some day I will get up to New York and meet her and all the other wonderful people at your soup kitchen, and especially those who write for THE CATHOLIC WORKER. I am impressed with the similarity of its articles to some of my Quaker pamphlets.

We all hope your sister continues to improve.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 17

Dear Dr Mitchell,

I don't get much chance to look at newspapers these days, & I don't know the record of the Norfolk L-D on racial news, but this picture caught my eye (as I was wrapping garbage!) & I thought I'd pass it along. It doesn't seem to have been in a special "Negro news" section, either.

I'm at my sister's for an indefinite period. She had an operation for a heart condition three weeks ago, has been home a week, and apparently is doing very well. The doctors are pleased, though there's no way as yet to tell what the lasting effects will be. She's already able to do a few chores, & will perhaps be back in full swing in six months.

Saw a notice t'other day of a meeting of the Norfolk Women's Committee on Interracial Cooperation. If I'm here some months & my sister gradually gets back into operation, I'd like to make their acquaintance during my stay. I'm not yet quite free enough to crash this meeting.

Do you have a Mrs J Frank Dixon, 1613 Spratley, Portsmouth, as a member? If not, would you send me a What Kind of South — or whatever promotion literature you're now using — to send her?

I'd rather send it to her with a note, I think, than have it come from there. (If I change my mind on that, I'll let you know.) Also, though I imagine he may be a member if he can afford it, Rev. Albert F. PEREIRA, who has a Negro Catholic parish here. I can write him, too.

My best to everyone. It was good to see all of you in Sept. Tell Mrs Mitchell hello for me.

Beth

Newspapers
Va

December 2, 1952

Editor
Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Sir:

A friend in Norfolk sent me in much praise the picture carried on page 22 of the issue of Thursday, November 13, and captioned "Even in Sewing, It's a Man's World."

I should like to add my praises to the paper for this pleasing recognition of Negro progress.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

New Year, 1957

The officers and staff of the Southern Regional Council's Atlanta office thank you for generous interest in the year that is closing, and greet you with warm hopes for a substantial increase in freedom in the South in the coming year.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director Elect

agency NSF

Subj: Mississippi Employment Commission
Date: October 15, 1967
From: James Mays, Mississippi Field Representative, NSF

A request from Jesse Harris of Hinds County Project Headstart about information that would be helpful in getting young people, ages 16-25, employed in the Hinds County and Jackson area led Jesse Harris and myself to the state office of the Mississippi Employment Commission.

The reason for going to the state office is that I found Mr. O. H. Simmons, chief operator of the planning division, to be straightforward and co-operative in providing information and services to individuals and groups who need the services of the employment office. Mr. Harris had visited the local employment office to get information that could be given at community meetings to individuals interested in the services of the employment office in helping them to secure employment.

The counselor who was assigned to Mr. Harris was black, but seemed to have very little information in relation to the training available. It is likely that information about MDTA programs are not well publicized for the Jackson area. Jackson and the Hinds County area were alloted only 25 training positions for small gas engines and 25 training positions for electric welding. The courses had begun with vacancies. This is evidence that none of the counselors, black or white, are giving information to the people who need training program information. Mr. Harris was not given any information about the training programs and the procedures by which individuals can get into training programs at the local office. Mr. Harris is a social service supervisor in the Headstart project and will be given information about employment and training opportunities to approximately 20 employed community aides who will in turn give this information at community meetings throughout the county.

We were given some useful information concerning the state assistance program for moving employees within and outside of the state. The civil rights groups oppose this because they feel it is an attempt to dislocate black people from their newly-won political power. Mr. Simmons' explanation was the following:

1) people who are granted re-location expenses must meet the following criteria:

   (a) They must receive at least the minimum wage of $1.40 per hour.

   (b) The employer must guarantee employment for at least 6 months.

Subj: Mississippi Employment Commission

(c) The employer must also have a fairly stable business. The employment office representatives check out the employer personally.

(d) People whose salaries are less than $7,500 per year are given moving expenses as a grant.

(e) People whose salaries are between $7,500-$10,000 per year are given a sliding-scale grant based upon the number of dependents in the family. A portion of the sliding-scale is a grant and part is a loan.

(f) Those individuals whose salaries are above $10,000 per year can borrow the moving expenses and pay later. In all cases this applies to moving expenses in intra--and inter--state moving.

2) Teachers, painters, mechanics, and all categories of employees who make less than $7,500 per year are eligible for a grant to cover moving expenses. How widely known is this fact to the general public?

Mr. Simmons gave us information about all the training programs in progress and programs planned for the next year.

We got the impression that Mr. Simmons' assistant was hedging on information. Even so, the trip proved to be one of the most profitable trips I've ever made to the employment office.

cc: Leonard Smith
Fay Bennett
GOBE Scholarship Education Defense Fund
Southern Regional Council
SCLC
O. H. Simmons
Coleman Miller
Ted Seaver

James N May

LD
ML
Ret PW

June 30, 1965

Inter-Citizens Committee
P. O. Box 1443
Birmingham, Alabama
Rev. C. Herbert Oliver - Former Executive Secretary

Dear Friends and Supporters:

I had hoped to be able to write this letter before now, but the pressure of many duties kept me from getting around to it. You will note from my new home address below that I am now a resident of Brooklyn, New York. However I want to assure you of the continuation of the Inter-Citizens Committee in Birmingham. The new secretary is the Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, leader of the March 6, 1965 March On Selma by concerned white citizens of Alabama and pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church in Birmingham. The new president is the Rev. Harold D. Long, pastor of First United Church of Christ in Birmingham and a key supporter of the Committee from its inception. The address of the Committee remains the same.

I cannot thank you enough for the interest you have shown and the support you have given to the efforts of the Committee. We are happy that we can now say that police brutality in Birmingham is not nearly as bad as it was five years ago. And though Birmingham has still managed not to hire a single regular Negro policeman, it can be said that there is a lessening of the volume of police brutality, due chiefly to the constant exposure of such cases. Every note of encouragement from you, every dollar or check you donated, did much to help make life safer for Mr. Average Citizen. Do continue your interest and support in a cause that still requires constant attention.

On June 1 I began new duties at the Bedford-Central Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York, assisting the pastor and working mainly with the youth. I am still in the process of getting oriented to the new tasks. I should like very much to keep in contact with you and would therefore welcome letters from you.

My concerns for Alabama have by no means ended. Of chief interest to me will be the Jimmy Lee Jackson Memorial Fund in memory of the young man in Marion, Alabama who was shot by a state trooper and who later died. A fund has been established for the benefit of his mother Mrs. Viola Jackson. She is to receive $50.00 a month from the fund as long as there are sufficient funds for that purpose. The fund started with $100.00 from the Committee and $50.00 from Dr. Randolph Sailer, a Presbyterian missionary and teacher. The friends of the Mississippi Freedom Project of Oxford, Ohio sent $70.00 for the fund and another $10.00 from a friend in Oxford, Ohio. To date, Mrs. Jackson has received three checks from the fund, one each for April, May and June and there is a balance of $80.00 in the fund. We should like very much for Mrs. Jackson to receive compensation for a long time for the sacrifice she has made for the right of the ballot. Would you kindly help make it so. Make checks payable to the Jimmy Lee Jackson Memorial Fund and mail them to Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, 253 Lincoln Road, Brooklyn, N. Y., (11225). From time to time I will keep you advised on the development of the fund.

With best wishes to you and desiring to hear from you, I am

Sincerely yours,
C. Herbert Oliver

C. Herbert Oliver (Phone:
253 Lincoln Road BU 7-7847)
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225

John Osborne
1047 - 31st Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

February 26,1966

SA

Dear Mr. Waters,

May I get in touch with you early next week? I am spending the next two weeks in Atlanta in research on a book on five states of the lower South (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida) which I am doing for Time-Life's Books Division -- one of a series of regional books. My particular hope in Atlanta is to get as broad a regional grasp as I can, and of course SRC is a "must" for me. Sessions at their convenience with Paul Anthony and Mr. Stanfield, in addition to yourself, will be much appreciated.

I shall be at the Dinkler Plaza from tomorrow, the 27th, and will ring you.

Sincerely,

John Osborne

John Osborne

Mr. Pat Waters
The Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Sam:
Mr. Osborne will be in at 10 a.m. tomorrow morning. (3/2/66)
P.

N.M.

October 22, 1965

Dr. William Osborne
Associate Professor of Sociology
St. John's University
Grand Central & Utopia Parkways
Jamaica, New York 11432

Dear Mr. Osborne:

Don't let it be said that you didn't get a reply to your letter to Dr. Dunbar even if it did take an eternity. I am responsible for the delay and I am sorry about it. During the hectic period when Dr. Dunbar was making the transition from the Southern Regional Council to the halls of foundation phalantrophy, his heavy-work-load and travels made it impossible for him to do justice to your request.

He took the time to read your chapter on "The Church and The Negro" in Cross Currents and was favorably impressed. But sometime ago he asked that I frame a reply because of the limited amount of time he had.

My delay is due partly to the fact that I found little to be critical of. Obviously, in your article on the Catholic Church you either were writing from the "inside" or your research turned up information only "insiders" would be expected to know. Yet, the piece appears to be balanced and objectively written.

Do you think it would be in order to include some additional interpretation of why the faithful must follow the dictates of the church hierachy rather than the dictates of conscience, in some instances, where involvements in social, or political movements are clearly needed to effect changes generally called for by church preachments?

I wish all the best for you and the book you are writing.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

Rec'd 7/19/65

NM - file with answer already sent.

St. John's University
GRAND CENTRAL AND UTOPIA PARKWAYS
JAMAICA, NEW YORK 11432

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

The enclosed article from the current issue of Cross Currents represents, in a tentative form, the concluding chapter of my long overdue book. I have just mailed a reprint of same to Benjamin Muse asking him to discuss by letter or phone the enclosed questions.

I would be most grateful if you would also attempt to answer them on the basis of your own experience. As far as the Catholic Church is concerned it seems to me that the crux of the problem is at the parish level. Would you agree? Or do you feel that the institutional power at the episcopal level as exerted on local, regional and national levels of government, labor and business is crucial?

I am also interested in your estimate of the Catholic contribution to the Civil Rights struggle so far. I wonder if you could give me a detailed answer? Where and how has it failed? Can the Civil Rights Movement continue its progress if the Church were to become passive?

Any comments, corrections or criticisms of my article will be appreciated. And, of course, any confidential materials or information you might have that should influence my final version I'd be glad to hear about. Perhaps some arrangement could be made for their prudential utilization.

If you'd rather respond by phone to all this, please drop me a line and let me know the most convenient time to call. Better yet, come to the World's Fair and I'd be glad to provide the hospitality.

Best regards,

Bill Sloane

QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO MR. BENJAMIN MUSE

I believe you have had many and prolonged conferences with Bishops and other Church officials on "the" subject and I wonder if this experience supports or detracts from the theological and bureaucratic theses propounded in this article.

I am also interested in your observation of southern Catholics at the parish level.

To what extent do white Catholics feel a sort of moral responsibility for the civil rights movement?

Are there any signs that the Church is engaged in the struggle at the parish level?

Are there programs for such involvement in Holy Name, Rosary or other Church societies?

HEAD START VALUE FOUND TEMPORARY

O.E.O.

Study Shows Advantages of Preschool Training Fade —Poor Teaching Cited

10/23/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 22—A major study has concluded that the educational advantages of the Government's Head Start program tend to disappear as the child moves on through later grades.

The study also provides considerable evidence that Head Start children fare worse than their classmates when the teacher is ineffective.

The 83-page report has not been officially released, but it has already provoked discussion among poverty program officials and persuaded James H. Scheuer, Democrat of the Bronx, to offer an amendment to the school aid bill that permits states to evaluate the consequences of Head Start. The amendment was accepted by Congresss last week.

The study was directed by Dr. Max Wolff, senior research sociologist at the Center for Urban Education in New York, sponsored by the Ferkouf Graduate School of Education at Yeshiva University and supported by funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the program for underprivileged prekindergarten children.

An Elaborate Study

To test the enduring effects of Head Start, Dr. Wolff and his colleagues conducted an elaborate, intensive check of 551 children in 30 kindergarten classes in four New York public schools.

Using a variety of measuring tools, including teacher evaluations, interviews, classroom observations and written tests, the survey team systematically compared the kindergarten performances of 168 children who had participated in the Head Start program in the summer of 1965 with the performances of their non-Head Start classmates.

The report concluded that enthusiasm for Head Start, one of the poverty program's largest and most popular programs, was undiminished among parents and teachers. Moreover, it confirmed that Head Start enriched the preschool child and left him with an unmistakable "thirst" for further knowledge.

But the study also found that either because of poor teaching or because of an uninspired curriculum in the public schools, this thirst went largely unquenched and the other advantages of preschooling rapidly dissipated. It is this finding that has provoked discussion here, worried men such as Mr. Scheuer and led Dr. Wolff to conclude:

"Head Start cannot substitute for the long, overdue improvement of education in the elementary schools which have failed the Negro and Puerto Rican children. It can only prepare them to reap the full bene-

Continued on Page 70, Column 1

HEAD START VALUE FOUND TEMPORARY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

fits of better education when it is provided."

The survey team developed four main criteria to compare the social and educational development of Head Start and non-Head Start children — a child's adjustment to classroom routines, his behavior toward his peers and teachers, his speech, work and listening habits and his educational attainments.

Only in adjustment to routine were there significant differences, and even these were equalized after the first four mouths of kindergarten work. Nearly two-thirds of the Head Start children quickly adjusted to school, compared with only 40 per cent of their classmates, but by the end of November those behind had caught up.

In behavior toward classmates, Head Start children adjusted more quickly and generally rated higher. But here again, the edge was slight; moreover, ratings by the teachers showed no significant difference between the two groups in behavior toward the teachers themselves.

Similarly, although the speech, work and listening habits of Head Start children were markedly better at the beginning of the kindergarten year, there were no measurable differences after six months.

Finally, in terms of strictly educational achievements, no significant differences could be found between the two groups after six months of kindergarten. This finding appeared to make the deepest impression on the survey team.

In all four schools, pupils were given the Caldwell preschool inventory test, a 20-to-30 minute examination divided into sections testing vocabulary, number concepts, counting and understanding of sizes, shapes, motion, color, time, independence, and the child's capacity for self-help.

Margin Is Slight

Of a possible score of 26 in the vocabulary test, the arithmetic mean of the Head Start pupils was 19.1 and that of their classmates 18.8. Similarly small margins prevailed in the other sections of the test except in the part on numbers and concepts such as size and color, where the non-Head Start children did slightly better.

Moreover, the preschool inventory test results were uniformly lower for Head Start pupils in classes in which the teaching was poor. Conversely, Head Start pupils scored consistently higher than their classmates in groups with good teachers.

"This finding," the study says, "indicates the hazards as well as the opportunities that are opened up by preschooling. It reinforces the belief that head-start advantages can be maintained only if the level of teaching and the curriculum in the kindergarten are strong.

"It implies the opposite as well—that more damage is done to the child who looks forward eagerly to an educational program he has learned to enjoy than to the child who has had no previous knowledge of what to exxpect, if the later school experience is poor."

SHRIVER RESISTS MISSISSIPPI VETO

OEO,

Defends Head Start Grant Opposed by Governor

11/16/64

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15—Sargent Shriver, who terminated a Mississippi Head Start project six weeks ago and stirred a protest of national dimensions, is resisting the demand of Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi for similar action on another project in that state.

The Governor vetoed a grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity for a Head Start propect in southwest Mississippi on the ground that it had been infiltrated by some presons who were members of the terminated Child Development Group of Mississippi.

Mr. Shriver, the O. E. O. director, rejected the argument and said that he would override the veto tomorrow and reinstate the grant unless he received from the Governor a request for an informal hearing.

No such request had arrived at the close of business today, but poverty agency sources said they heard that a letter was on the way.

In the new dispute, Mr. Shriver's agency, on Oct. 7, provided funds for Southwest Mississippi Opportunity, Inc., a community action agency, to operate a preschool project through a delegate agency called the Southwest Mississippi Child Development Council.

On Nov. 1, Governor Johnson exercised his right of veto, contending that the community action agency did not need a delegate agency to operate the program and that at least 20 members of the council, the delegate agency, were former members of the terminated agency. The latter group had been accused of poor programing and poor management and of operating closely with the civil rights movement.

Mr. Shriver sent a telegram to the Governor on Nov. 11 saying:

"It is true that the former C.D.G.M. area council has formed a nucleus of the new Southwest Mississippi Child Development Council, but there is no evidence that C.D.G.M. is now exercising any control over this body.

"Since C.D.G.M. has a large number of low-income people in the areas involved in our program it is only reasonable to assume that many of them would become associated with the new Head Start program designed to serve that target area population.

O.E.O.

1967

POVERTY UNIT SETS BALLOT GUIDELINES

Rules Govern the Election of Poor to Local Boards

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16—Hundreds of community action agencies will have to reorganize their governing boards by March 1 to give one-third of the seats to representatives of the poor.

The representatives must be democratically selected, though direct election by secret ballot is not compulsory, according to guidelines that the Office of Economic Opportunity will distribute soon.

Five acceptable methods of selection have been decided upon by the poverty agency, which said it would also consider others.

The guidelines stipulate that the community groups must:

¶Hold nominations and elections, either within neighborhoods or within the community as a whole.

¶Make selections at a meeting or conference to which all neighborhood or sub-area boards pecially those who are poor, are invited.

¶Guarantee selection of representatives to a community-wide board by members of neighborhood or sub-area board who are themselves selected by neighborhood or sub-area residents.

¶Provide for selection of representatives on a small area basis (such as a city block) who, in turn, select a neighborhood group that, in turn, selects members for a community-wide board.

¶Organize selection of representatives, either directly or for membership on a neighborhood board, by existing organizations whose membership is predominantly composed of poor persons.

The Office of Economic Opportunity said it had no exact count of the number of agencies that would have to restructure themselves to comply with the law and the guidelines.

It has always required the community agencies to provide the "maximum feasible participation" required by law. But neither the law nor the O.E.O. stipulated mathematically what that meant until Congressional amendments were adopted in 1966.

In some cities, the representation of the poor exceeds one-third of the governing board. In many, the representation was less than one-third.

Not all selections were made by acceptable democratic processes. In some cases representatives of the poor did not live in the communities they represented.

It is not required that the poor select a person who is poor to represent them, but he or she must live in the community or neighborhood to be represented.

All these requirements apply not only to the central governing body of a community action agency but also to any other board to which that agency delegates policy-making, as opposed to only operating responsibility on antipoverty activities.

Fair Hearing Procedure

Each agency is also required to establish procedures "which provide a fair hearing for any representative group of the poor, such as minority racial or ethnic groups, the elderly, rural and migrant families, etc., which may feel itself inadequately represented on the community action agency's governing body, to petition for such representation."

The O.E.O. is also advising local agencies that "it is appropriate that the governing body of a community action agency also include representatives of other important groups in the community whose members may not themselves be poor but who are concerned with poverty."

"Such groups may include organized labor and businessmen's associations, the major religious minority racial and ethnic organizations, and private social service agencies," it was said.

There is required representation beyond these but in most cases it will mean no change in existing agencies. In this category, it was stated are "at a minimum, the chief elected officials of the community, such as the mayor or city council, county or city commissioners, and elelcted school officials."

70 Catholic Laymen Honored

Cardinal Spellman presented crosses of the Roman Catholic order of the Knights of Malta to 70 persons across the nation yesterday. The Knighthood is one of the highest honors that can be bestowed on Catholic laymen.

House G.O.P. Bloc Offers A Substitute Poverty Plan

OEO.

4/11/67

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 10—House Republicans proposed today a $1.7-billion plan of their own to replace the Administration's embattled antipoverty program. The Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee, said they had the backing of many poor people.

They urged that the Office of Economic Opportunity be abolished and that its antipoverty functions be assigned to other Government departments, largely the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"The poor are fed up with all this bungling," Representative Charles E. Goodell, Republican of upstate New York, said. "They're frustrated and disillusioned."

Unless the antipoverty program is drastically revamped, he said, "Congress may well kill off the whole thing this year."

Administration Proposals

The Administration, aware that the antipoverty program is in deep trouble with Congress, jumped the gun on Republican critics yesterday by asking for some far-reaching changes in the present law.

Among other things, the Administration proposed annual audits of antipoverty programs, screening out troublemakers from the Job Corps, barring antipoverty workers from partisan political activity, and banning use of Federal funds for "illegal picketing or demonstrations."

The Administration also pro-

Continued on Page 18, Column 4

Republicans in House Offer a $1.7-Billion Anti

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

posed greater participation by the states and the inclusion of mayors or other elected community officials on local antipoverty boards.

In disclosing their alternative today, the Republicans described the Administration's proposals as "an admission of substantial failure."

The Republican plan, called the Opportunity Crusade, is sponsored by 10 of the 14 Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee, which will handle the antipoverty legislation.

More Money Expected

The Republican's $1.7-billion pricetag, for the fiscal year starting July 1, is $300-million less than the sum sought by President Johnson.

However, the Republicans said that by involving states and private industry on a matching basis, their plan would provide $400-million more for antipoverty than the President was asking.

In addition to dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, the Republicans called for changes in existing antipoverty programs and the addition of new ones.

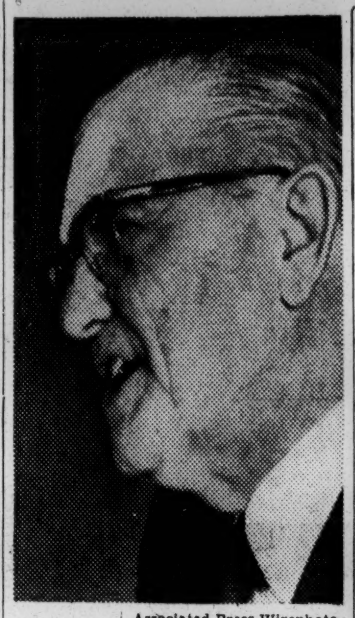
They proposed the creation of new military career centers within the Department of Defense for volunteers unable to meet Selective Service requirements.

Job Corps Conversion

They proposed the conversion of existing neighborhood Youth Corps—under which youths work part-time—into a work-study program, and the creation of an industry youth corps for on-the-job training youths.

Tax incentives would be offered to employers who hir and trained the unskilled; a a new Early Years progra would be started to provide i struction for poor children u to the third grade.

The Job Corps, which no provides training for som 35,000 young men and wome



Associated Press Wirephoto

Senator John Stennis as he denounced Head Start project at hearing in Jackson.

Poverty Extension Goes to President

12/12/67

OEO

By ROBERT A. HUNT

WASHINGTON (AP)—A two-year, $4.16-billion extension of antipoverty legislation cleared Congress Monday. It was the longest time and the most money yet authorized for the embattled program—but it may not get all the funds.

The bill carries a much - debated provision putting community action programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity under the control of local public officials. Sargent Shriver, the OEO director, has promised his agency will watch closely to see how city officials carry out their responsibilities.

The House, on a 246 to 149 vote, sent the compromise package to the White House. The Senate accepted it, 62 to 16, last Friday.

In its final form the bill authorizes $1.98 billion for the current fiscal year and $2.18 billion next year for the 3-year-old program.

But it was clear as Congress accelerated its drive toward adjournment late this week that actual money in a separate appropriation bill would be lower, probably between $1.6 billion and $1.7 billion for this fiscal year.

Chairman George H. Mahon, D-Tex., of the Appropriations Committee, told the House he favors a $1.6-billion funding level. A bill containing money for the anti - poverty program is scheduled to be submitted to the House by his unit on Tuesday.

Shriver, in closed-door testimony given two weeks ago but just released by the Appropriations Committee, said it would take $1.788 billion to keep the program running at its present rate.

In this appearance, Shriver said there is no question "that at this time we are winning this war, the war against poverty."

Most of the debate on the authorization bill, which makes many changes in administration and operation of the program, centered around a House provision permitting states or local governments to designate themselves as community - action agencies.

The agencies, which receive and allocate federal funds for various projects, now are largely all private groups although

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Poverty Bill Gets Final Okay

Continued from Page 1

public officials generally serve on their governing boards.

Rep. Carl D. Perkins, D-Ky., said the language was necessary to win congressional passage of the bill.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., tried unsuccessfully to eliminate it during a House-Senate conference, arguing it would turn some projects into political undertakings and freeze out representatives of the poor. But he predicted that many city administrations would permit existing agencies to continue functioning rather than tackle the jobs themselves.

During the House debate, Rep. Albert H. Quie, R-Minn., said he would support the compromise because for one thing he feels the anti-poverty program should be continued but changed "and time has runt out on remedial changes this session."

On the final House vote, 183 Democrats and 63 Republicans joined forces to pass the compromise which was opposed by 51 Democrats and 98 Republicans.

OEO

Voter Registration Ban Is Target

The All-Citizens Registration Committee (ACRC) announced plans Sunday to batter down or get around the ban on voter registration in the Atlanta anti-poverty program.

The latest anti-poverty authorization bill as passed by Congress included a ban on certain registration activities.

T. M. (Jim) Parham, administrator of the Economic Opportunity Atlanta program, has notified staff members to neither engage in such activities nor allow EOA facilities to be used for them.

Parham said he did so because of information he received from the regional Office of Economic Opportunity from newspaper reports and from U.S. Rep. Fletcher Thompson, who was sharply critical of EOA's voter registration program last October.

Jesse Hill, chairman of the ACRC, said the committee will meet this week to look into three proposals. They are :

1. Use of EOA centers but with volunteer and not paid EOA workers.

2. A court test of the new OEO regulations.

3. Use of other facilities such as churches for voter registration.

Hill called Parham "a strong friend and supporter of the voter registration program," but said his directive was designed "to protect EOA's federal funding."

Parham said he took the action subject to further interpretation from the regional OEO office.

Hill said the ban would be a "serious blow" to ACRC's aim to register the nearly 100,000 ★★ white and Negro eligible but unregistered low-income citizens.

He said the ban "borders on disenfranchisement."

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OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 15, 1968

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

This Office, which handles informational materials for the use of VISTA Volunteers in the field, would like an up-to-date listing of your publications. I would also like the addresses of your various offices in the south.

One publication that interests us particularly is The Migrant Farmer. Should we wish to obtain 50 copies , what would be the cost?

Our mailing address is Volunteer Information Service, VISTA, L-715, Washington, D. C. 20506

Sincerely,

Dorothy MacColl

Dorothy MacColl
Volunteer Information Service
VISTA

If you want Vista to have a list of state councils, may I have one? J Bonier

College in the County

March 10, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat Watters:

Thank you for the time you took with West Georgia College sociology students last Tuesday. You and your assistants accomplished more in an hour with my students than gets done in weeks of classes. You would have enjoyed the class hour on the day following our visit when the half of the class who could not come were informed by the half who did as to what they missed.

I do thank you very much for your part in the hour.

Sincerely,

Carson Pritchard

Carson Pritchard

CP/mi

April 28, 1964

Mrs. Annette H. Phinazee
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Phinazee:

You are welcome at any time you wish to photostat any of the columns I did for the Atlanta Journal. I have them all in scrapbooks at home.

I was impressed and excited with your ideas about preserving materials of the history going on all around us, and I promise you I will be on the lookout for things you might possibly use. When I get some things together I will call you.

Again, good luck with this work.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

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Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

April 23, 1964

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am most grateful for the opportunity that I had to talk with you on April 3rd about our Negro Collection.

I hope that you are serious about giving to us (either as manuscripts, clippings, or films) a record of your publications that pertain to the Negro. If you wish to keep the materials now and give them to us later, this would be appreciated. Or, if you give us papers that you want withheld from public use for a specified period this can also be arranged.

Please remember us as you come into contact with others who could make a contribution to the collection.

Sincerely yours,

Annette H. Phinazee

(Mrs.) Annette H. Phinazee

AHP:flc

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

February 1, 1965

Dear Tom and Ann:

Again thanks for the evening, the dinner, the view from Barney. I'm wrestling with too many notes. Think I will write the thing for New South so that it can be untinkered with true.

Please tell Barney how extremely valuable the talk with him was for me, and how much also I enjoyed him as a person and personality. I met a friend of his name of Curtis Ganz in Washington.

Never did get to New York. Assume you did. Let me know outcome.

The whole trouble is (a) America is too complicatedly mean and hung up therefrom; (b) SNCC is up against new audiences including concensus seekers. That's not the whole trouble but it's easier that way.

Much impressed, etc., with Boston and all the high-level atmosphere up there. Don't take any wooden newspaper jobs.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

MARC

February 19, 1965

Mr. Dem Price
The Associated Press
1300 Connecticut Ave.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dem:

Here is about everything we have done along the lines of what you were asking about. SNCC published a day-by-day log of incidents and arrests last summer which should be available at the COFO office in Jackson. Or you could write for it to Julian Bond, 8½ Raymond St., Atlanta, Ga. John Herbers has done some good reporting on the decline of the Citizens Council which should be easy to find in the New York Times index.

Paul won't be back in town until Monday. I left word for him to send you a list of folks to see, and to let them know you are coming.

Good luck. I'll be interested in reading what you come up with.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

July 22, 1965

Mr. W. H. Perry
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you for sending "The White Nation and the Black." I hadn't seen it; I don't see Liberation as often as I should.

You crystalized for me something I hadn't been able quite to understand--why it always irritates me so to read race situations reported in the conventional terms of opposing factions, like a labor strike, or as you say, negotiations between two nations.

Encounter has had generally good reception. So far at least, it hasn't been used for out-of-context support of anybody's witch-hunt.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

September 2, 1965

Dear Fred:

Anything I can do to be of assistance, feel free to call on me.

Congratulations.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Fred Powledge
175 Congress Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

175 Congress Street
Brooklyn, 1, NewYYork
Aug. 29, 1965

Dear Pat:

I have got myself two goddamn book contracts and I need your help. One of the books is about student leftists. The other is going to be about power structures and suchlike. It is going to be a long, rambling thing based on the Esquire piece. If you aren't so pissed off at the Esquire piece that you'll still talk with me, and if you are ever in this neighborhood, please try to feel it is your duty to come by and spend the night and eat our food and give me priceless advice. Cheers.

Fred
(Powledge

P.S. Welcome to the I.N.C.O.M.P.L.E.T.E. O.R.G.A.S.M. Club[1]

---

[1] International and National Council Of Meek People Languishing in Everlasting and Total Enragement Over the Raunchy and Gross Asininity of the Sunday Magazine.

Jon Pepper

945 West End Avenue, Apt. 11C,
New York, New York 10025
July 23, 1967

(phone 662-2937)

File

Dear Pat,

we're here. been under the gun five straight weeks trying to pass this course and move in (maintenance crap) at same time. first semester's final was friday. anne is dropping course now, for various reasons, so we should be more on top of things.

heard from the atlantic yesterday. rejection, but very nice about it. manning said the piece was "thoroughly researched and well-written," and "thoroughly competent job overall." but, he said, there is no angle to pet it on now, and atlanta has had much critical exposure elsewhere (i dont agree there, esp. if he means nytimes magainze). best thing about his reply was his asking me for more manuscripts and propsals, so i may be able to work something out eventually.

the ~~xx~~ disappointing thing is not manning's reaction--which was thoughtful, and even encouraging--but my idea that there are no other magazines (besides harper's and atlantic) that i can imagine would be interested in a piece like mine. no gimmick for esquire, not chatty enough for new yorker, not simple enough for sat eve post. naturally, i'll be thinking and exploring for places, but i am quite pessimistic about coming up with anything.

by drawing attention to the wider issue of what poverty fighting means, i think you very definitely raised the right question in the CDGM aritcle. ~~at first i was disappointed not to find a blow-by-blow~~, debater kind of description of who actually did and did not do what, and whose charge was right and whose wasnt. but since, apparently, it is ~~xxx~~ absolutely impossible ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ for an outsider to decide this after the fact (the outsider being unable to do anything more than A said this, B said that, C said a third thing), then you were quite right to leave the particulars to ~~xxxxx~~ agnosticism and concentrate on the broader question. i particularly liked your statement that OEO moved from denying the charges to making the charges. it reflects the central problem of the govt's inability to stimulate revolution against itself. it is for this reason that charles silberman says the best-mix poverty program would be govt-sponsored minimum income policy plus PRIVATE community organization efforts a la alinsky. presumably, the govt could still sponsor job training and education and health programs that did not rely on community organization. but in his view--and i agree--when the govt tries to get community participation through running concrete programs (like health centers, sub prof jobs, even CDGM), the govt invariably makes the program bland and makes the people toe a party line. this is what happens in winston-salem (the sub-professionals are all puppets of the local community action agency). this looks like the fate of CDGM. for this same reason, harvard prof. edward banfield thinks the govt should get out of the political action/community organization business, and leave that to political parties who do not hypocrticially invoke altruism in what they do. the very terms--community action agency, sub-professional employes, indigenous leaders--turn me off because to me they symbolize a frosting on a political movement, but a political movement that, because it needs frosting, also has no cake.

How old John Mudd?

Cf Mrs Hansen

the same question of govt involvement in political action has been raised re newark. conservative rep gardner, repub of nc, accused the antipoverty agency of causing the riot in newark. shriver is to visit there tomorrow for some kind of inspection. for background, see last friday's times, july 21, page one by walter waggoner.

we'll be home for at least 10 days about august 27th. hope we can see you at slow pace for much talk then.

call if you get to new york. which is incidentally a horrible place to live for anyone with less than $100,000. more on that later.

Best to Cece,

Tom

p.s. you may recall that after my conversation with sitton last april, i sent him my clips. recently got them back, with letter saying "on the face of it, your writing is clear and concise." i do not know what this means. but otherwise, it was nice response. i still think that he thinks i'm vaguely too editorial, which means i dont like the existing definitions of news.

related to this, ~~inx~~ i hear tell that ~~in~~ the afternoon paper the times may publish will be used by the old guard on the third floor news room as a ~~depository~~ depository for the young turks who keep agitating for change. the old guard feels it will survive any onslaught and remain the pre-eminent paper. plus get rid of the bothersome critics at the same time. where sitton fits into this i dont know.

did you read talese on corry in esquire?/

write if you can. still waiting to hear answers. i will listen, i promise.

T.

AUBURN UNIVERSITY

AUBURN ALABAMA

36830

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Office of the Dean

Telephone 826-4446
Area Code 205

File

August 21, 1970

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Gaston:

Thank you very much for your August 20th request for a copy of "Our School Dilemma". We have enclosed a complimentary copy of the booklet for your use and hope the Council will find it helpful in its study of the school scene.

Again, thank you for your request. If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Judy E. McLain

(Miss) Judy E. McLain
Secretary to Dean Pierce

TMP/jem

enclosure (1)

file P

September 8, 1970

Dear Sara:

Thank you for your good warm note and the contribution to the hunger committee. If you haven't seen it, I think the pamphlet I'm sending tells about the problems the committee is up against as well as anything that has been done. The author is Les Dunbar's son, and he has done another such study of Kentucky poor whites--and both the studies are to be published as a book by Pantheon.

Again--it was good to hear from you. Good luck and best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mrs. Thomas Parsons
Route 1, Box 44
Bayside, California 95524

P. Walters

SARA PARSONS

aug 26 '70
50.00 ck

9/1/70
W

dear Pat,

I saw the beautiful sad plea in Time Magazine and knew if I sent a check to the So. Regional Council my check would be in good hands.

I've never written to thank you for your generous & kind words about me in your excellent book "The South and the Nation." It was such an unexpected pleasure to be so well remembered. I am most appreciative.

With personal best wishes & love —

Sara (Mitchell) Parsons

over

I guess I have $50 because I've always liked grilled cheese!

The next time you think you're dying for something to eat, think about some people who really are. Ten million people. In New York, Mississippi, Texas, California and every other state. Ten million red, white and black Americans who are so damned poor they can't even afford the $30 a month minimum to buy government food stamps.

Chronically undernourished mothers are giving birth to babies too small and weak to suck. Babies with only 40% of the normal number of brain cells and no hope of ever catching up. Scrawny little American kids are suffering from weird foreign diseases like rickets, pellagra, marasmus and even deadly kwashiorkor. We're telling you all this because we're mad. And we want you to get mad. So mad you'll help us rid America of starvation forever. First, get yourself involved in "Hunger" groups in your region. And don't think there can't be starvation where you live. Some of the richest counties in America are burying the poorest people. Then sit down and send a card or letter to every senator and congressman you can think of. Send them copies of this ad. Or just tell them how disgusted you are.

Third, when you go to lunch today, instead of ordering a steak, ask for a grilled cheese. Then send the money you save to people who are actively involved in fighting hunger, like the ones we've listed here. We know we're asking you to do a lot. But, God knows, ten million starving American people have got to be worth it.

Send your contributions to:

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Attn: Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans

Appalachia Volunteers
120 Court Street
Prestonburg, Kentucky 41653

Stephen I. Granger
Box 125
R.D. #2
Purcellville, Virginia 22132

Barrio Youth Project, Inc.
1201 South First Ave.
Phoenix, Arizona 85003

This ad created by
VanSant Dugdale & Co., Inc.
One North Charles St.,
Baltimore, Md. 21201

June 11, 1971

Mr. Kevin P. Phillips
The Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I read with interest your column on the new "new South" and I am much obliged to you for your favorable comments on and pointed use of my book on the New South ideology. It is important to keep repeating the kind of warnings you sound, for we are very much in danger of being taken in by a new round of New-South-like nonsense.

I am sorry that you identified the Southern Regional Council with New South boosterism. Had you been familiar with the history and the work of the Council you would see it as a persistent critic of Gradyism, despite what the title of the journal might suggest. If this were not the case I would scarcely have taken a year's leave to work here.

I am sending you a copy of our recent evaluation of public school desegregation in the South, and will see that you get all future Council publications. By all means drop by the office if you are ever in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

PMG:lb

PW -

must tell my father!

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

When blocking out quotes, you sometimes included the foot note — was this deliberate? I did not block out the foot note number.

I also changed a quote mark that I think you just missed: p. 2, 2nd ¶ of quote "I can't get a lawyer" still had " ,

Also "British was misspelled.

Pat Watters

Suggestions, comments on Rightx To Counsel for the Unpopular Client:

I think a unifying theme could be made with a stronger emphasis on the difference between civil rights cases and others covered in the paper-- Communists, murderers, dirty books, etc. These are cases that go a little further than ones where all society is agreed on the distastefulness of the activities involved. These are cases where only a specialized, localized militant majority is unsympathetic. Thus, the piece might take advantage of reader sympathy for clients in the civil rights cases to make its points about other types of cases, and at the same time avoid reinforcing the Southern notion that civil rights and communism are much the same thing, just as bad as a dirty book...

Along these lines, this is a rough outline of how the piece might be revised:

1. A strong, direct focus on the plight of the civil rights plaintiffs and defendants as victims of lawyer reluctance to take on unpopular cases. (Material on pp. 9,10,11 plus other that might be available)... The suggestion to begin with an illustrative anecdote is as good as any. Another possible point is the reduced effectiveness in individual cases of the few civil rights lawyers available in the South because of the heaviness of their ~~work~~ case load. Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, such a lawyer, would be quotable on the subject. Are there statistics on the number of civil rights cases in Southern courts? What is the fate of civil rights litigrants in the North?

2-- Right to Counsel

2. Transition to McCarthy era material... Something like: The plight of the Southern civil rights litigants is only the most recent-- and perhaps most scandalous-- large-scale example of a continuing and growing problem... Then move into the first nine pages with cuts as suggested by Harper's. This section comes along as a wider-scale description of attitudes, excuses, rationalizations and realities of the individual lawyer's situation regarding unpopular cases. Its explanation of the attitude on perhaps more rationally (or humanly excusable) unpopular cases provides a background for understanding the situation in the South, and at the same time shows the danger to all causes inherent in inhibitions to proper counsel for any one cause... A main point seems to be the public's basic misunderstanding of the lawyer's function and role. Shouldn't the need for re-education of the public be stressed?

3. Transition to criticism of the organized bar... Perhaps a question: What, meanwhile, have the local and national bar associations (representing XX per cent of lawyers) done in the face of this threat to the basic functionings of courts and aims of justice? The movement from failures in the South to speak up for due process and integrity of the courts to similar failures and overt witch-hunt actions nationally needs more transition. Perhaps an introductory remark before the Black quotation: The South is not the only place where the bar has directly contributed to weakened effectiveness of its own members... The bar's failures (without the public's excuse of ignorance) are a strong and startling, generally unknown I think, point. But it should,

in the interest of unity, be stated as just one part of the general atomosphere contributing to the problem-- an important part and probably most amenable to correction. (This section, too, could stand cutting, but the material contrasting America with other countries (pp. 19-22) is strong and if possible should be retained.)

4. By suggesting above that the bar situation might be corrected, you hav e smooth transition into the recommendations. The third recommendation (p. 23) is a strong and positive approach to the recommendations: How the bar can effectively counteract these threats to the proper functioning of justice is illustrated in actions that finally were taken during the McCarthy era. Then list actions in Washington, St. Louis, etc. This could include what little has been done (White House conference, resolution on courts) in the equally serious civil rights situation. The other recommendations, with emphasis as suggested on what law schools might do, might be less formidable to a reader if stated less formally.

5. The seventh recommendation, with the wonderful campfire analogy, could go further, and refer back to the starting point: That not just the rights of occasional cranks and communists are at stake, but the rights of all. This is easier seen by the average citizen in the abstract than in the specific case of a pornographer or avowed Communist. But when he sees the spread of the dangers inherent in the attitude toward unpopular cases to a whole class of citizens with whom he possibly sympathizes in their fight for constitutional rights, then surely he sees the implications for himself, and the urgency of the need for corrective action.

##

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

DRAFT FOR AMERICAN BAR

RIGHT TO COUNSEL FOR THE UNPOPULAR CLIENT

> "I do solemnly swear: I will support the Constitution of the United States.... I will never reject from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed."[1]

In 1650, John Lilburne was put to trial for treason for publishing three pamphlets critical of the Cromwell Parliament, and immediately asked that counsel be assigned him. He explained that because of the serious nature of the charge: "no eminent experienced lawyer dare well meddle with my business, no, nor so much as bestow a visit upon me, but he runs a hazard of being undone."[2]

Some ~~three~~ 300 hundred years later, the lawyer still sees a "hazard of being undone" if he volunteers ~~the~~ defense ~~of~~ for an unpopular client.

During the ~~early 1950~~ McCarthy years, ~~of McCarthyism,~~ Mr. Justice William O. Douglas spoke of the fear that strikes the lawyer contemplating the defense of a person accused of illegal Communist activity:

> "Lawyers have talked to me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy."[3]

name?

A prominent Washington, ~~D. C.~~ attorney candidly supported Mr. Justice Douglas's observation in a newspaper interview:

> "I've had a number of people who've been fired from the Government [on loyalty grounds] come in to me and ask me to take their cases. They always say the accusations are lies.
>
> "I had one woman come in and cry, "I can't get a lawyer."
>
> "I didn't take her case. I've turned down several very large fees on accused Communists. Well, I don't know if they were Communists, but ~~there~~ they were refused re-admittance under the McCarran Act. Some of them were terrible hardship cases.
>
> "But I couldn't take them. They asked me to recommend other lawyers, but I wouldn't be caught dead sending them on to another lawyer -- for fear he would think I think he's a Communist, or something. I know that's bad, but most lawyers feel the same way."[4]

A true story, typical of many unknown, is told of the highly publicized figure who was seeking an attorney to represent him in public hearings before the Senate Committee on Internal Security. An intermediary approached a large New York law firm and was told a junior member of the firm would take the case -- for a $5,000 fee. "But that's outrageous," said the intermediary. "Not when you consider the dirt that might rub off on us," was the reply. The individual in question eventually found a lawyer whose "dirt compensation" was a little lower, but still at a figure beyond the reach of most persons subpoenaed to testify before Congressional committees.

The "dirt" does rub off. John Adams, who with Josiah Quincy, undertook the defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre, wrote that "it is impossible to realize the abuse heaped upon Mr. Quincy and myself...we heard our names execrated in the most opprobrious terms whenever we appeared in the streets of Boston."[5] The two lawyers who represented John Peter Zenger in New York City were disbarred in connection with the motions they made in court as a prelude to Zenger's now famous trial over the issue of freedom of the press.[6] Nor have matters changed much for the better since colonial days, despite a revolution and the adoption of a constitution which guarantees to all the right to counsel.

is this accurate?

When James B. Donovan accepted the court appointment to represent Soviet spy Col. Rudolf Abel, "It wasn't long before vindictive personal attacks upon the lawyer and his family began. There was a steady stream of crank letters and threatening calls. Finally, Donovan ordered the phone cut off." Attacks came from within the legal profession. He was greeted by one lawyer with the comment: "Here comes the million-dollar Commie lawyer;" and at a bar meeting a fellow Catholic asked if his sense of guilt wasn't "overwhelming." His reward came when Chief Justice Warren told him from the Bench: "I think I can say that in my time on this court no man has undertaken a more arduous, more self-sacrificing task."[7]

Illustrations can be multiplied. Judge John Bigelow, after his retirement from the bench, agreed at the request of the Essex County Bar Association to represent a school teacher fired from her job for invoking the privilege of self-incrimination before a Congressional committee. For this his appointment as trustee to Rutgers University was first rejected by the New Jersey Senate, and then confirmed only after a storm of public protest.[8]

name?

A Kentucky lawyer, acting on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union and without fee, undertook the defense of a case which had overtones of both Communism and integration. He won the case -- but lost a good part of his practice: "I don't mean to suggest that people here think I am disloyal. Their attitude is, rather, that I am rather peculiar and that it may be better to put their affairs in the hands of a more normal sort of person."[9]

It is reported that ~~when~~ Frank Costello, turned down by a score of lawyers who feared association with his reputation and ~~was~~ advised to seek the assistance of the noted Washington attorney Edward Bennett Williams, Costello was reluctant because, as he put it, "Didn't Williams represent Senator McCarthy?"[10]

These isolated case studies take on added ~~significance~~ interest from a survey of Pittsburgh, ~~Pennsylvania~~ lawyers. Fifty per cent of those who had represented unpopular clients reported community

pressure (religious, press, other members of the bar, etc.) for taking such cases; and ~~twenty per cent~~ 20% reported that their practices had suffered.[11]

Adverse community reaction is understandable when a lawyer defends a Communist, a Fifth Amendment pleader, a nudist, an atheist, a homosexual, an alleged obscene book, or other unpopular causes cases. How many northern liberal attorneys, especially those with an eye on political rewards, would represent a southern state seeking to maintain a segregated school system? An attorney can well represent one charged with murder without defending the institution of murder. But how can one represent a defendant charged with contempt of Congress without attacking the power of congressional inquisitions; a defendant charged with sale of Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer without challenging society's right to impose a literary censorship; a defendant charged with violation of the Smith Act without challenging society's right to impose a political censorship; a defendant "sit-iner" charged with trespass without attacking the institution of segregation? In short, the attorney must defend the client's cause as well as the client, and against the most respectable and revered institutions. James B. Donovan pointed out that when he defended Russian spy Col. Abel, and raised serious questions concerning the law of "search and seizure", he was "working against the Justice Department and the F.B.I."[12]

When the attorney defends his client's cause, it is difficult for the uninformed lay public to distinguish between a lawyer's personal conviction and his professional obligation. It reasons that a lawyer who attacks the power of censorship must enjoy reading "smut"; that the lawyer who defends the right of free speech by Communists must himself be a Marxist; that the lawyer who takes on these cases is somehow "unstable" or "not quite right."

The attorney who undertakes the defense of an unpopular client may seek to insulate himself from his client's unpopular cause. He may call his client's doctrine "alien" or "rubbish" and "abhorrent"to all of us," and then seek to defend the client's right to proselytize. He may disassociate himself from the alleged "obscene" book, say that he won't permit it in his own home; but then attack the institution of censorship as a historical fallacy. There is some question whether this lawyer gives representation that is "adequate." Judge Medina, who subsequently presided at the first Smith Act trial of the top echelon Communist Party leaders, told the story of his reaction when a judge heaped praise upon him at the conclusion of a trial in which he had represented a German sympathizer charged with treason during World War II. The praise was occasioned by the fact that Medina had been appointed by the court and had received no compensation in other, more tangible, form.

"This was all very fine"; said Judge Medina, "but I had made up my mind that I would not say a word to the jury about being

assigned counsel, feeling that my client, although poor and destitute, was entitled to the advantage of everything that went with the fact that I was his lawyer. I felt that it would be a stab in the back if I even mentioned the circumstances of my assignment and I am sure that I was right. And yet here I was standing up there and receiving all this praise, while I could not help thinking that this was prejudicial to my client. And so I told Judge Goddard that I did not wish to seem ungracious but that I must respectfully except to his statement, adding that I thought he had no right to mention this fact to the jury.... Both in the Supreme Court and in the Circuit Court of Appeals I urged as a basis for reversal the exception to which I have referred...."[13]

Attorneys sometimes attempt to disassociate themselves from the unpopular clients they represent by refusing a fee. They reason that refusal to accept "tainted" money will focus public attention on the real reason for undertaking the defense: a desire to effectuate the Constitutional right to "counsel." Not many lawyers can afford this position, however, and all too often it backfires. A Kentucky lawyer who refused a fee from a client accused of subversion wrote that the community belief seems to be that "a lawyer who takes an unpopular case without demanding a fee from ~~ah~~ his client must be motivated by sympathy with his client's substantive position....But when a lawyer takes an unpopular case for money, this inference is less likely to be drawn."[14]

Name?

The lawyer, whose only fortune is his good name, knows the consequence of representing the unpopular client, and listens to the enemy within. This enemy speaks in a thousand voices, now whispering caution and then whining fear, now pleading in reasonable accents for practicality and self-interest, and then shouting direful predictions of disaster. But above all the voice says wait; wait until your prestige is secure, your voice more powerful; wait for the right time, for the right case. But the right case at the right time seldom comes. And while the attorney waits, the right to counsel goes by default.

A Pennsylvania lawyer, charged with Communist Party membership, had his "disbarment" case postponed for eight months while he sought, without avail, to secure counsel from among his brethren at the bar.[15] A Maryland lawyer, indicted under the Smith Act, went to the president of his Bar Association to secure counsel, but ended up defending himself.[16] Two New York attorneys entered an appearance in a Smith Act case there for the limited purpose of securing a reduction in bail for two of the defendants. Suddenly, against their wishes, they were appointed by the court to carry on in the case. Their affidavit in support of a motion to be relieved of the court's assignment reads in part as follows:

> "We have approached the officers of the New York County Lawyers Association and of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for assistance in finding

this isn't clear were they themselves reluctant to defend, or did they seek only additional counsel?

> counsel but to no avail. We have discussed the problem with the chairman of the Criminal Courts Committee, the Civil Liberties Committee and the Constitutional Liberties Committees of the bar association, likewise to no avail.[17]

The problem of counsel, or lack thereof, is now particularly acute in the South, especially in cases involving race. The Supreme Court of the United States ~~recently~~ in early 1963 adverted to the fact that "the militant Negro civil rights movement has engendered the intense resentment and opposition of the politically dominant white community" and that the problem in lawsuits attacking racial discrimination is "an apparent dearth of lawyers who are willing to undertake such litigation."[18]

The Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union reported that:

> We have devoted a large part of our time to seeking commitments from Southern attorneys to represent persons in the South who are involved in civil liberties matters, regardless of whether or not a racial issue is presented. While there are some such courageous lawyers the overall effort has been notably unsuccessful.[19]

The General Counsel of another civil liberties group (C.O.R.E.) reports in like vein:

> During the Jackson, Mississippi, sit-in litigation, CORE was unable to get any local white lawyers to represent the defendants and there were not enough local Negro attorneys available to handle the cases.[20]

Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council comments that "The accused in a murder trial is often better able than a sit-in demonstrator to obtain qualified local counsel."[21]

The New York Times, in a survey article, reports that Mississippi has only ~~a handful~~ four of Negro attorneys and that white lawyers in the area will not represent Negroes involved in racial controversy. "Meanwhile," continues the article, "Deep South states are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars every year to employ skilled lawyers to defend segregation....Officials of the Justice Department in Washington recently expressed concern that such a situation existed...from a belief that the problem may discourage Negroes from pressing for their rights in voting, education and transportation."[22]

The small band of Southern attorneys who undertake racial litigation find the common courtesies of bench and bar denied them. One such Negro attorney reports that whenever a judge calls him "Mister," he knows he is about to lose his case. But these courageous attorneys face more than discourtesies. A white Georgia attorney was arrested in Monroe, Louisiana for car theft when he arrived to defend a member of the extremist Black Muslims organization. Charges were dropped when he agreed to leave town.[23] Clyde Kennard, the first Negro applicant to ~~the University of Mississippi~~ Mississippi Southern University, was subsequently convicted of

O.K., but you should know that Venable is also a K.K.K. Counsel, and perhaps the most influential K.K.K. leader today. Quote Klennery he finds the Muslims correct; both believe in segregation.

wasn't it Evers?

died in summer 1963

stealing five sacks of chicken feed on the basis of rather tenuous evidence. His attorney was charged with contempt of court for exclaiming to the press that the sentence of seven years hard labor was a "mockery of justice."[24] A North Carolina attorney was charged with assault when he shook his finger at a voting registrar during an argument concerning the way in which the literacy test was being given to the attorney's client.[25] A leading Virginia NAACP attorney faced disbarment charges: attempting to assist in the prosecution of a white defendant charged with raping a Negro woman.[26] Another Virginia NAACP lawyer also received disbarment charges: unethical solicitation of employment. The court found mitigating circumstances; that the solicitation "was not so much [motivated] by personal gain, of which there was little hope, as a desire to serve his other clients [co-defendants] efficiently" and held that "the ends of justice will be met by an official reprimand."[27]

wasn't it the same one? Zucker

When? Who?

A Mississippi attorney who agreed to handle the appeal of a Negro rape defendant received disbarment charges (acceptance of a retainer from a "subversive organization") when the Civil Rights Congress provided funds to pay the cost of appeal. The charges were dropped when the attorney withdrew from the case.[28]

These and other similar episodes do not encourage the attorney to undertake the defense of an unpopular defendant. One consequence is that Mack Lee Parker, accused of rape and

lynched from a Mississippi jail, ~~had been~~ was refused counsel by local attorneys.[29]

Moreover, white attorneys who represent Negro defendants in ordinary criminal matters, rarely raise the issue when the constitutional rights of their clients run counter to the social mores of the region. ~~An important federal tribunal recently~~ In 1959, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit announced that: "As judges of a Circuit comprising six states of the deep South, we think it is our duty to take judicial notice that lawyers residing in many southern jurisdictions rarely, almost to the point of never, raise the issue of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries."[30] A large majority of southern state judges and lawyers polled by the Yale Law Journal agreed with the validity of this observation, although many practical reasons were advanced, e.g.: "If I accepted a Negro for jury duty and put him on with 11 white men I would prejudice the white men against me and my client."[31]

However, all apart from the trial strategy required on behalf of a particular client in a particular situation, the fact remains that the lawyer in the South, like the lawyer in the North, stands mute when legal order is under attack. Attorney General Robert Kennedy publicly deplored the failure of the bar to support the government's action to enforce the court order admitting James Meredith to the University of Mississippi.[32] Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, commented in like vein:

"To this day, insofar as I can determine, not a single southern state bar association has gone on record with a resolution or declaration of court support which would have provided the people with an alternative to the peddlers of defiance.

"Only one city bar association in the South [Atlanta's] has made a public statement affirming the validity of court orders as they apply to schools....

"While the bar associations in the South were silent, individual attorneys described glowingly by the segregationist press as 'constitutional authorities,' were publicly and slanderously denouncing the federal judiciary, assuring a troubled and indecisive public that the U. S. Supreme Court's school decision was not legal, did not have the force of law, and was Communist inspired....

"Had the people been told by bar associations that court orders require compliance, we would, I believe, have escaped some of the trouble caused by the deliberate deceit of the people by political leaders...."[33]

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision ending compulsory segregated public education[34] there has been a far-ranging public debate which goes to the very fundamentals of judicial supremacy and judicial review. This debate has been one-sided -- through default by the organized bar. ~~The~~ Ministerial alliances, PTA groups, even ~~organization~~ labor unions have sought to defend the Supreme Court from its critics: but the organized bar has largely been silent. And there has been misfeasance as well as nonfeasance.

Don, I don't feel that you follow through on the last sentence of your preceding graf.

Mr. Justice Black reminds us that "It is important, both to society and the bar itself that lawyers be unintimidated -- free to think, speak, and act as members of an Independent Bar,"[35] but he fears a tendency "to force the Bar to become a group of thoroughly orthodox, time-serving, government-fearing individuals."[36] These fears stem from the Bar activities in connection with admission to the practice of law and expulsion therefrom.

Recent innovations in admission procedures require the bar applicant to abjure or explain membership or association with "suspect" organizations. Illustrations are legion. Hawaii has this question on its bar application form:

> "If you were to be listed as "Communist" in the records of any federal investigative agency, what past actions or organizational affiliations of yours not already listed by you might be used by such investigative agency to support its conclusion?"[37]

The District of Columbia Bar Association, by a recent three vote margin, adopted a resolution that all bar applicants be required to disclose any ties with Communist, Fascist, or other subversive groups. A substitute proposal -- that applicants be asked only about Communist ties within the past five years -- was rejected.[38]

Although the formal resolutions and prohibitions generally speak against Communist Party membership or against organizations

"listed" by governmental agencies as "subversive," the inquiry as a practical matter extends much further. Bar applicants are sometimes asked whether they think Communists should be eligible to practice law, about the "pinkish" character of the Americans for Democratic Action, and about labor unions activities.[39]

A local bar association in Texas, without success, opposed the admission of one applicant because of association with a lawyer "generally considered to be a member of the Communist Party;"[40] and the New Mexico Bar was told by the Supreme Court that it could not deny admission to an otherwise qualified applicant because of long past membership in the Communist Party: "Mere unorthodoxy does not as a matter of fair and logical inference, negative 'good moral character'".[41]

Though infrequent, the bar continues to oppose, with success, the admission of bar applicants whose religious beliefs and training prevent them from bearing arms;[42] and those whose moral conscience prevents them from answering questions (asked without any apparent reason) concerning membership in suspect organizations.[43]

In recent years in the southern states, the nature of the inquiry has shifted from membership in the Communist Party to membership in the NAACP. Formal questionaires call for the disclosure of membership in the NAACP, and bar applicants have

been asked about activities in interracial groups and activities. The consequence too often has been that Negro (and some few white) law students refrain from all such activities until their admission to the Bar is complete.

Once admitted to the Bar, the inquisitions and intimidations do not end. In 1950 the American Bar Association proposed that all lawyers take a test-oath disclaiming membership in the Communist Party,[44] and in 1951 this was extended to disclaiming a belief in "Marxism-Leninism."[45] By 1953 the ABA House of Delegates sought an investigation of attorneys who invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked questions relating to Communism.[46] With this impetus, the various state and local bar associations took up the cudgels.

New Jersey enacted a statute requiring all lawyers to pledge that:

> "I am not bound by any allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, so help me God."[47]

The New Jersey and similar non-Communist oath requirements for lawyers raise the issue of whether membership in the Communist Party is grounds for expulsion from the bar. Almost 100 years ago the Supreme Court held that Congress could not deny lawyers the right to practice in the federal courts because they had borne arms against the United States during the Civil War, reasoning that this had nothing to do with "moral or professional delinquency."[48] More recently, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court

ruled that the Bar could not expel an attorney because of membership in the Communist Party unless it also found that the attorney also advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence.[49] However, a Baltimore lawyer was disbarred following his conviction under the Smith Act,[50] and a Portland, Oregon, attorney was disbarred when the Bar Association found that he had testified falsely under oath when he denied that the Communist Party, during his period of membership, had not been a subversive organization.[51] The Supreme Court has yet to make a square ruling on the subject.

Just as in the "exclusion" situation, the "expulsion" of attorneys began with Communist Party situations and then branched into other areas of conduct. For example, the Michigan Bar filed charges against two attorneys for distributing letters "critical of the Court's conduct in the recent trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg"[52] and recommended a law authorizing the state police to assist in disciplinary action against lawyers.[53]

The Bars in New York, New Jersey and in Hawaii sought disciplinary measures against lawyers in connection with their representation of Communists in Smith Act proceedings, but without ultimate success.[54]

The Bars in Florida and in Pennsylvania, without success, sought to disbar attorneys who had invoked the privilege against self-incrimination when asked questions concerning Communist activities;[55] alghough the Supreme Court of the United States

sustained the right of New York to disbar an attorney who had invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked questions during a Brooklyn Court inquiry into "ambulance-chasing."[56]

The Bars in Arizona and in New York, without success, attempted to disbar, or prevent the admission to the practice of law, on the basis of reasons they refused to disclose to the adversary parties or to the courts.[57] This seems to be the ultimate result whenever, as Mr. Justice Douglas terms it, bar associations seek "to put professional people into goose-stepping brigades."[58]

The Bar Association efforts to stifle the southern lawyer who undertakes the defense of a "racial" case have already been mentioned.[59]

Equally, if not more, troublesome than the efforts of the Bar to ensure conformity within its own ranks, have been the efforts of the Bar to ensure conformity throughout the nation. When in 1950 President Truman courageously vetoed the Internal Security Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights, the American Bar Association immediately demanded an overriding of the veto. The pattern has continued. On issue after issue requiring the delicate balance of individual rights against national security, the amicus brief and prestige of the Bar Association is inevitably found allied with the state against the individual. Pennsylvania Law Dean, Jefferson Fordham, commented that:

> "In the post-war years attention has been drawn so strongly to security matters that an exaggerated imbalance has been observable. During this time the

> national organizaion has, on occasion, ranged itself with the Philistines....What the organized Bar needs is not its own witch-hunting department but units dedicated to the guardianship of human rights. A ceremonial interest in the Bill of Rights will not supply the need.[60]

The failure of the organized Bar to provide a moderating leadership against the 1950 excesses of McCarthyism, and against the 1960 excesses of States-Rightism, coupled with an internal program weeding out the unorthodox, results in a situation where the individual practitioner fears to go it alone, and makes it virtually impossible for him to be effective when he undertakes the representation of the unpopular client. The consequence is a silent repeal of the Constitutional guarantee that the accused shall have the assistance of counsel.

The refusal of the American Bar to take up the cudgels for the unpopular minority is a phenomenon without parallel in the English speaking world. Elsewhere, a barrister is like a cabman on the street? rank: it is his duty to place himself at the disposal of the first person who hails him. This lets a citizen have his case presented in court however unpopular or unworthy he may be; it also protects the advocate, for the court and public knows the case he is arguing is not of his own choosing.

The general principle in England, and its origin, were was discussed by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hartley Shawcross, chairman of the General Council of the Bar, in a 1953 speech:

> I have recently heard it said, that certain members of the Bar is one of her Majesty's colonies refused to

accept a brief to defend an African, accused of offenses of a quasi-political nature against public order. The suggestion is that these barristers made excuses and declined to act, their true reason being that they thought that their popularity or reputation might be detrimentally affected by appearing for the defense in such a case. For the prosecution they might appear, but not for the defense.

"If this report were true it would disclose a wholly deplorable departure from the great traditions of our law and one which, if substantiated, both the Attorney General and the Bar Council, would have to deal with in the severest possible way.

"Among laymen on both sides of politics there are some foolish and short-sighted enough to think that a barrister may and should pick and choose the cases in which he is prepared to appear.

"It would be well if those people remembered how the present rule -- that a barrister must accept a brief on behalf of any client who wishes to retain him -- was finally established. It arose in 1792 over the prosecution of Tom Paine for publishing the second part of his Rights of Man. The great advocate, Erskine, who accepted the retainer to defend Paine, and was deprived of his office as Attorney General to the Prince of Wales for doing so, said -- and said truly -- in a famous speech: "From

the moment that any advocate can be permitted to say that he will or will not stand between the Crown and the subject arraigned in the Court where he daily sits to practice, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end."[61]

Not only in England, but in the former English colonies as well, no one lacks counsel because his cause is unpopular. Listen to the first-hand report of Mr. Justice William O. Douglas:

"Last year I visited Burma, torn by civil war for the last five years. I visited courts and talked with lawyers and judges....

"I saw Malaya under siege. Up in central Malaya at Ipoh, the capital of Perak, I saw criminal trials. The accused were desperate guerillas dedicated to the Communist cause. Yet the court assigned each one a lawyer for his defense. The Bar of Ipoh -- some 30 in number -- were doing valiant work. Lawyers were assigned in rotation; and their defenses did credit to the highest tradition of the Bar.... This was in the heart of jungle land where armed Communists worked night and day in guerilla warfare to destroy the government. But there was no hysteria, no atmosphere of passion, no photographers, no pressure of the press demanding convictions....

"These experiences brought, of course, a swelling pride in my heart at the glories of due process transplanted by the British in Asia. But what I saw has greater significance. Burma is winning her battle for Burmese hearts and minds, and Malaya is turning the tide against Communism by the use of more than

military tactics. Due process, as well as bullets, helps win those wars against Communism.[62]

What can be done to make the right to counsel an everyday reality for those beset by serious legal problems resulting from the espousal of an unpopular cause?[63] A series of actions, for the most part already initiated, can in combination do much to achieve this goal.

First, the Bar should use the bait of public service and personal satisfaction to lure the adventurous, the courageous, the idealistic young men and women into the profession, those who want to take a position on public questions and to play a part in the affairs of the community in which they live. They should be told the stories of the profession's great -- men like Malsherbes, who came from retirement to represent Louis XVI against the Revolutionary government of France and paid for it with his life; men like Andrew Hamilton, who defended the radical newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger and thereby did much to establish freedom of the press; men like John Adams, who defended the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre; like Charles Evans Hughes, who stood up for the Constitutional right of Socialists when the New York legislature sought to expell six ~~elected officials~~ members because of their party affiliation; like Whitney North Seymour, Wendell Wilkie, John W. Davis, Thurman Arnold, Telford Taylor, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., James B. Donovan, Edward Bennett Williams and other contemporaries too numerous to mention who can be counted on

to step forward to make sure that everyone, no matter his station or crime, has a "day in court." Consistency requires that the "test oaths" and loyalty purges must come to end; and that the political iconoclast, the racial demonstrator, the religious devient, the bearded beatnik on the peace vigil, all be welcomed to the Bar -- if not with open arms at least with a mature appreciation that youth is the time to dare, and sometimes to err.

Second, the Bar should participate in the dialogue on national, state, and local issues. The lay person looks to the lawyer for advice, and when his voice is stilled, the vacuum is filled by the clamorous (and uninformed) bias of the demagogue. The recent action by the American Bar Association's Board of Governors, condemning two of the three statesrights amendments to the Constitution currently pushed by conservative groups, is precept and, hopefully, prologue.[64] The establishment of standing committees to report on current issues within the special competence of the Bar would do much to effectuate this objective.

Third, the Bar should organize groups and panels of lawyers for the defense of the unpopular or indigent client: as it did in Washington, D.C. when government employees were unable to secure counsel in connection with charges under the Loyalty-Security program; as it did in St. Louis when witnesses subpoened by the House Committee on Un-American Activities were unable to secure counsel; as it did in Denver, in Cleveland, in Philadelphia, and in Connecticut when Communists indicted under the Smith Act

were unable to secure counsel; as it did in Pittsburgh when lawyers faced with disbarment because of Communist charges were unable to secure counsel; and as, in the 1930's, a National Lawyers Committee was formed to offer counsel to anyone who felt that President Roosevelt's New Deal legislation was violating his Constitutional rights. Operating behind the shield of a Bar Association committee, the individual lawyer is relatively immunized from public opprobrium; and the establishment of such a panel gives opportunity to educate the profession and the public on the rights and duties of a lawyer in representing any client, regardless of the unpopularity of either the client or his cause.

Fourth, the Bar should rally to the defense of any lawyer attacked because of his representation of the unpopular client. In 1953 the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security issued a report which included the following:

> "Counsel of outstanding reputations...in several recent cases involving Communists or persons accused of being Communists, which they took out of a sense of public duty, have been subjected to severe personal vilification and abuse....Those episodes could be multiplied, but to do so would serve no useful purpose. Their existence is a serious cloud on the proper discharge of the lawyer's duty; the bar must throw its weight against such things."[65]

There are at least two notable instances when this was done. The Cleveland Bar Association undertook to provide representation for Communist Party officials standing trial, and a

should this be in quotes? in other words, was it a truthful or a political denial?

date names?

senior official of the Department of Justice attacked the Association in a public address on the ground that it had been "duped." Within a week the President of the Bar Association had called on the Attorney General, and the Assistant Attorney General in question denied having made the statement. A somewhat similar incident occurred during a California hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, when a witness was repeatedly asked if his attorney was a Communist. The Board of Governors of the State Bar of California immediately issued a statement condemning the proceedings of the Committee.[66] Prompt and automatic reaction of this type to all slanderous attacks will impress upon the public that the "right to counsel" requires acceptance of the correlative rights of a lawyer to represent any client without having imputed to him his client's reputation, views, or character.

Fifth, the Bar should encourage the individual lawyer to undertake the defense of the unpopular client by a ~~John Adams or other~~ suitable award to that attorney in each appropriate unit of the Bar who, within the past year, has demonstrated a fearless respect for the spirit reflected by John Adams's defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. A national award, upon nomination of the state Bars, could be given at the annual American Bar Association meeting. The publicity attendant upon such presentations would give credit where credit is due, and further educate the public.

Sixth, the law schools should assist the Bar Association in this effort by strengthening ~~the~~ curriculums in ~~regard to~~ criminal law, professional ethics, and legal history; by establishing legal aid and legal research bureaus where the student could enjoy the experience of the "practical" case in a setting which induces further public action; but most of all by precept and example, e.g., by having the faculty, as does the faculty at the University of Virginia, take an occasional trial or appeal on behalf of the unpopular client.

Seventh, and finally, when all is said and done, the fact remains that it is up to the individual lawyer to effectuate the Constitutional right to counsel. If he fails, the Constitution is a dead letter; if he undertakes the defense of all -- "without consideration personal to himself" -- the Constitution become a vital, living document. Every professional undertaking on behalf of the unpopular client is a leap into the dark. No one can foretell what new evidence may turn up, what vagaries of chance may occur, what unlooked-for traits of character this or that major participant may exhibit under pressure. But if the lawyer stays close by the campfire and never ventures forth, the circle of safety and freedom will diminish and contract. And ultimately one dark night the fire will go out. The highest wisdom is to dare, and the beacon when venturing forth is the comforting comment of the late Mr. Justice Cardozo that "There is more to membership in the Bar than a license to sign a brief or intone a proxy argument."[67]

Footnotes

1. Oath of admission to the bar recommended by the American Bar Association and adopted by a number of states.

2. Wolfram, John Lilburne: Democracy's Pillar of Fire, 3 Syracuse L. Rev. 213, 236 (1952). The Chief Justice denied the request for counsel with the comment that "the court are of your counsel, and do not you doubt but the court will be as careful of you, as you can be of yourself." Thereafter, Lilburne was denied the right to see the indictment, and a lawyer-friend in court spoke up for him. He was immediately reprimanded: "Judge Jermin. What impudent fellow is that, that dare be so bold as to speak in the court without being called." Id. at p. 239.

3. "Black Silence of Fear," New York Times Magazine, Jan. 13, 1953, pp. 7, 37-8.

4. Washington Daily News, Jan. 14, 1954, p. 17, col. 2.

5. Quoted in Ernst and Schwartz, The Right to Counsel and and the Unpopular Cause, 20 U. Pitt. L. Rev. 727, 728 (1959).

6. Mr. Justice Jackson dissenting, In re Isserman, 345 U. S. 296, 292 (1953).

7. Lindemann, "He Defended A Soviet Spy," 48 Coronet No. 6, 46 (Oct. 1960).

8. Sacks, Defending the Unpopular Client, 7 (1961).

9. Id. at 20.

10. Ernst and Schwartz, op. cit. supra note 5, at 729.

11. Alexander, The Right to Counsel for the Politically Unpopular, 22 Law In Transition 19, 32 (1962).

12. Lindemann, op. cit. supra note 7.

13. Medina, Courage and Independence at the Bar, 25 Ohio Bar 381 (1952),

14. Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 20.

15. In re Schlesinger, ___ Pa. ____, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961).

16. The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 164 (1953).

Footnotes - 2.

17. Ibid.

18. NAACP v. Button, ___U.S.___, 31. U.S.L. Week 4063, 4068, 4071, (Jan. 15, 1963).

19. N. Y. Times, Nov. 26, 1961, p. 8, col. 5.

20. Letter from Carl Rachlin, dated March 26, 1962, on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.

21. N.Y. Times, Oct. 30, 1961, p. 1, col. 8.

22. Ibid. The legal problems involved in asserting these rights in voting, education, and transporation are illustrated by eight out of 64 similar acts of violence and intimidations set forth in a release of March 31, 1963 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council:

(1) September 13, 1961, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers were arrested for asking to be served at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal and charged with inviting abreach of the peace.

(2) March 15, 1962, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker, despite an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. When he later stated that the prosecutor and the police chief had conspired to frame him, he was sued for defamation. A jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief $15,000.

(3) May 17, 1963, Rankin County: ~~The~~ A Negro ~~editor~~ reporter of the Mississippi Free Press, while investigating a rumor that a Negro had been killed by a white man, was apprehended by the police, jailed, denied permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges, and fined $131.00.

(4) July 5, 1962, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20 and Luvaghn Brown, 17, were sentenced to a 30 day jail sentence for contempt of court when they refused to move from the "white" side of the court room.

(5) August 21, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, had his camera snatched away while taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. When he complained to the police, he was told to leave town.

(6) August 30, 1962, Sunflower County: Several voter registration workers were arrested on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community.

Footnotes - 3.

(7) September 3, Sunflower County: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

(8) December 26, 1962, Conhoma County" Two students from Detroit were arrested as they drove a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for the Delta families cut off from federal surplus commodities. The medicines had been donated by a Louisville physician and consigned to a licensed pharmacist. The police searched the truck, discovered what they described as "a drug to ease the pain of middle-aged women," and charged the students with possession of narcotics. Bond was set at $15,000.

23. Louisiana v. Venable, 6 Civil Liberties Docket (1961).

24. Mississippi v. Evers, 6 Civil Liberties Docket (1961).

25. The North Carolina Supreme Court reversed the conviction. State v. Walker, 249 N.C. 35, 105 S. E. 2nd 101 (1958)

26. A non-suit was entered in this case by the County Circuit Court. Virginia v. Tucker, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 66 ((1961).

27/ Tucker v. Seventh Dist. Com. of Virginia State Bar, ___Va.___, 120 S. E. 2d 366 (1961).

28. The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953).

29. Tuttle, Our Special Responsibility, 32 Wis. B. Bull. 46, 50 (1959).

30. United States ex rel. Goldsby v. Harpole, 263 F. 2d 71, 82 (5th Cir. 1959), cert. den. 361 U.S. 850 (1959).

31. Note, Negro Defendants and Southern Lawyers, 72 Yale L.J. 559, 565 (1963).

32. New York Times, Sept. 30, 1962, p. 69, col. 3.

33. Address prepared for the annual meeting of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association and the Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research, noted in the Atlanta Constitution, June 15, 1961, p. 1., col. 5.

Footnotes - 4.

34. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

35. Konigsberg v. State Bar, 353 U. S. 252, 273 (1957).

36. In re Anastaplo, 366 U.S. 82, 116 (1961).

37. Brown and Fassett, Loyalty Tests for Admission to the Bar, 20 U. Chi. L. Rev. 480, 491 (1952).

38. Washington Post, Oct. 11, 1961, P. B14, col. 1.

39. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra, note 37, at 494, 497.

40. In re Levy, 348 U.S. 978 (1955).

41. Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners, 353 U.S. 232, 244 (1957).

42. In re Summers, 325 U.S. 561 (1945); Application of Brooks, ___Wash.___, 355 p. 2d 840 (1960), cert. den. 365 U.S. 813 (1961).

43. Konigsberg v. State Bar of California, 366 U.S. 36 (1961) In re Anastapèo, 366 U.S. 82 (1961).

44. 36 A.B.A.J. 948, 972.

45. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra. Note 37, at 499.

46. Report and Recommendations of the Special Committee to Study Communist Tactics and Strategy, adopted August 1953.

47. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra note 37, at 483.

48. Ex parte Garland, 71 U. S. 333, 380 (1866).

49. In re Schlessinger, ___Pa.___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961).

50. Braverman v. Bar Association, ___Md.___, 121 A. 2d 473 (1956).

51 51. Patterson v. Oregon State Bar of Board Examiners, ___Ore.___, 318, p. 2d 907 (1957), cert. den. 356 U.S. 947 (1958)

52. The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953).

53. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra note 37, at 483.

54. Sacher v. Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 347 U.S.388 (1954); In re Isserman, 348 U.S. 1 (1954); In re Sawyer, 360 U.S. 622 (1959). Disbarment proceedings were initiated against Sawyer because of a speech during the trial recess in which she castigated in general terms the conduct of the trial. Isserman and Sacher were sought to be disbarred because of contempt of

of court convictions. Mr. Justice Jackson commented that this was apparently the first time a lawyer had been disbarred "merely because he had been convicted of a contempt" since the trial of Peter Zenger in 1735. 345 U.S. at 292-3.

55. Sheiner v. State, ___Fla.___, 82 So. 2d 657 (1955); In re Schlessinger, ___Pa.___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961). Subsequently the Florida Supreme Court rejected a petition by the Bar Association to permit disbarment of attorneys who claim the Fifth Amendment. In re The Integration Rule of the Florida Bar, ___Fla.___, 102 So. 2d 873 (1956).

56. Cohen v. Hurley, 366 U. S. 117 (1961).

57. Application of Burke, 87 Ariz. 336, 351 p. 2d 169 (1960); Willner v. Committee on Character and Fitness, ___ U.S.___, 31 U.S.L. Week 4439 (1963).

58. Lathrop v. Donohue, 367 U.S. 820 (1961).

59. See text at notes 23 through 28.

60. The Legal Profession and American Constitutionalism, The Sixteenth Annual Benjamin N. Cardozo Lecture delivered before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Oct. 24, 1957.

61. Quoted in Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 38.

62. Address before The American Law Institute, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 20, 1953.

63. The Supreme Court recently held that the states must provide counsel for indigent defendants charged with crime because "any person haled into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him." Gideon v. Wainwright, ___U.S.___, 31 L.W. 4291, 4294 (1963). This decision, though far-reaching, does not answer all the problems as many persons who have trouble in getting legal representation are not indigent, and their problems are not "criminal." They may be subpoened before a Congressional Committee (with ample funds to pay a normal fee), or they may wish to take the offensive in a civil proceedings, e.g., initiate a suit to desegregate a school system; initiate a suit to make a public forum available for a meeting where unpopular or minority views are to be expressed; initiate a suit to compel the restoration of a license, or a teaching position, etc., revoked because of racial or political or religious activities deemed bad by the local authorities; or they may need a lawyer to draft a document, such as a Public Accommodations Law, for presentation to a city council.

Footnotes - 6.

64. N. Y. Times, May 22, 1963, ~~p.~~ p. 1, col. 1.

65. Report of July 30, 1953, p. 4. (emphasis added). In the same year the American Bar Association House of Delegates unanimously adopted a resolution that it will "support any lawyer against criticism or attack in connection with such representation when, in its judgment, he has behaved in accordance with the standards of the legal profession." Reprinted in Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 16.

66. "Conduct on the part of any tribunal before whom a lawyer is entitled or permitted to appear, which attacks a lawyer's reputation or otherwise subjects him to obnoxious personal consequences, inevitably deters lawyers from accepting employment to appear before such tribunals. Thus, the right to independent counsel of the client's own choice is seriously impaired". Quoted in Sacks, Id. at 26.

67. Address at the dedication of the New York County Lawyers Building on May, 1930; quoted in Judge Irving R. Kaufman, Representation by Counsel: A Threatened Right, 40 ABAJ 299, 301 (1954).

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Feb. 27, 1962

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4/13/62
LK.

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Columbus 16, Ohio

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~~[illegible]~~ 5 Forsyth
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Mr. Robert J. King
438 Penland Hall
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

ck 4/13/62 L.K.

****

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Thank You.

Thank you very much for your prompt and valuable help.

Robert J. King

ck
4/16/62
F.R.

Mrs. George Dumbauld
Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas

letter March 9
3/16/62

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Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

Wire accepted over the phone at 11:00 a.m.
February 26, 1962

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letr 3/30/62
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Stamps
4/16/62
RHA

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Mr. John C. Payne
1100 Myrtlewood Drive
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

letr
3/27/62

4/10/62

112 copies New South @ $ .10 $11.20

Thank You.

1100 Myrtlewood Drive
Tuscaloosa, Ala.
20 April 62

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for the back numbers of New South. I am sorry complete run was not available but I suppose that can't be helped. My enclosed check covers your invoice plus $0.10 for a copy of The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, listed in the last issue of New South and which you have not sent me.

Is there any way in which I can make arrangements to receive automatically all new publications of the Council? I would be glad to make a deposit with you to cover the cost or could pay as they appear.

It has occured to me that in the future you might acquire additional back numbers of New South. For that reason I am listing my needs which I wish you would keep on file in case you could supply them in the future.

Vol. I, No. 3, 6, 9
Vol. II, No. 3, 12
Vol. III, No. 1, 7, 12
Vol. IV, No. 1
Vol. V, No. 12
Vol. VI, No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Vol. VII, No. 1, 2
Vol. VIII, No. 8, 9
Vol. IX, No. 6, 7, 8, 11, 12
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Vol. XI, No. 7, 8
Vol. XII, No. 1, 10

Very truly yours,

John C. Payne

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth
Street N.W.

L.J. Toomey, S.J., Director
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

letr 4/2/62
4/4/62

1 Executive Support of Civil Rights

$ .50

Coins
4/23/62
RHA

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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St., N.W.

Mr. Donald F. Sullivan
National Conference of Christians
and Jews
130 West Grand
Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma

letr
4/6/62

4/9/62

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OKLAHOMA REGION

DONALD F. SULLIVAN, *Director*

310 Commerce Exchange Building
OKLAHOMA CITY 2, OKLAHOMA
CEntral 2-3861

April 20, 1962

515 South Denver
TULSA 3, OKLAHOMA
LUther 5-5210

To: Southern Regional Council, Inc.

From: Donald F. Sullivan

Subject: Payment of booklet.

4/23/62
RHA

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Thanks.

Sincerely,

DSullivan

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Mr. Irving Panken
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

letter 4/3/62

4/5/62

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

April 24, 1962.

Attention of Mrs. Barbara Patterson

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge your letter of April 23rd regarding the balance of 100 copies of "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" against our Purchase Order No. 40101 of April 10th.

We have checked with the department concerned and find that no other publication could be substituted at this time. Therefore, will you please cancel this shipment to Mrs. Rucker at Monteagle, Tennessee.

Thanking you for your cooperation, we are

Very truly yours,

John E. Krapf

John E. Krapf
Assistant Purchasing Agent

gs

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April 23, 1962

Purchasing Department
Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society
of the Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

With reference to your purchase order #40101 dated 4/10/62, we wrote you on April 13 that we would advise you if we were unable to suppply 100 copies of THE TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS to Mrs. Rucker for the May conference. Unfortunately, this is the case. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations which originally produced the pamphlet and to which I wrote in hopes of securing more, is also out of stock. Please advise us if another of our publications could be substituted and we would be glad to fill your needs.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the
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281 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

40101
4/13/62

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5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 13, 1962

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Do you have 100 copies of "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners"? If you do and can send them, the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church has requested 100 for a conference. They should go to:

Mrs. Rucker
c/o DuBose Conference Center
P.O. Box 917
Monteagle, Tennessee

and should be marked
HOLD FOR CONFERENCE MAY 4-6.

Thank you very much if you can. If you cannot, please let me know so I can notify them and they can plan accordingly.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

Dear Barbara Patterson:

Sorry, but we have only file copies left.

Nat Griswold

Write NG

April 13, 1962

Purchasing Department
Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society
of the Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

With reference to your purchase order #40101, dated 4/10/62, 100 copies of THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION have been today mailed to Mrs. Rucker. An invoice covering these is enclosed.

At present we have only a very limited supply of THE TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS. We are attempting to obtain more, and unless you hear from us to the contrary, we will send 100, without charge, to Mrs. Rucker. If we are unable to supply them, we will let you know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

BP:s
enc.

PURCHASING DEPARTMENT
DOMESTIC & FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
281 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Date 4/10/62

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by

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Tennessee State Library and Archives
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ATTN: Mrs. Frances O'Dell, Serials Librarian

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4/13/62

1 HOUSTON Employment Report $ .20

Check
R&A
4/25/62

Thank You.

4-24-62

I am enclosing $.20 as per invoice dated April 13, 1962

N.W.

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Prof. Richard Baird
Dept. of Political Economy
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

Purchase Order # letr. 3/7/62
Date of Shipment 3/12/62

4 copies The Unequal Badge at $.10 $ .40

Thank you.

Coins
RHA
H62

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
QUAECUMQUE VERA

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
CANADA

March 7, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

My colleagues and I would like copies of the report "The Unequal Badge" by Elliott M. Rudwick. We would like four copies - and will pay whatever charge you make.

Sincerely,
Richard Baird
Assistant Professor
of Political Science

sent
3/12/62
also Hale,
L-33

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CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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April 30, 1962

Southern Reginnal Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
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Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find check for $1.65 to cover cost of literature sent to us.

Thank you for your prompt attention in regard to our order.

Sincerely,

Fredricka Teer mm
Fredricka Teer
Assistant, Department of Organization

msm
encs.

ck $1.65
5/2/62
F.K.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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.25 Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, George McMillan

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.25 The Freedom Ride - May 1961

.35 The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

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Desegregation in Higher Education (L-23A)

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Refutation of "Race and Reason". Dr. William P. Sullivan (L-32)

Thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely,
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Fredricka Teer
Assistant to the
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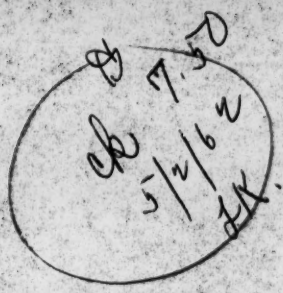
FT/mm



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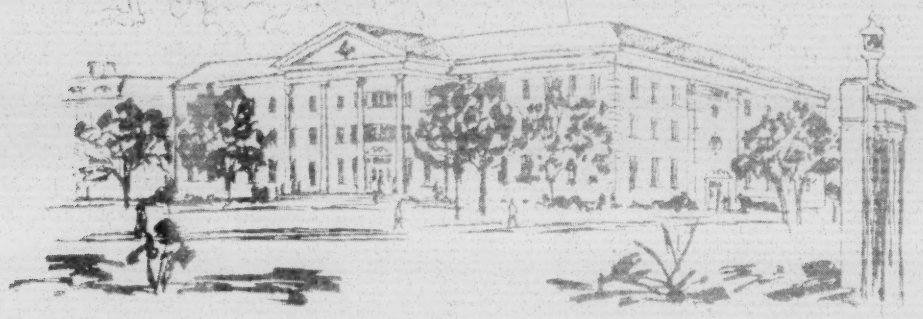

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6/3/62

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(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

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Bill Meers
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May3, 1962

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EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962. 52 pp. SC 50¢.

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's anthropological views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec. 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliot M. Rudwick, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois University. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Jr., Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology, Univ. of Houston; and CHATTANOOGA, second of the series, 16 pages. Both 1962, SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q 2¢.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 30¢, Q 25¢.

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer. An analysis of press treatment of racial news. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOTT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Treatments of registration and voting. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢.

MAP, showing percentage of nonwhite population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the school decisions reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years,...and

of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSIONS, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerk and Donal Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles from The Washington Post reprinted in booklet form. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate, but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961. SC 5¢.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this article is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our national image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢.

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.), 27 pp., 1961. SC 10¢.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC.

THREE VIEWS OF THE DESEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Assoc., 1955. 29 pp. SCF,QCWC.

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine, June, 1958. SCF, QCWC.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris and others. Short essays concerning race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC.

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. 1960. SCF, QCWC.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug.5,1961.SCF,Q2¢.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise indicated, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS AIMS AND ORIGINS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-13 "DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?" Answers by Louisville School Superintendent Omer Carmichael in a tv panel discussion, Sept., 1959.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, by Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-18 NEGRO BUYING POWER. Data on income and purchasing power.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE'? Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virgini's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial commission appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership on race relations issues. Dec. 9, 1960.

L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 to 1961.

L-24 EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Concerning Racial Problems and Economics, Feb. 16, 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 26, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia by a noted native. July, 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Some aspects of the option taken in parts of Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, a listing as of Nov., 1961.

L-29 THE AMERICAN

L-29 THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists' rejection of theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov. 13, 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 26, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. A scholar refutes Carleton Putnam's "inferior race" theories. March, 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962.

Index to Price Code

SC - single copy

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4407 Stuart Avenue
Richmond, Va.
May 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

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A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"; — SC 5¢
The Unequal Badge — SC 10¢
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement — SC 25¢
What the Supreme Court Said — SC 10¢

50¢
Cash
5/7/62
RHA

Yours truly,
Marie Smith

5/7/62

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N.W.

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5/11/62
L.K

April 4, 1962

Souther Regional Council

63 Auburn, Ave. N.E;

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Dear Sir:

Please send us an invoice for the following books which have been received from you:

Southern Regional Council-School desegregation: The first six.

The invoice consist of an original and four copies each bearing a certification note: "Certified just and correct; payment not received". The certification note on all copies should be signed by a member of your staff.

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Digna C. Escalera

Digna C. Escalera
Library Clerk I

Sent 4/9/62

Fin. Núm. 4
Dic. 1961

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OFICINA DE CONTABILIDAD
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Número: 719446

Fecha: 5-1-62

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5 FORSYTH STREET N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Codificación:

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Barbara F. Patterson

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47
4/27/62

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ck. $12.00
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PO NO. 47

DATE April 25, 1962

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Assistant Minister

St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, 27475 Five Mile Road, Livonia, Michigan

ck. 65
5/11/62
L.K.

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
~~Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~ 5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Michael P. Goodman
162 Harmon Hall
Kalamazoo College
Kalamazoo, Michigan

****

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Date Shipped: 4/28/62
4/30/62

1 Albany	$ .25
1 Freedom Ride	.25
1 Student Protest Movement	.15
	$ .65

Thank You.

April 28, 1962

Michael P. Goodman
162 Harmon Hall
Kalamazoo College
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a Sophomore sociology major at Kalamazoo College and am writing a research paper on current methods and progress in desegregation.

Could you please send me Albany, 25 by Howard Zinn, The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, Sept., 1961, and The Freedom Ride, May, 1961. 25 .15 Please bill me if there is any charge. Your promptness would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you,

Michael P. Goodman

Michael P. Goodman

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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

cash $2.00
5/28/62
L.K.

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted]ORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 22, 1962

To: JF BCC From: ML

Subject: Subscription

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5/28/62
HK.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Howard W. McKinney
West Virginia Human Rights Commission
451 Capitol Building
Charleston, West Virginia

letr 3/19/62
3/21/62

1	Student Protest Movement - A Recp.		$ .10
10	Houston	@ .15	1.50
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1	South and The Nation		.10
1	Church in Areas of Racial Tension		.05
		Total	$4.40

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Barbara F. Patterson

Mrs. Patterson:
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Lil' Kelly, Sec.

Author

Order Date MAY 21 1962

Title New South
Vol. 15 #5 (May 1960)
Vol. 15 #6 (June 1960)

Quan. 1 each

Ed. Vols. Dealer

Price @ 20¢ Date

Pub. Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. Y.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

5/28/62

40 stamps
RH

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BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

May 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

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Very truly yours,

Barbara J. Hudson

Barbara J. Hudson
Librarian

346 Library Annex

enc: 50¢ in stamps

5/28/62
RHA

Southern regional council, inc.

Executive support of civil rights. 52p
[196]]

5/28/62

Ck $1.81
5/28/62
FK

Student Christian Association
Forrer Hall
Transylvania College
North Broadway,
Lexington, Ky.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me the following SRC publications:

15	Third Believe @ 2¢	.30
01	This Is What We Found	.25
10	Three Views of the Desegregation Decisions	—
5	South Carolinians Speak	—
2	School Desegregation: The First Six Years @ 25¢	.50
1	Racial Crisis and the Press	.25
10	A Virginia View of "Race and Reason".	.30
3	The Annealing of the South	.21
		$ 1.81

I would also like 1 copy each of any of the SRC Leadership Reports.

yours truly,

RC:bm 5/28/62

Roberta Cox

ck. 40
6/1/62
LK

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Fourth and York Streets
Louisville 3, Kentucky

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5/16/62

5/21/62

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1816

C. R. GRAHAM
DIRECTOR

May 16, 1962

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please forwardto the Library, with bill, one copy each - NEW SOUTH, March and April 1959.

We need these issues to complete our file for binding.

Thank you,

Yours very truly,

Clara L. Behrens
Head Order Department

clb/m

May 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

- -

2 copies NEW SOUTH @ 20¢ .40

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RECD MAY 10 1962

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University of Missouri Library
Columbia, Missouri

****

Spearman

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Date Shipped: 5/2/62

1 RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS $ .25

6/4/62 Cam
RHA

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Approved for payment
5-14-62 by Joyce
Westbrook.
AB

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Atlanta ~~9~~ 3, Georgia

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2. If you can supply, but at a cost greater then five dollars please show prices and return this form. We are required to issue a formal purchase order, and may also place the order through a jobber.

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Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,
Allene F. Schnaitter

(Miss) Allene F. Schnaitter
Head, Order Department

Order No.	Author, Title, etc.
G 7849	Spearman, Walter. Racial crisis and the press. Publ.: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1960.

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Spearman, Walter.
Racial crisis and the press.
Publ.: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., 1960.

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4	62		1	60	B

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JR.

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Atlanta 3, Georgia N.W.

YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

****

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100 copies RACE AND REASON @ .02	2.00
100 copies ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH @ .05	5.00
	$ 17.00

PLEASE NOTE: Invoice dated Feb. 14, 1962, in the amount of $13.00, to the attention of Ella Baker, remains outstanding.

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ck $.50
6/6/62
HK

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth
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Andrew G. Freeman, Executive Director
The Urban League of Phikadelphia
1611 Pine Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

let 3/26/62
3/29/62

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 19, 1962

United States Information Agency
Accounts Section, Press Service
Room 6100
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C.

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With regard to your inquiry of June 8, 1962, our records indicate neither an invoice or "supplies" sent to you. Perhaps we are in error, but inasmuch as we have no invoice, either paid or unpaid, it would be helpful if you could let us know specifically what publication (s) you received. We would then be happy to bill you accordingly.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary

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"Executive Support of Civil Rights" in the amount of $62.50

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WASHINGTON

June 8, 1962

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No. _____, dated _____

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Please address reply:

Accounts Section, Press Service
Room 610
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Sincerely,

H. B. Klopper

Chief, Accounts Section, IPS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ck $62.50
7-12-62
LK

4968 3

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
~~[illegible]~~ 5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

United States Information Agency
Accounts Section, Press Service
Room 610
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D.C.

****

22789-32--62

Purchase Order No.
Date Shipped: April, 1962

125 copies EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS @ $.50 — $62.50

Thank You.

NOTE: "First Billing"

April 9, 1962

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities
Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

Leslie Dunbar has directed me to acknowledge your request of April 24 for 125 copies of EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS. These will be in the mail to you tomorrow when our additional supply arrives from the printer.

Wherever there is sufficient budget to reimburse us at cost, $ .50 a copy, we appreciate the remittance or any part thereof. It is, however, of primary concern that the report reach the posts you designate.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary

125
50/50
62.50

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

APR 4 1962

PA
pls send 125
each

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 2nd. Ideally we would like 125 copies of Executive Support of Civil Rights, one for each of our overseas posts. However, that is a rather tall order and we would select posts for whatever number of copies you can spare in terms of the level of interest in these problems in these particular countries.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Prof. Twiley W. Barker, Jr.
Dept. of Political Science
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

letr 3/14
3/20

L Federal Executive and Civil Rights $ .35

Thank You

6.20.62

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA, ILLINOIS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

318 Lincoln Hall
March 14, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of your recent monograph entitled The Federal Executive and Civil Rights and bill me for the same.

Very truly yours,

Twiley W. Barker, Jr.

Twiley W. Barker, Jr.
Visiting Associate Professor of
Political Science

TWB:cjh

MR. & MRS. LAURENCE I. HEWES JR.
2601 WOODLEY PLACE N. W.
APARTMENT 501
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

The New South -

Gentlemen -

Enclosed please find forty cents for two copies of the April, 1962 issue which contains the tribute to George Mitchell.

Thank you

Laurence I. Hewes Jr.

6-20-62
JL

6/19/62

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Mrs. Emmett F. Johnson
Rte. # 4, Box 354 A
Epworth Acres,
St. Simon's Island
Georgia

tele.
6/14/62

6/14/62

20 copies New South @ $ .10 $2.00

10 " " " + 1.00

Thank You. $3.00

6-20-62

MRS. EMMETT S. JOHNSON
ROUTE 4, BOX 354A
EPWORTH ACRES
ST. SIMONS ISLAND, GEORGIA

June 16, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

As I recall it was this year that I ordered the 20 copies of the April New South for our at our next meeting of the Glynn Council on Human Relations. I have decided now, that my order was skimpy, and am enclosing a check for $1.00 for an additional ten copies. I trust this additional number can be ordered at the 10¢ a copy cost which you gave me on

the initial 20 copies.

As you might infer, - we hope these can be sent as promptly as the first order!

Gratefully -

Mary Johnson

(Mrs. Emmett S. Johnson)

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
~~[illegible]~~ 5 Forsyth St.NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. James W. Harney
6 Rice Street
North Cambridge, Massachusetts

****

Purchase Order No. letr
Date Shipped: 4.21.62
4.23.62

1	EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS	$ .50
1	FEDERAL EXECUTIVE & CIVIL RIGHTS	.35
		$ .85

Thank You.

6-20-62
JL

6 Rice Street
North Cambridge
Massachusetts
April 21, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
C/O Mrs. Barbara Patterson
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 26, and for the information you sent. I found the articles entitled "Little Rock Report" and "Desegregation In Higher Education " very useful and informative.

In the March 25 issue of the New York Times I came across an article of how the S.R.C. praised the present Administration for its work on Civil Rights. Would it be possible to obtain the articles entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" and "Executive Support of Civil Rights"?

Thank you very much for your time.

Yours truly,

James W. Harney

James W. Harney

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

letter
6/14/62

6/18/62

10 copies CHATTANOOGA @ $ .15	$1.50
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Thank You.

CR
6/26/62
RHA

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please ship by return parcel post 10 copies each of your pamphlets on THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH for the cities of Chattanooga and Atlanta.

Our check will be mailed to cover upon receipt of your invoice.

Yours very truly,

A. E. Cox

A. E. Cox
Executive Director

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

Hotel 2400
Washington 9, D.C.
June 21, 1962

CR 6/26/62
RAA
#1.20

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N,W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would like to order the following publications from your office to be sent to the address below:

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, 1962	$.50
A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON"	.05
(New South reprint, Dec., 1961)	
THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by L.W. Dunbar	.10
THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957)	
THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959)	.40
THE SOUTH AND THE NATION by Leroy Collins	.10
SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE by Marion A. Wright . . .	.05
Total	1.20

I am also impressed with your publication NEW SOUTH and intend to request a subscription at a later date; my present address is likely to be changed several times during the summer and thus I will wait before ordering a monthly publication. However, I would appreciate it if single copies of the above could be mailed to me at your earliest convenience.

I would like to thank you for your previous response to my earlier letter requesting information.

Sincerely yours,

Peter J. Bertocci

Peter J. Bertocci
Hotel 2400
2400 16th St., N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Ware Hall #226
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

6/26/62

20¢ stamps
RHA

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is 20¢ in stamps for two copies of "What the Supreme Court said" by Prof. Robert Leflar.

Send these copies to the above address.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Thelma F. Hurley

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Purchasing Department Brandeis University
415 South Street
Waltham, Mass.

for Communications Research Center

62107
5/13/62

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CIVIL RIGHTS @ $.50

$17.50

thank you

7/2/62

ck. 17.50
L.K.

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415 SOUTH STREET
WALTHAM, MASS.

No. 62107

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- 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
- Atlanta 3, Georgia

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					TOTAL AMOUNT	$

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L.K.

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5/21/62

3 copies NEW SOUTH @ $ .20 $ .60

Thank You.

7/2/62

Copies | Agency SS-3/15/62 | MAY 15 '62 DIRECT Do not use this space | 6037 P. Order number

Author

Title New South vol. 15 No1 January, 1960, no.5 May, 1960, No. 7 July, 1960.

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5 Forsyth St. N.W.
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May 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On our order No. 6037 P of May 15, 1962 we ordered the following material:

NEW SOUTH	Vol. 15	No.1	January, 1960
	Vol. 15	No.5	May, 1960
	Vol. 15	No.7	July, 1960

Today we received Vol. 15, Nos 1 and 7 of New South.

Please supply Vol. 15, No. 5 so that we may clear our records of this order.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Harriet Goode
Harriet Goode, Chief
Book Selection Dept.

Per RJ

re-Sent
Identifying
note
6/4/62

JW

Amer. Friends Service
100 copies New Smith
ck. $10.00
7-5-62
LK

HARPER PRINTING CO., INC.

351 WHITEHALL ST., S. W.

ROY RAY JACKSON 2-5890

18

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

American Friends Service Committee
160 N. Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

ATTN: Purchasing and Shipping Office

PC-299
6/18/62

100 copies NEW SOUTH (April 1962)
@ $.10 $10.00

Thank You.

(materials sent marked to the
attention of Bernice Smith)

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 N. FIFTEENTH STREET
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DORDER NO. PC-299

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Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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		100	NEW SOUTH -- April 1962 issue		
			from: Southern Regional Council Five Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta 3, Georgia		
			SEND TO: AFSC, Attention: Bernice Smith 160 North 15th Street Philadelphia 2, Pa.		
			Send two copies invoice Attention: Purchasing and Shipping DOffice.		

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7-5-62

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St. NW

R. I. Commission Against Discrimination
Room 307
State House
Providence, Rhode Island

U 98286
6/1/62

200 copies Racial Violence and Law Enforcement @ .10 $20.00

Thank You.

LOWE'S

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DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
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Atlanta, Georgia
3

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200	200	Copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT	.10	20.00
		Title changed to RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.		

ck. $20.00
7-5-62
LK.

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NET AMOUNT	$ 20.00

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I hereby certify that the items and total above are proper charges against the State of Rhode Island and this expenditure is in conformity with law.

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310 N. Tryon St., CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

July 6, 1962

Gentlemen:

If the publication noted below is available for distribution, we should greatly appreciate receiving a copy.

Yours very truly,

Ellen Moreland
(Mrs.) Ellen Moreland
Serials Librarian.

NEW SOUTH
v. 16 no. 11 Dec 1961

Sent - LO

Library Greensboro Division
of Guilford College

501 W.Washington
Greensboro, N.C.

Dear Sirs,

Please send CHATTANOOGA-THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH.

Thank you,

Brenda Engelmen
Brenda Engelmen-Librarian

July 13, 1962

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Adult Service Librarian
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Oak Park 37, Michigan

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VA. VIEW OF RACE AND REASON	.05
THE FREEDOM RIDE	.25
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JULY 10, 1962

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ENCLOSED YOU WILL FIND $1.60 TO COVER THE COST OF THE MATERIALS CHECKED IN THE ATTACHED ORDER SHEET.

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

SINCERELY,

David Wilson Taylor

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LK

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NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

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	Order letter 6/5/62 (shipped 6/7/62) - Race Relations Dept., (H.M. Perry) 10 copies The Unequal Badge etc.	B-542		10 60

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IF INCORRECT RETURN

hlw

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.
N.W.

Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Attn: Mrs. H. M. Perry

letr 6/5/62
6/7/62

10 copies	THE UNEQUAL BADGE @ $ .06		$ .60
20 copies	New South @ $ .20		4.00
5 copies	each of CHATTANOOGA @ $	.15	.75
	HOUSTON	.15	.75
	ATLANTA	.15	.75
	MIAMI (without cost)		
5 copies	STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT @ $ .15		.75
5 cpies	ALBANY @ $ .20		1.00
10 copies	New South @ $ .20		2.00
			$ 10.60

Thank You.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

CHAPEL 2-3396

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

June 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you be good enough ti bill for and send to the Race Relations Department the following order:

4.60
3.80
3.
10.6

10 copies The Unequal Badge -- Negro Policemen in the South
20 copies New South -- March 1962
5 copies each -- The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston
Chattanooga
Atlanta
Miami

20
20
4.00

5 copies The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, September, 1961 (Special Report)
5 copies Albany, by Howard Zinn (Special Report)

We are asking that the order be shipped as soon as possible since it is for the literature table at the 19th Institute of Race Relations which begins on June 25th.

5

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. Perry

(Mrs.) H. M. Perry
Administrative Secretary

P.S. Also please add: 10 copies New South -- April 1962

Memo from **RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER**

Miss Susan Schwartz
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, N.C.

Misc. Literature

$1.70

7/13/62
7-16-62
LK

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Mr. W. F. Howard
Division of Student Work
Christian Education Commission
Baptist General Convetion of Texas
207 Baptist Building
703 N. Ervay, Dallas 1, Texas

letter
6/20/62

6/25/62

50 copies THIS I BELIEVE @ $ .02 $1.00

Thank You.

DIVISION OF STUDENT WORK
W. F. HOWARD • director
LOUIS R. COBBS • associate

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION
BAPTIST GENERAL CONVENTION OF TEXAS

207 Baptist
Building
703 N. Ervay
Dallas 1
Texas

June 20, 1962

ck $1.00
7-16-62
LK

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have read a copy of the folder published by you which is titled This I Believe by Haywood N. Hill.

I wonder if it would be possible for me to secure about 50 copies of this address. If so, please send them to me and bill me, and I will forward a check immediately.

If it is necessary for you to have the cash before mailing the order, please advise how much I should send for 50 copies.

I shall appreciate this information.

Very truly yours,

W. F. Howard

W. F. Howard

WFH:ajv

ck $3.75
7-25-62
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
~~Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.~~ 5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. H.B. Trimble
772 Houston Mill Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia

****

Purchase Order No. by phone
Date Shipped: 7/24/62
7/24/62

SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE	$3.75

Thank You.

MEMORANDUM southern student human relations project, NSA

Ck $25.00
7-27-62
FR

To: Southern Regional Council

From: Constance Curry

Date: July 26, 1962

For materials picked up for NSA Seminar on July 25, 1962 -- $25.00 as billed o n invoice.

materials for NSA - 6/25/62

20	Fortune reprint	@ .10	$2.00
20	Church in Areas of Racial Tension	.03	.60
20	Federal Executive & Civil Rights	... without cost	
20	Racial Crisis & The Press	.05	1.00
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20	Maps	.10	2.00
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20	Agony of a Southern Minister	.02	.40
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10	Annealing of the South	.04	.40
20	What the Supreme Court Said	... without cost	
80	New South	.05	4.00
			$ 25.00

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St. NW

Miss Connie Curry
National Student Association Southern Project
Room 701
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

by hand
7/25/62

Materials (as shown on attached list) $25.00

Thank You.

Souther[redacted]ll, Inc.
5 FORSYTH[redacted]3, GEORGIA

ck. .80
7-27-62
LK

w July 11, 1962

Mrs. C. C. Browne
Koinonia Farm
Route 2
Americus, Georgia

---

4 copies Albany, at 20¢ a copy= $0.80

Thank you.

Sent
LP

KOINONIA FARM

PHONE 7253

ROUTE 2

Americus, Georgia

July 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send me four copies of the Special Report published by you January 1862 entitled "Albany", by Howard Zinn? This is a very excellent report, and we felt it would be especially pertinent to put into the hands of some of the white people attending the Council on Human Relations being set up in Albany at this time.

Please send them either C. O. D. or bill Koinonia Farm for the charges.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Ora Browne

Mrs. C. C. Browne

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
~~Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~
Atlanta 3, Georgia

5 Forsyth St.
N.W.

Mr. Mark H. Magnussen
Box 1591
Fort Benning, Georgia

****

Purchase Order No. letr 7/7
Date Shipped: 7/16/62

1 "If the Schools Are Closed"	$ .20
1 "Sanctuaries for Tradition"	.10
1 "The Truth About Desegregation in Washington Schools"	.10
1 "Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools"	(without cost)
1 "Action Patterns" (without cost)	
	$ .40

Thank You.

Com
RHA
8/3/62

Box 1591
Fort Benning, Georgia
7 July 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear sir:

I am writing a paper on the growth of private segregated schools in the South for an education class at American University.

I would appreciate your sending me a copy of the pamphlet "If the Schools Are Closed ..." by Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke and any other material which you may have published on this subject. I will be happy to pay you the cost of these items. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Mark H Magnussen

Mark H. Magnussen

Souther[redacted]ll, Inc.
5 FORSYTH[redacted]B, GEORGIA

ck $.60
8-8-62
LK

July 5, 1962

Professor Rose Mukerji
Department of Education
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn 10, New York

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:THE FIRST SIX YEARS-$0.25
Georgia's Divided Education .35

$0.60

Thank you.

Thanks for all the material. I have found it extremely useful in my course.

R. Mukerji

Sent LD

BROOKLYN COLLEGE
BROOKLYN 10, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

July 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of your pamphlet: "School Desegregation: the first six years". I would also appreciate any material that is more current.

I could find no listing of price. Please bill me for the costs.

Sincerely,

Rose Mukerji

Prof. Rose Mukerji
Dept. of Education

This was
apparently
a contribution
acknowledgment
sent 8/20/62

From Miss Alice Biddle
Bryn Mawr Pa
$10.00 Contribution
RHA 8/21/62

8-21-62

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

letr
7/31/62

8/6/62

300 copies THIS I BELIEVE @ $.02	$6.00
300 copies NEW SOUTH (March and June, 1962) @ $.10	30.00
	$ 36.00

Thank You

CR #25.00
8/21/62
RHA

407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6 Kentucky
August 17, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 ForsythAvenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you so very much for the materials sent from "SRC" for our Seminar to be held in October. I am very grateful. Enclosed is my personal check in partial payment for the shipment.

I am confident the Seminar will be a success - thanks to you!

Cordially yours,

Josephine Green
Mrs. Thomas P. Green

Encl-1

PEABODY COLLEGE, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE ····· DETACH AND RETAIN

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GEORGE PEABODY

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Aug. 10, 1962

PUBLISHERS OF
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Some months ago you published a good color map showing the distribution of Negroes in the South. If you have any spare copies--up to about 10--we would like to have them and would be happy to pay for them.

Sincerely,

Jim Leeson

Jim Leeson

8/13/62

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

Mr. Jim Leeson
Southern Education Reporting Service
P.O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

letr
8/10/62

8/13/62

10 MAPS @ $.20 $2.00

CR 8/27/62
RHA

Thank You.

201 Boundary St
Montevallo, Ala., 8/9-'62.

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.
Attention Mrs. Long.

Enclosed is my check for 50 copies of June New South. I had sent a check for $1.50 previously, making $5.00 for the 50 copies.

In this College town I'm temporarily leaving the College alone, since Colleges are dependent on state administrations. Am waiting on the Courts to put a crimp on the governor. I shall probably order more of the June issue of New South. Am putting them in the hands of Church officials in Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches here.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
S. M. Freeman

$3.50
OK
RHA
8/28/62

8-31-62

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St.NW

International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union
1065 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta 10, Georgia

ATTN: Mr. R.G. Towler, Regional Auditor
Southeast

letr
7/11/62

7/16/62

1 copy "Seeds of Southern Change" $3.75

Thank You.

OR
8/31/62
RAA

J L —

Southeastern Regional Office

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION AFL—CIO

1065 GORDON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 10, GEORGIA

Telephone PLaza 3-1151

DAVID DUBINSKY, *President*
E. T. KEHRER, *Southeastern Regional Director*

July 11, 1962

Book sent 7/16/62

Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Counsel
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please enter our order for one copy of "Seeds of Southern Change and Life of Will Alexander" and bill us for same.

Very truly yours,

R.G. Towler

R.G. Towler, Regional Auditor
Southeast Region, ILGWU

RGT:rn

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August 20, 1962

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

We would like to purchase all the current materials on race relations, listed in the enclosed folder.

Sincerely yours,

Elisabeth Hodges

Elisabeth Hodges, librarian.

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Robert McFadden
Director of Religious Activities
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia

****

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BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA
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October 22, 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Recently there has come into my possession a copy of a speech by Daniel C. Thompson, "The Case for Integration." It was reprinted by you in 1961. I would like to obtain fifty copies of this address for a study group here at Bridgewater College.

I also have a reprint from the Saturday Evening POST--"Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?" by Robert Paul Sessions. If copies of this reprint are available from your office, I'd be happy to obtain fifty copies of this also.

Sincerely,

Bob McFadden

Robert McFadden
Director of Religious
Activities

Mrs. F. L. Warner
FHA, Room 301
101 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

by telephone
11/20/62

11/20/62

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From:

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Mrs. F. L. Warner
FHA Room 301
101 Marietta St.

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vol. 17 - 6
enclose file

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. F. L. Warner
FHA, Room 301
101 Marietta Street
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Human Relations Project
YWCA, Suite 301
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

ATTN: Miss Mary King

in person
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HENRY M. BULLOCK
EDITOR, CHURCH SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS
GENERAL SECRETARY, EDITORIAL DIVISION

October 9, 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have received four copies of your new booklet entitled "A Hundred Years Later." What a splendid and forward-looking thing to do to gather the thoughts of some fine Southerners on the centennial of the Civil War!

If they are available I should be glad to have 50 copies to share with all the editors of Methodist church school literature.

Incidentally, I hope that this booklet went out to the editors of the church organs in the South as well as in the nation.

I see no listing of a price so assume this booklet is free. If there is a charge, however, please bill me.

Sincerely yours,

Henry M. Bullock

Henry M. Bullock

HMB:eb

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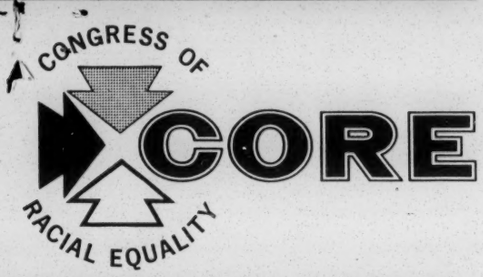

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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October 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to order 75 copies of the December, 1961 NEW SOUTH featuring Martin Luther King's address to the Fellowship of the Concerned, "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience." We plan to use this at the Workshop described in the enclosed folder and would appreciate your using the enclosed post card to let us know whether the article will be available; or, if it is not available in the NEW SOUTH issue, if it is available in any other form.

The order can be sent to the address below. We would like to have copies by November 20. The order can also be billed to the address below.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden, Coordinator
Ann Arbor C O R E

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WHY YOU SHOULD ATTEND THE WORKSHOP:

..... Discussion of Non-Violent Direct Action as a Means of Combating Racial Discrimination by Bob Marshall, Member of First CORE Group

..... Participation in Action Projects in Housing and Employment

..... Evaluation of Workshop Projects by Eugene Tournour, Staff Person from National CORE

..... Keynote Address by Rev. C. T. Vivian, Nashville Sit-In Leader

> "Goodness must be joined with knowledge ... One must know in a crucial situation when to speak and when to be silent, when to act and when to refrain." -- Gandhi

Workshop to be held in Detroit, Michigan on Friday, November 23 -- Saturday, November 24, 1962, Meeting place to be announced. $6.50 registration fee (covers cost of four meals and materials). $4.50 for high school students. Registration deadline is November 16th. Please see registration blank below. Workshop will begin at 8:30 A.M. Friday morning and will extend through Saturday evening, 9:00 P.M.

Registration Blank for Direct Action Workshop

NAME _____ OCCUPATION _____

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If you will need overnight accommodations, please check here _____

Please detach and mail, together with your registration ~~form~~ fee, to:

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Detroit 6, Michigan

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Mr. Serge F. Hummon, Secretary
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19 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

letter
11/14/62

11/20/62

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November 29, 1962

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find check in the amount of $.75 for the purchase of 3 MAPS @ $.25 each.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Serge Hummon cb.

Serge F. Hummon, Secretary
Church in Town and Country

SH:cb

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UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

November 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
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Dear Sirs:

I recently saw a map which you have entitled, "Percentage of Non-White Population, Southern States". This is a map of the counties of the Southeast, carrying in color the percentage of Negro population in those counties. I would like to purchase three such maps and would be pleased to have you bill me for them.

We are carrying on a good deal of work with the Negro churches of North Carolina and Virginia. Any other maps relating to the distribution of people and their institutions would be helpful to us. I should see a listing, however, before I order.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Serge Hummon cb

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December 5, 1962

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Gentlemen;

Please send the Los Angeles Public Library the books listed below:

6 copies Racial work & Negro waste in Southern employment. @ 20¢

A bill in triplicate should accompany the above order. Please use attached mailing label on the package. We are accustomed to receiving the regular Library discount and shall greatly appreciate this courtesy.

Yours very truly,

Helen M. Mason
SERIALS DIVISION

Form 56 5-49

May 23, 1963

Mr. J. A. Fernandes
Purchasing Agent
P. O. Box 1239
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Fernandes:

We have your postcard, marked "urgent", regarding your order 54744 of June 5, 1962. We have no record of this order, and consequently no record of payment.

Mrs. Barbara Patterson, who formerly handled these orders and requests for information and materials, informs me that she recently filled out, for your auditor, a form that was in effect a release from any liability for payment in 1962. Frankly, we don't know what else we can do.

It is possible that the order went to a professional staff person, who had materials sent to you without charge, as sometimes happens for special meetings in which we have an interest or concern.

I hope that this will be satisfactory, and that we can both forget about order 54744.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

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Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
OFFICE OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

5-21-63

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E. C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

October 19, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director
The Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson;

Mr. Laird of Emory has written me that you have accepted our invitation to be one of the resource persons for our Eleventh Annual Institute of Socio-Religious Affairs, meeting on our campus, November 11-12. We are so glad that you can come.

The college will pay your travel expenses and entertain you on the campus during the conference. We will expect you Friday evening or early Saturday morning. The conference opens at nine a.m. and closes with the noon meal Sunday.

We know that you could serve as resource person in several of the groups, so we are presuming to ask you to be ready to switch at the last minute if any one else fails us. We want you to serve in Group I, Political action necessary to implement democracy, but if at the last minute the army refuses S. Sgt. Graham a pass and he can not come to serve with Group III, Education necessary to implement democracy, we may ask you to take that.

We shall also want you to serve on the panel Saturday night. This panel will be made up of persons representing each of the five groups, and you will present the views of Group I. The panel generally get together some time Saturday and plan just what they will do.

I am inclosing a copy of the information sheet we send the colleges, and of the bibliography, so that you can see what some of the students will read.

We are looking forward to having you with us.

Yours sincerely,

Ruth L. Bartholomew

Ruth L. Bartholomew

Saw Laird and Warren Firth come to office, NOV. 8

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Paine College - November 11-12, 1944

THEME: Social Action Necessary To Implement Democracy.

NOTE: This bibliography does not pretend to include all the good material on this subject. It is merely suggestive and should lead you to other articles and books.

GENERAL:

1. Democracy's Test by War and Peace, by T. H. Eliot, Va. Quart. Review, Autumn 1944.
2. Foes of Democracy, by Max Ball, Vital Speeches, Sept. 15, 1944.
3. Youth Crusades for a Better Democracy, by Sarah Block, Common Ground, Autumn 1944.

Group I - Political Action Necessary to Implement Democracy.

1. Agar, Herbert: A Time for Greatness, Ch. 3, High Politics or None.
2. Davis & Others: The Deep South, Ch. 22, Caste, Class, & Local Government.

Magazines

1. American War Documents (party platforms), Current History, Sept. 1944.
2. Democracy With A Sneer, Christian Century, Sept. 27, 1944.
3. Effective Democracy, by Chas. Edison, New Republic, March 20, 1944.
4. Labor in Politics, by Beulah Amidon, Survey Graphic, Sept. 1944.
5. Letter to the President, by Leo Cherne, Atlatic, October 1944.
6. The Negro Vote 1944: A Forecast, by Earl Brown, Harper's, July 1944.
7. Negroes as Voters, The New Republic, April 17, 1944.
8. The Truth about P.A.C., New Republic, August 21, 1944.

Group II - Economic Action Necessary to Implement Democracy.

1. Agar, Herbert: A Time for Greatness, Ch. 5, Can Business Become a Part of Life? Ch. 6, Labor Relations.
2. Davis & Others: The Deep South, Ch. 21, Relations Between the Caste System and the Economic System.
3. Meyers, James: Do You Know Labor, Ch. 2, Different Kinds of Labor Unions; Ch. 6, Are Labor Unions Responsible Organizations?

Magazines

1. The Byrnes Plan, New Republic, September 25, 1944.
2. Cartels, The Menace of Worldwide Monopoly, New Republic, Special section, March 27, 1944.
3. The Clash Between Progress and Security, by Allan Fisher, Harper's, July 1944.
4. Everybody Benefits, by B. Buell, Survey Midmonthly, August 1944.
5. Factories Can't Employ Everybody, by C. H. Grattan, Harper's, Sept. 1944.
6. Organized Labor and Industrial Organization, by John A. Davis, Journal of Negro Education, Summer 1944.

7. Tax Reduction for Full Employment, New Republic, October 2, 1944.
8. Troubles in Philadelphia, by D. G. Redmond, Current Hist., Sept.11, 1944.
9. Unemployment Ahead, by Paul Samuelson, New Republic, Sept. 11, 1944.

Group III - Educational Training Necessary to Implement Democracy.

1. American Council on Education. Teachers for Our Times, Ch. 2 National Problems and the Demands They Make Upon Us.
2. N.E.A., Purposes of Education in American Democracy, Ch. 2, The Democratic Process, Ch. 7. The Objectives of Civic Responsibilities.

Magazines and Pamphlets

1. Citizen or Mechanic, by Howard Jones, Intercollegian, Sept. 1944.
2. Education for a Free Society, Pamphlet of the International Education Assembly.
3. Education for Improvement of Race Relations, Journal of Negro Education, Summer 1944. (a) Interracial committees, (b) Motion pictures, radio, press, and libraries, (c) The schools.
4. Education for World Citizenship, by I. J. Quillen, Annals, Sept. 1944.
5. Liberal Education after the War, by T. R. Mc Connell, Annals, Jan. 1944.
6. New Needs for Adult Education, E. C. Lindeman, Annals, January 1944.
7. Postwar Political and Social Conditions and Higher Education, by Louis Wirth, Annals, January 1944.
8. Teach Them the Ways of Democracy, by A. D. Stoddard, Annals, September 1944.

Group IV - International Agreements Necessary to Implement Democracy.

1. Lerwin, Lewis, Economic Consequences of the Second World War, Ch. 16 World Democratic Planning, Ch. 18, The U.S. and World Democracy.
2. Shotwell, James: The Great Decision.
3. Welles, Sumner, ~~The Time for Decision~~. An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace.
4. Welles, Sumner, The Time for Decision

Magazines and Pamphlets

1. All recent articles on the Dumbarton Oaks and Quebec conferences.
2. Are We on the Wrong Road to Peace, by Wm. Hard, Readers Digest, Sept. '44.
3. Bretton Woods and After, by Alzada Comstock, Current Hist., Sept. 1944
4. The Future of International Law, by P. E. Corbett, Annals, July 1944.
5. The Great Powers and Europe, by Peter Drucker, Harper's, October 1944.
6. Is the U.S. Working with Democratic Forces in Europe, For. Pol. Bulletin, September 29, 1944.
7. The Japanese Islands: Annexation or Trusteeship, by H. Gilchrist, Flreign Affairs, July 1944.
8. Prefabricating the Peace, by Clark Eichelberger, Survey Graphic, Sept. '44.
9. Role of the Small Nations, by Sidney B. Fay, Current Hist., August 1944.
10. Russia's Postwar Aims, by Jerome Davis, New Republic, Sept. 4, 1944.
11. U.N.R.R.A., by Sidney B. Fay, Current History, July 1944.
12. U.S. Plan for World Security, Current History, August 1944.

Group V - The Church and Social Action

1. Andersen, W. K.: ed., Protestantism.

2. Belfrage, Cedric, A Faith to Free the People.
3. Brown, Wm. A.: A Creed for Free Men, Ch. 11 What the Church Alone Can Supply.
4. Jones, Stanley: The Christ of the American Road.
5. Meyers, James: Do You Know Labor, Ch. 17, The Church and Labor.

Magazines and Pamphlets.

1. The Church and Political Action, by Kermit Eby, Protestant, Sept. '44.
2. The Church and Public Opinion, by L. J. Shafer, International Journal of Religious Education, October 1944.
3. The Church Meets Boomtown Problems, by K. Underwood, Religious Digest, April 1944.
4. The Condition and Task of the Present Day Church, by Emil Brunner, Religion in Life, Spring 1943.
5. Education for Global Brotherhood, by A. F. Hohanson, Religion in Life, Spring 1944.
6. Humans in Bondage, by Lillian Smith, Social Action, Feb. 15, 1944.
7. The Methodist Conception of the Church, by H. F. Rall, Religion in Life, Winter 1943-44.
8. The Ministry of the Church in a Warring World, by A. J. Muste, Religion Digest, January 1944.
9. Preachers and Politics, by J. S. Payton, Religion Digest, October 1944.
10. Protestant Education for Citizenship, by A. P. Womer, Religion Digest, October 194[illegible].
11. A Social Policy for Liberal Religion, by Paul Ramsey, Religion in Life, Autumn 1944.
12. A Soldier Looks at the Church, by Russell Stroup, Harper's, October 1944.
13. Too Few Carpenters, by Koheleth, Protestant, September 1944.
14. We Must Get Into Party Politics, by R. W. Gwinn; and We Must Face Political Issues, by T. B. Keehn, International Journal of Religious Education, October 1944.
15. World Council of Churches and the War Emergency, by H. S. Leiper, Religion in Life, Autumn 1944.

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
November 11-12 - Paine College

Theme: SOCIAL ACTION NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY.

Speakers and Resource Persons

Mr. John Knox of Union Theological Seminary.
Mr. William Y. Bell of the National Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mr. Guy Johnson of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Bureau of Christian Social Relations, Methodist Chruch.
Mr. George S. Mitchell of the Political Action Committee, Atlanta, Ga.
S/Sgt. W. L. Graham of Fort Benning, Georgia.

Advisors

Mr. B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse
Mr. Sam Laird, Emory
Mr. W. B. Stubbs, Emory
Miss Elizabeth Stinson, Wesleyan
Mr. J. W. Brown, Paine
Miss Ruth L. Bartholomew, Paine.

Student Leaders

Miss Ruth Bacone, Paine
Dr. Guy Darnell, Morehouse
Mr. Reese Griffin, Emory
Miss Martha Rumble, Wesleyan
_____, Georgia Tech.

Who will come? At least one, and preferably two students from your college.

What will it cost? $2.50 will pay for your room and meals. There is no other expense.

When will you arrive? Friday afternoon or night, November 10th.

When must we know how many to expect? Not later than November 4th. and earlier if possible, We are crowded this year, and it is absolutely necessary for us to know by November 4th how many will be here, so that we can make plans for housing you.

What will you bring with you? A head full of ideas, a desire to learn from each other, a serious purpose as regards the social problems of our day.

Send your reply to Ruth L. Bartholomew, Paine College, Augusta, Georgia.

The Committee on the Institute: Ruth L. Bartholomew, Chairman
Ruth L. Bacone
Evelyn Hawkins
J. W. Brown
W. L. Buffington
E. D. Bryson

ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
Paine College - Augusta, Georgia

November 11-12, 1944

SCHEDULE

Saturday:

8-9 Registration in Mary Helm Hall.

9-9:30 Worship, led by Miss Vera Regulus.

9:30-10:15 Introduction of the theme and the speaker, Miss Pinckney.

Address: SOCIAL ACTION NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY,
Mr. William Y. Bell of the National Urban League.

10:30-12 Discussion Groups.

Group I: POLITICAL ACTION NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY.
Student leader: Miss Ruth Bacone Resource persons: Mr. W. Y. Bell
Advisor: Prof. J. W. Brown Dr. Guy Johnson

Group II: ECONOMIC ACTION NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY.
Student leader: Guy Darnell Resource person: Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Advisor: Dr. B. R. Brazeal

Group III: EDUCATION NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY
Student leader: ~~Ruth~~, Emory Univ. Resource person: S/Sgt. W. L. Graham
Advisor: ~~Dr. W. B. Stubbs~~ Guy B. Johnson

Group IV: INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY.
Student leader: Miss Sally Veatch Resource person: Dr. John Knox
Advisor: Miss Elizabeth Stinson

Group V: THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL ACTION.
Student leader: Reese Griffin Resource person: Mrs. M. E. Tilly.
Advisor: Mr. Sam Laird

12-1:30 Luncheon and Recess.

1:30-3 Discussion Groups.

3-5 Tea, at Bethlehem Center.

6 Conference Dinner.

8 Panel Discussion in Haygood Hall:
Dr. B. R. Brazeal Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell Miss Elizabeth Stinson
Dr. Guy Johnson Dr. W. B. Stubbs Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Sunday:

9-10:30 Group Reports and Student Expressions, Emory student presiding.

10;30-11 Recess.

11 Worship, led by S/Sgt. W. L. Graham.
SERMON: Dr. John Knox of Union Theological Seminary.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
Paine College - Augusta, Georgia

November 11-12, 1944

OPENING WORSHIP

"Each to Each A Brother Is"

PRELUDE

LEADER: "Would you end the war?
Create great peace....
The peace that demands all of a man,
His love, his life, his veriest self;
Plunge him into the smelting fires of a
work that becomes his child....

"Give him a hard peace; a peace of discipline
and justice....
Kindle him with vision, invite him to joy
and adventure:
Set him to work, not to create THINGS
But to create MEN:
Yea, himself.

"Go search your heart, America....
Turn from the machine to man,
Build while there is yet time, a creative peace....
While there is yet time!....
For if you reject great peace,
As surely as vile living brings disease,
So surely will your selfishness bring war."

HYMN, No. 512: THESE THINGS SHALL BE.

RESPONSIVE READING:

Leader: Let entreaties, prayers, petitions and thanksgiving offered for all men, for emperors and all who are in authority so that we may live tranquil, quiet lives with perfect piety and probity.

People: It is right to do this and it pleases God, our Savior, who wants all men to be saved and to come to know the truth.

Leader: If we say we have fellowship with God and yet live in darkness we are lying and not living the truth. But if we live in the light just as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another and the blood of Jesus, his son, cleanses us from sin.

People: Whoever says I am in the light and yet hates his brother is still in darkness. Whoever loves his brother is always in the light and puts no hindrance in anyone's way.

Leader: But whoever hates his brother is in darkness and is living

in darkness and he does not know where he is going for the darkness has blinded his eyes.

People: Now you must put aside all rage, anger, spite, abusive talk—these must be banished from your lips.

Leader: You must not lie one to another, for you have stripped off your old self with its warp and have put on that new self newly made in the likeness of its Creator.

People: Here, what matters is not "Greek" or "Jew", the circumcised and the uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeborn; but Christ is everything and is one of us all.

Leader: Therefore, brothers, respect those who work with you. Hold them in the highest esteem and affection for what they do. Live at peace with one another.

People: We beg you, brothers warn the idlers, cheer up the despondent, keep hold of the weak, be patient with everybody.

Leader: Take care that none of you ever pays back evil for evil, but always tries to treat one another and everybody with kindness. Always be joyful. Never give up praying. Thank God whatever happens for this is what God through Christ Jesus wants you to do.

People: May our God and Father himself and our Lord Jesus open the way! May the Lord make the love for one another and for all men wide and full.

HYMN: No. 507: IN CHRIST THERE IS NO EAST OR WEST.

MEDITATION:

PRAYER: "God of all nations, We pray for all the peoples of thy earth,
For those who are consumed in mutual hatred and bitterness,
For those who make bloody war upon their neighbors,
For those who tyrannously oppress,
For those who groan under cruelty and subjection.
We pray thee for all those who bear rule and responsibility,
For child races and dying races,
For outcast tribes, the backward and downtrodden,
For the ignorant, wretched, and the enslaved.
We beseech thee, teach mankind to live together in peace,
No man exploiting the weak, no man hating the strong,
Each race working out its own destiny,
Unfettered, self-respecting, fearless.
Teach us to be worthy of freedom,
Free from social wrong, free from individual oppression and contempt,
Pure of heart and hand, despising none, defrauding none,
Giving to all men in all the dealings of life
The honor we owe to those who are thy children,
Whatever their color, their race, or their caste."...Amen."

HYMN: No. 267: RISE UP O MEN OF GOD.

— Democracy — "open door" & equal participation —
* too much specialization
— Educ. losing tax support — ?

Does participation of all guarantee democracy?

Can school teach democracy?
Are we dumping all functions of home & Community on school?

4-20
2.00

ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
PAINE COLLEGE - AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.
November 11-12, 1944

WORSHIP SERVICE
(November 12)

Theme: SPIRITUAL PREPARATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION.

PRELUDE: "Sanctus", by Gounod.

CALL TO WORSHIP: Come into His presence with confession on thy lips:

For daring to call ourselves children of God and living such complacent, inactive, and undynamic lives that God would be ashamed to be called our God:

For our failure to appropriate the love, service, and sacrifices of Jesus Christ in our feeble effort to follow His way of life:

For our national hypocracy in proclaiming that we hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and denying this basic truth in our economic, social, and civic practices:

For our lack of moral courage to defy the crowd and follow that which we know to be the highest and best and like unto God himself who alone is holy.

HYMN: (People standing) No. 6, Cokesbury Hymnal, HOLY, HOLY, HOLY.

CONFESSION: (In unison, people standing).

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness: according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgression.

For I acknowledge my transgressions; and my sin is ever before me.

Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free spirit.

Thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

--Psalm 51.

PRAYER by Miss Gray: (Concluded by chanting Lord's Prayer; People seated).

O God our Hravenly Father, we have prayed "thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth" and gone forth hindering the advancement of thy kingdom with our lips still warm from the words of our

prayer. Forgive our stupidity and spiritual blindness in believing that we could build thy kingdom without including all of thy children. Forgive our lack of concern for the underprivileged of the world---those who labor in industry, in mines, on the farm---those who live in the alleys and slums of our towns and cities---those who through no fault of their own are denied the opportunity to live and work and enjoy all of the rights and privileges of a free people. Forgive, O God, our spiritual shallowness which has prevented the coming of thy kingdom on earth, and grant us grace sufficient to so consecrate ourselves to thee that from this day forward at work or worship we may truly pray: (Lord's Prayer, chanted in unison).

RESPONSIVE READING:

Leader: I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

People: And he arose and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him and had great compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him.

Leader: And the son said unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

People: But the father said to his servants, bring forth the best robe and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet...for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost and is found.

--Luke 15.

In Unison: For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country...But they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God.

---Bebrews 11.

HYMN: (People standing) No. 79, Cokesbury Hymnal, DEAR LORD..

SERMON: Dr. John Knox of Union Theological Seminary.

SOFT MUSIC: GOD OF GRACE AND GOD OF GLORY (People seated,heads bowed)

DEDICATION: (In unison; People seated).

With God in my soul, I will go forth to build a new world;
A world of peace and goodwill,
A world of brotherhood and love,
A world filled with faith and devotion,
BUT I WILL START WITH MYSELF.

--Robinson.

HYMN:(People standing) No. 21, Cokesbury Hymnal, LEAD ON O KING...

BENEDICTION:

POSTLUDE:

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
PAINE COLLEGE - AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

November 11-12, 1944

"Go search your hearts, America;
Turn from the machine to man,
Build while there is yet time, a creative peace,
While there is yet time!
For if you reject great peace,
As surely as vile living brings disease,
So surely will your selfishness bring war."

The above quotation used by Miss Vera Regulus in the opening worship program set the tone for the conference and confirmed the high purpose of those participating. Miss Annie Pinckney of Paine College presided at the first session. She reminded her audience that just ten years ago this fall the Paine Institute on Socio-Religious Affairs had its beginning. She reviewed the social problems discussed and its growth to this its largest conference. She then introduced Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr., who discussed the conference theme, Social Action Necessary to Implement Democracy.

We may have democracy, Mr. Bell said, but we need social action to keep it going. We have had a cynical attitude towards politics and a low estimate of politicians. This is a pity, for politics is the machinery which keeps the government moving. We should be serious about this matter and about our vote, for the ballot keeps the political machine moving. The poll tax has been a great handicap. Often those elected actually represented no more than three per cent of the people. Because of the small number voting, politicians have built a tight machine which gets a strangle hold on the community. However, there is an awakened interest in the ballot. P.A.C has shown that more people will carefully look over a candidate before electing him, and will insist on more social legislation. In the field of political action, we should consider the following issues:

1. What part should labor take in politics?
2. Is the constitution too sacred to be revised?
3. Should county government be abolished?
4. Should progressive groups lobby?
5. How can young people influence political action?

There is also much need for action in the economic sphere. In 1929 there was a national income sufficient to provide $3,200 for each family, and we were producing at less than three-fourths of our capacity. Why did we have a depression when the country had the same amount of money and goods as in the previous year? Stuart Chase has said that what is physically possible is financially possible, but we will not achieve a stable economy without national planning. Why should men who would not think of conducting their businesses without the most detailed plans object to planning on a national scale? We must study the effect of the economic pattern on the whole community, its schools and churches as well as its housing and health. Shall we revert to free private enterprise, and is it free enterprise when a few companies control all of one industry in the nation? Should our economic life be for profit or

for service? Even in this war when we were all called upon to sacrifice, many big industrialists would not produce for the army and navy except at a high profit.

The South has a high birth rate and a low income. This means more children to educate and less to do it on. It also means the more aggressive and capable go North or West for better jobs and do not repay the state for their schooling. The many one-room schools, the poorly paid teachers, keep our general educational level low.

We can not be indifferent to the international agreements now being made, for they will affect our domestic lives. We must guard against being entangled in words. To approve the spirit and not scrutinize the terms is to write a blank check. The suggestions coming from the Dunbarton Oaks conference give too much power to big nations. How can we have the power necessary to guarantee security and yet avoid the undemocratic domination of a few? Shall peace be written secretly? Shall a representative of the United States be given power to act without Congressional check?

The church has initiated social action in the past and does today. The church began our hospitals, our schools, our crafts. Today it has restated the social gospel found in the Old and New Testaments in our social creed of the churches, but this creed is threatened or ignored by those who cling to certain narrow theological concepts and say the church is not of this world. We must be concerned with the church's diminishing leadership and with the question of who is to dominate the church.

In all our discussions we should keep in mind certain basic concepts:

1. Each individual is a member of the group and shares in what the group does and has;
2. We are not self made, and we must return something to the group;
3. We are the government;
4. When I rise it is not from the masses but with the masses;
5. We either sin by accepting injustice to others or suffer by becoming the victim of this injustice, there is no middle ground;
6. God is the father of us all and we are brothers.

This session was dismissed and all went to their various groups. At a later meeting the groups reported their findings.

Group I: <u>Political Action Necessary to Implement Democracy</u>.

Leader: Ruth Bacone Advisor: Mr. J. W. Brown.
Secretary: Evelyn Hawkins Resource Person: Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr.

We choose democracy as a way of life because it gives us a greater voice in the government, because we believe it to be the best form of government, because it usually is for peace rather than war, because it recognizes as its aim the greatest good for

the greatest number. America has the framework for democracy in her public documents. Action is the one thing needed. The foes of democracy are:

1. Exploitation of the underprivileged;
2. Prejudice which refuses to extend the benefits of government to all and which imposes the poll tax and continues the white primary;
3. A loyalty to one group which excludes others and results in segregation and snobbery;
4. A manipulation of public policies by private interests for their own selfish advancement;
5. A lack of civic education and the resulting indifference to the ballot or the desire to conform rather than vote one's convictions.

We need leaders who place public welfare above private interest and who consider public office an honor. We ourselves need to assume the responsibilities of democratic government, to inform ourselves on how the government functions, on voting qualifications, on the records of our elected representatives, and on other issues as they present themselves. We must then inform others, and we must register and vote. We should let our Congressmen know what we want. Above all we must learn to discriminate between bad and good.

Group II: Economic Action Necessary to Implement Democracy.

Leader: Guy Darnell Advisor: Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Secretary: Maggie J. Young Resource Person: Dr. George S. Mitchell

One of the greatest post-war problems will be full employment. If we are to avoid trouble, we must have unbiased planning for all our economic life and for a long time ahead. While much of this planning must be done by business men and industrial leaders, it must be by those who have a clear insight into the needs of men and who have service for a motive. Planning must come from the people and not be imposed from above. Also to have full employment, we must have a certain amount of government intervention. Profits can be guaranteed those firms which produce what the people need, and the present government owned factories can be maintained and run for the good of the people. The opposition of big business to certain government controls must be overcome. There will be room for private enterprise that is willing to take risk and will make service rather than profit its motive. Labor organization is a good thing because it protects the worker, and the employer too when he will cooperate, because it works for greater efficiency, and because it breaks down racial barriers and raises economic standards for the lowest wage groups. Labor should have a voice in politics, and P.A.C. should be supported as long as it keeps the general good of all the people as its aim.

Group III: Education Necessary to Implement Democracy.

Leader: Warren Firth Advisor: Dr. Guy Johnson.
Secretary: Helen M. Walker Resource Person: S/Sgt. W. L. Graham

Education is a process of enlightenment and learning which goes beyond formal schooling and extends through all life. Education should improve personality, enable the individual to get and hold

a job, outfit him for citizenship, broaden his general outlook and especially his ability to get along with people, and help him to understand the world. Our present educational system does not sufficiently develop basic attitudes nor a broad vision. It does not teach democratic processes, not properly train people for public office and civic duty. Education can be used to implement democracy. In the schools democracy can be taught and practiced much more than it is now. Outside the school we should continue education for both the literate and the illiterate, using the radio, the press, and the church. We should press for federal aid so that there may be equal educational opportunities for all. We should educate to obtain better health, social justice, good international government, and Christian fellowship.

Group IV: International Agreements Necessary to Implement Democracy

Leader: Peggy Worley
Secretary: Virginia Carleton
Advisor: Miss Elizabeth Stinson
Resource Person: Dr. John Knox

When international agreements are made, they should be flexible enough for progress and should be revised at regular intervals. We should have an international organization that will represent all nations, and under which small nations are allowed to govern themselves and develop their economic resources. Colonies taken from the defeated or liberated countries should eventually have self government; but until ready for that they should be mandated, not to some other country, but to the international government, which should strengthen their trade and economic life. Though we hope for eventual voluntary disarmament, we must for some time have a quick striking military force under the direction of the international government.

Group V: The Church and Social Action

Leader: Reese Griffin
Secretary: Carolyn Brown
Advisor: Mr. Sam Laird
Resource Person: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Social action is that which brings all areas of life into harmony with the life of Jesus Christ. Certainly this is the work of the church, but we are the church; and instead of blaming someone else, we should blame ourselves until we do something about the matter. The church must support the social action advocated by the other groups. It can do this through forum discussions; by taking groups to industries and labor meetings or to poor sections of the city; through summer camps, caravans or work groups; through drama; by urging fellow churchmen to write their Congressmen on political issues; by sponsoring or cooperating in community projects; by acting as a pressure group for needed legislation. But we must start with the church, all too often guilty of the sins it decries, and our own community. We cannot have justice in a world order unless we have justice in our community. If the rule of love is to find expression among the nations in their dealings with one another, it must work up from the neighborhoods that make up the nation.

Panel Discussion

On Saturday evening a panel led by Dr. Brazeal presented some facts and questions bearing on the general theme.

Mr. Bell: We recognize that politics is a highly organized affair. One election can cost $25,000,000. There is no reason then why labor and similar groups should not organize to arouse an intelligent interest in the issues and secure social legislation. Everyone has the obligation to register and vote.

Dr. Mitchell. The issue is free uncontrolled enterprise versus a planned and controlled economic life. The past election has clinched the argument for the latter. The greatest problem is to secure the loyal services of the technical experts and skilled craftsmen.

Dr. Johnson: Education is a basic tool, but many people in this country do not possess it. In Mississippi 48% of the Negroes and 15% to 20% of the whites had less than a fifth grade education. These people do not read papers nor listen to informative programs on the radio. How can they be taught democracy? The South is poor, but it has many unused resources. We could do much better with what we have.

Dr. Baldwin. There should be some immediate plan for consultation of nations. Eventually all small countries should have self government if they want it, but they may need to pass through a period of being mandated. We must educate people away from the idea that nations need colonies. Free trade should be substituted. The military arm of our new world government should probably be an air force.

Mrs. Tilly. If it is the function of the church to minister to the spirit, it must minister to the body also, unless it confines itself to singing the funeral dirge. The church is the congregation of the saints on earth. We are these saints. Let us blame ourselves until we have bent every effort to correct the undemocratic evils within the church as well as those outside.

Question. How can we do away with the poll tax?
Mr. Bell. Either by action of each state, by some kind of federal legislation, or by a constitutional amendment. The last is more difficult; it is better to try the first two.
Dr. Mitchell: The best way is to make such a fuss in Congress that the states will become ashamed and repeal their laws.

Question: Must we not have some commitment as to how an international police force would be used?
Dr. Baldwin. Unfortunately we are already committed to conditions which deny the ideals of the Atlantic Charter. The most we can hope for is an international government which will provide for improvement and modification.

Question: If given a free hand, how would Dr. Johnson improve the public schools of the thirteen southern states?
Dr. Johnson: He would get federal aid, raise the teachers' salaries, and get better teachers.

Dr. Mitchell. He would keep everyone in school or in part time technical training until he was twenty-one.
Dr. Brazeal. He would be more concerned with the ideas taught.

Question. How can we unite with a country like Russia whose political theories we do not approve?
Dr. Baldwin. We must find some common basis of interest, and we have many. We have had no trouble in uniting for war, why not for peace?

Question. How can we give nations self government and yet insist on extending our democracy?
Dr. Baldwin. We must not try to extend our democracy where it is not wanted.

Question. How about having a school for politicians?
Mr. Bell. We do have many excellent schools of politics and good men trained in them. It is the duty of the electorate to see that these men get in office and stay there.

Sunday Morning

On Sunday morning at nine o'clock the conference again met in one session, Emory Via of Emory presiding. The secretaries of each of the five groups gave their findings and the committee on registration reported. The meeting was thrown open for general discussion. First the group proposed having a paper in which the colleges could report their various activities and projects along the same lines as those of the Institute. A motion to this effect was carried, and a representative of each school was asked to meet with Miss Bartholomew and settle on details. Then a number of students gave their reaction to the conference.

Gammon. This conference is helping us who are truly building for the future. Christianity should mean something more than we are already doing, something added on.

Morehouse. Students must get away from the more trivial aspects of college life and emphasize those things which are important, such as voting and interracial cooperation.

Paine. This conference shows how we can fight on the home front even if we are not in defense industry. The moral fight is the most important.

Clark. Society is made up of individuals just like us. We must do our part and influence others to do their part.

South Carolina State. She has attended other interracial conferences, but this one is different. The others seemed like a dream; this is reality.

Paine. This is her fourth time to attend the Institute. At the three other meetings she always remained a little doubtful as to the genuine interest of the white students attending, but now she believes in their sincerity and is determined to work for better relations.

Wesleyan. This is her first conference at Paine College and the first time to experience a sort of peace she had always longed for. She feels the peace here because there is a completely democratic spirit, a true bond of brotherhood.

Morehouse. He feels unhappy because this has been a mountain top experience and he will have to go back into a cold contentious world. The fellowship here, the seeing of individuals as members of a family, and not as members of a race, is not universal. We must try to make it so, and the inspiration of the conference will help.

Emory. This is the highest mountain top experience he has ever known, but he is not despondent as he goes back down into the world. He loves a good fight, a hard struggle, and he believes we can do all things through Christ who strengthens us.

Albany State. This is the first meeting of this kind she has ever attended, and she is deeply impressed. Never before has she seen such real brotherly love. She is determined, as she goes into a rural community to teach, to work for better racial understanding.

Emory. We knew all this theoretically before we came here. Now we know it in our hearts. People will think us queer. We must be thought queer if we are truly Christian.

LaGrange. Some of their fellow students thought them queer to attend a conference with Negroes. Now they have been confirmed in their convictions that they can be friends with and work with Negroes. They can go back and tell what they know from experience. She is so impressed with the optimism and fine spirit all the Negroes show.

Fort Valley. She will be a better citizen because of this meeting.

Morris Brown. He is greatly impressed by a college which recognizes that education means more than learning from books. It means learning from life.

Spelman. The conference has inspired her to do more.

Y.W.C.A. She gained most from the singing at the dinner. There she felt most strongly the complete unity of youthful spirit. Let us have no antagonism but make this spirit prevail throughout the world.

Clark. She intends to come every year and make her experience count on the campus.

Y.W.C.A. Friends mean much to her, so the informal meeting, the eating, living, and singing together have been a joyous experience.

LaGrange. To her the high spot of the conference was the jam session with a group of girls in Epworth Hall that lasted until one a.m. It was just like a session in her college dormitory. They talked about the same things. She has learned in her heart, and she is so full of enthusiasm she will surely do something on her campus.

Wesleyan. She had been to interracial conferences where they sat and talked, but never to any meeting like this. This is reality. All that opposes this way of life is superficial.

Emory. He likes the natural, normal atmosphere. When we return to our campuses, we must check our own experiences here and see their full significance. Then later we must check on what we have done.

As the time was up, Emory Via closed the meeting with a prayer.

The final session of the conference opened with the prelude, Gounod's Sanctus. Mr. W. L. Graham led the audience in worship around the theme, Spiritual Preparation for Social Action. After acknowledging their sins of complacency and indifference, the audience prayed to be forgiven their hypocrisy and spiritual blindness, and to be given courage to defy the crowd and follow what they know is highest and best.

Dr. Knox began by quoting Dr. Whitehead's definition of culture as activity of thought, sensitiveness to beauty, and humane feeling. He would agree with St. Paul that the last of these is most important. The highest end of human good, however stated, always means "the greatest of these is love."

This age has known a revival of cruelty. Such desolation has been wrought in the world that only those partially callous can bear to live at all. High organization in the economic world has forced people into poverty. Tightened class lines divide the nation. Racial hatred raises its head in the politest company. Never has humane feeling stood in more deadly peril. To some love would not be love were they not willing to oppose with arms the forces who would extinguish it. To others love would not be love if they used instruments of destruction. But soldier and pacifist must agree that their one aim is to preserve and extend that humane feeling which undergirds all good.

A person who has humane feeling will be truly catholic. He will recognize that each individual and group has a contribution to make. He will see clearly that racial and class lines do not constitute barriers, though prejudice would make them seem so. He will have no snobbery, no cruelty. He will set his face against injustice in high and low places, and he would rather die than condone falsity.

We already love our neighbors as ourselves, but we must determine what we esteem in ourselves, for that is what we value in others. If we think of ourselves as members of a class or group, then we will think so of others. If we think of ourselves as human beings, there is no end to the good we can do.

We are inheritors of the Hebrew tradition. The supremely important thing about each of us is the relation in which he stands to God. If we have forgotten this, we have left our religious tradition and joined the secular forces which threaten to overwhelm the world. When we consider our relation to God the supreme part of our lives, then we think first of others in their relation to God. God cares nothing for the American, German, Nordic, or Negro; he cares for us as men. His llve for me is no greater than his love for

others, and he loves in me what he sees in all others. That God is father of us all seems a truism, but it is the most revolutionary statement ever made. Jesus suffered for all. His "Father forgive them" shows an attainment of the highest spirit, and his "for they know not what they do" shows the greatest insight into human weakness.

We are more than inheritors of the Hebrew tradition; we are Christians. The significance of our lives lies in what heppened in Palestine years past. How wonderful that he who lived so long ago can be so real to us today. No one else has ever had such a hold on the hearts of men. Others have been equally worshipped, but not so loved. His courage, his suffering, his ardor, for high purposes, his sympathy, make us love and follow him. Jesus the Jew and man judges us today. But he is more than man. His followers saw in his death a strange divine event, a new and great revelation of God. After this the world could never be the same. He had fellowship with his disciples after his death, and still does today. In his love we can not have prejudice.

This universalism may seem remote from our life today, but this is not true. The perfect world must wait, but the better world can come. War has engulfed the world; more wars may come. We would not mitigate the darkness around us, but out of it must come a world of less prejudice and less division. If it is our destiny to spend all our days in battle with no chance to build the foundations of a new order, we must not fail to keep the hope of a better world flaming in our hearts and to pass on this hope to our children after us.

Registration Statistics

Seventeen colleges and ten other organizations were represented by adults and students as follows:

Out of town participants:	Adults	20
	Students	43
Paine College:	Adults	8
	Students	52
	Total	123

The Proposed Paper

The students meeting with Miss Bartholomew agreed upon a paper to report the activities on their campus that promote interracial understanding and good will. There will be four issues of this paper during the nine months school term. It will be a mimeographed sheet. Subscribers will bear the expense and will mail in material by a set date. This material will be edited and published at Paine.

We shall need a hundred copies to meet the requests made by students. This report constitutes the first number and will be paid for either by Mr. Graham or by Paine. Material for the next issues should reach Paine by January 15, March 1, May 1.

We have estimated that the cost per copy will be around five cents. That will make fifteen cents for the three numbers. Please multiply this amount by the number of copies you asked for and send the money with your news items for the next issue.

This paper must have a name. Here are a few suggestions. Please say which one you like best or make another suggestion.

Ideals in Practice

Brothers

Understanding

Of One Blood (Acts 17:26)

No More Strangers (Eph. 2:19)

Fellow Citizens With the Saints (Eph. 2:19)

Paine College
Conference

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

December 5, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have finally completed the report of the conference and have mailed you a copy.

May I say once again how grateful we are to you for giving us your time and your valuable help. We could not carry on our Institute if it were not for the good people who are so genuinely interested that they come to us without remuneration.

We appreciate very much your kind words commending the conference. We hope you will be able to attend next year.

Yours sincerely,

Ruth L. Bartholomew

Ruth L. Bartholomew

NEWS RELEASE

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FOR RELEASE:

FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1966

A report on racial tensions in the South, issued jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, warned here today that continued "white lawlessness" could trigger "retaliatory violence" from Negro Southerners.

The main hope of avoiding such violence, the report concluded, is for "the realization of promises and potential" for Negro Southerners to be speeded.

The report noted that there are forces at work encouraging race relations in the South representative of the American ideal, more so than ever before. "The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here."

Besides documenting white lawlessness, the report touched on several other factors affecting Negroes that are creating an ominous situation in the South: inadequate federal enforcement of civil rights legislation, and disillusionment caused by this; poverty; and a new psychological state of Negro Americans generally -- their increasing impatience with anything less than full citizenship.

The report disclosed that following the start of "peaceful" desegregation in the South in September, 1965, ten killings and "uncounted" beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings were recorded in the six-month period through the end of February. It makes the point that such violence has not ended in the South; if anything, it intensified during the period.

Titled The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South, the report was released simultaneously in Atlanta, Georgia, at the headquarters of the Southern Regional

Council, and in Washington during the eve of the American Jewish Committee's 60th anniversary Annual Meeting. Formal sessions of the four-day Annual Meeting, which is being attended by hundreds of members from all over the United States, got under way Thursday at the Shoreham Hotel.

The study consists of a listing of instances of violence, intimidation, and reprisal against Negroes from September, 1965, through February, 1966, and a narrative discussion of the implications. The study was based on reports and resources of the American Jewish Committee and Southern Regional Council, newspaper clippings, and reports of other organizations. The listing of violent incidents does not, of course, include all that might have occurred; many never are reported outside where they occur.

Americans around the country, the report pointed out, have been "deluded" about the facts of southern school integration and the reprisals that have followed in the wake of voting registration drives to implement the Voting Rights Law of 1965. The assumption that "federal money and southern honor" would carry the day for peaceful acceptance of the law has not been borne out.

The report charged that only token school integration thus far had been achieved in the South, with between 5 and 6 per cent of the South's 3,014,025 Negro children of school age now attending classes with whites, and that the parents of the relatively few Negro children who do attend white schools often have been victims of violence and of economic pressures that cost them their jobs and their homes.

Further, according to the report, many Negroes who register to vote or who attempt to send their children to white schools are beaten, lose their jobs, or are evicted from their homes.

Hope was expressed that the tightening of federal desegregation guidelines and better enforcement would improve the situation in schools next fall. Similarly, pending federal legislation to improve the administration of southern justice and the increased participation of Negroes in political processes were cited as hopeful factors. But underlying factors of discontent and turmoil, the report said, need more attention.

The war on poverty in many instances has proven ineffectual

in providing aid for poor Negro Southerners, including those out of work because they tried to exercise their constitutional rights.

As an example, the report points to the tent cities put up in Washington County, Mississippi, to house Negroes: "In the coldest winter in Delta memory, people huddled inside the tents unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times food got tangled up in red tape, and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness."

In some states, the report continued, aid to poor Negroes has been blocked by public officials. For example, in Washington County, Mississippi, where a great number of Negroes are off the land and out of work, the Board of Supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because, in the words of a local newspaper, "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

The concept of federal help contributes to tensions. Referring to the southern white, the report stated: "He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this."

In many ways, the report continued, "the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the Revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life."

Alabama, Mississippi, north and Delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia are pinpointed as areas of much recent and past violence. It is "an illusion," the report declared, to regard recent hard-core, violent intimidation and reprisal against Negroes as characteristic of all the former states of the Confederacy. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South -- Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina

and Virginia -- are usually "isolated incidents," rather than concerted campaigns of terrorism.

Negro anger, the report stated, has spread from the city slums to the middle class. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones to be benefitted even in part thus far by federal civil rights legislation, "have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow."

"There is a new awareness," the report went on, "that even the first 'easy' gains -- simply peeling off the old, dead layers of institutionalized prejudice -- took ten years. To struggle so long to buy tokenism has at last worn patience thin."

In addition, the report stated, middle class Negro politicians are becoming increasingly aware of race consciousness on the part of their overwhelmingly poor constituencies. Typical of this new attitude in southern politics is that of a conservative Negro alderman recently elected in Atlanta, who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the South will no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper-class-white alliance that assures control by whites. This official speculated that an undiluted Negro city vote could give Negroes control of such vital services as electric power and water that could be used as a lever in the fight for power.

Such attitudes, the report related, are widespread, and eventually all levels of government will have to deal realistically with this "new determination to negotiate from strength rather than the old appeal to white conscience."

Violence against the Negroes, the report continued, takes place largely in rural areas, where the white man often has a "real personal grudge" against Negroes of his own locale that is even stronger than his feelings against demonstrators in city streets. Discussing the rural white and his reaction to Negroes he knows, the report stated: "For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, he feels contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort."

Yet the reaction to such violence against rural Negroes is

now also being felt in the cities more keenly than ever before: "Now a 'civil rights assassin' who gets off with a stern reprimand by a judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread reprisal by Negroes in city slums."

The report urged the need for white leadership in the South to deal effectively with this new Negro militancy and anger. It stated: "In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slum; it has, through 'welfare,' paid Negroes to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight.

"If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they would have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc-voting, and, above all, work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. If they would do this, city government would have no choice but to deal realistically with the <u>causes</u> of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators."

The report asserted that "little actual headway" could be made until Negroes in the South were less vulnerable economically and thus less subject to methods of intimidation. There is "an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty-stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But a loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating."

Seeking to put the situation in the South in perspective as to place and time, the report related the South's "dilemma" to a world-wide pattern: "in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status-quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America -- all fostered by industrialization creating 'haves' in cities, by-passing 'have-nots' on the land."

The report recalled that in 1960 a similar report, prepared jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends

Service Committee, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ and described the violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. "With the same sense of sadness and urgency," today's survey from the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee stated, "this report continues the same story -- with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue."

Throughout accounts of violence on the part of the white South, the report found "a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination -- and a warning: 'I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough.'"

The anger of the Negroes is not new, the report pointed out, nor is the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. "The most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace."

"Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new," the report concluded. "That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded -- this seems about the only hope."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is a pioneer human relations agency in this country combatting bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing the cause of human rights for all.

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THE CON-TINUING CRISIS

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

MAY 1966

RARE
COPY

THE CONTINUING CRISIS: AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

The Southern Regional Council
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
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May, 1966

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INTRODUCTION

IN 1960, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Affairs, National Council of the Churches of Christ, published a report on five years of violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court school decision, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Since then, the Council and others have continued to record and report this most disgraceful aspect of the South's struggle to overcome its worst mistakes. With the same sense of sadness and urgency, this report continues the story—with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue.

Assistance of the American Friends Service Committee in preparation of research materials for this report is acknowledged. Research and writing of the project was by Mrs. Glenda Bartley of the Southern Regional Council research staff.

The following paragraph from the 1960 report is fully applicable to the situation six years later:

> *Finally, this is not a comprehensive survey of southern reactions . . . It describes only their angry, violent side. Another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage, and good will by both Negroes and whites. Though this aspect of the South is not in view in the report, it is an authentic and undimmed face of the South, to which each of the sponsoring agencies has paid tribute more than once. But we feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record that follows—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility.*

PART I

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

As Negro children began what some newspapers termed "massive" integration of southern public schools in September, 1965, the nation was surprised that Southerners accepted the change in a peaceful manner. The truth is that conditions in the South were neither integrated nor peaceful. Between five and six per cent of the region's 3,014,025 Negro school-age children attended classes with whites, and often these children and their parents paid a very high price for the experience. Men and women who were already desperately poor were evicted from sharecropper's cabins or tenant farms. Many without the training for good jobs lost the meager ones they had held for years. Some were beaten and shot at. Others saw their children abused and imprisoned. Yet the headlines continued to reassure the nation that "School Integration Continues to Spread Quietly Across the South."

There are several reasons for the nation's misunderstanding of the South's condition.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 indicated to many whites that the Negro's problem was now largely solved and, with restrictions barring him from participation in American life removed, he would disappear into the mainstream and quit pestering their consciences.

Immediate effects of the 1964 law were felt only in the area of public accommodations, giving middle class Negroes access to peripheral trappings of the white man's world, which were at best merely a symbol of the law's intent. The fall and winter of 1964 confirmed the fact that many urban and some rural public accommodations were desegregated.

Then, in the spring of 1965 the Office of Education announced plans to bring southern schools into compliance with the law. Virtually all districts filed plans with the federal bureau stating that various grades were open to both races, usually on a "freedom of choice" basis. Somehow the fact that in the immediate past cities had submitted to token integration only after lengthy court battles was overlooked, and it was assumed that federal money and southern honor would do the trick in the small towns and country areas.

So, when school opened in the fall, little communities like Ruby, South Carolina, which completely desegregated all twelve grades, and Philadelphia, Mississippi, which admitted a few Negro children without a riot, received national attention. The impression was false and the apathy was national, not southern. The old patterns of resistance were still being employed; wherever weakness was found in federal enforcement it would be exploited.

Soon, the federal government discovered that freedom of choice in

many communities was a cruel misnomer. Negro parents who filled out transfer forms for their children (from which the Office of Education deduced the number of children in desegregated schools) often changed their minds. In many cases schools reported peacefully desegregated on the first day of classes had only a fraction of the children who had signed letters of intent—usually because the superintendent had advised Negro parents to keep their children home or send them to the Negro school until any possibility of trouble abated. Once school opened "without incident" the matter was no longer "news." Many people subjected to violence, intimidation, or economic reprisal live in isolated rural areas or small communities, and the "news" did not get out. It spoke its own language, however, to the local Negroes.

Rationale of Retaliation

At the same time the nation was deluding itself about southern school desegregation, it was ignoring the economic and occasionally violent reprisals which followed in the wake of voter registration drives.

The Voting Rights Law of 1965 was the first supplement to the Civil Rights Act. Again, once the law was passed, it seemed the issue was settled. Law created fact, and all those people for whom the Selma march spoke would now be citizens. That hundreds of people in Black Belt counties in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were out of work or off the land because they registered to vote was hardly noticed. The deeper implications of joblessness, poverty, and frustration attached to this evidence of economic dependence were largely ignored.

The nation also has regarded violence as a characteristic of all the former Confederate states. This is an illusion. Violence has for several years been largely confined to the Deep South, and there generally to Alabama, Mississippi, north and delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, have been isolated incidents and not a manifestation of organized resistance. Though cities like Birmingham are hardly distinguishable from the surrounding countryside, the hard-core violent resistance areas are largely rural.

Here registrars know the Negroes who try to register and the jobs they hold on the plantations they "belong" to. A superintendent knows the mother hopefully filling out a transfer form for her child is a maid in the house just down the street. There also is, as one Mississippian put it, the "lack of a public sector"—a place where both races have traditionally met in an impersonal manner. In cities the buses may have had segregated seating customs but Negro and white at least rode on the same bus bound for destinations unknown to each other. The city affords (and in the

case of the Negro, demands) anonymity. In the small town and rural areas, any contact between the races is a personal one, and so more painful when one tries to change patterns.

Perhaps this partially explains the real personal grudge many rural whites have against Negroes. It is not just against those who are, for reasons unknown to whites, out in the streets demonstrating for what they choose to call freedom, but against those who aren't. For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, they feel contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort. So there is no foundation of respect, anywhere. Along with this is the feeling on the part of the white man that he is trapped, just as the Negro is trapped, in a situation over which he has no control. He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this.

Having swapped the ballot for racial shibboleths, he sees democracy once again passing him by; this time as a vehicle for the very people he sacrificed so much to "keep down." Feeling beleaguered, cornered, and contemptuous, such whites permitted or abetted continued efforts to use legal, economic, and ultimately, violent methods of denying a whole people self-respect.

Plight of the Poor

Heightening the frustrations of all the rural South is the fact that cotton continues to decline as a significant portion of agricultural production. Again the peripheral South is different, having already begun to diversify its farm production and move toward industrialization in the 1940's. The Deep South—Black Belt Alabama and the Mississippi Delta particularly—have been much slower in abandoning cotton. Yet here, too, unmarketable short staple cotton and curtailed allotments, cattle, pine trees—along with mechanization have pushed people off the land. As a single staple economy wrenches itself toward a mature, diversified one, the need for unskilled labor sharply increased.

In the traditional sense these people are beyond the definition of cybernation—men and women whose one skill is bending over a hoe or a cotton stalk, who have been trained in this capacity since childhood, whose schools close in planting and pickin' time to resume in "slack" seasons. They themselves are products of the plantation system—of a feudalism that transcends the old manorial concept and becomes almost a familial relationship, with the plantation manager, the Man, a patriarch. That this patriarch might be benign and allow his docile children to remain on the land long

after their usefulness has gone is often true. But once they threaten his dominion, he punishes them simply by removing them, cutting them off from their inheritance, which is the land, the hoe, and the cotton stalk.

Many of the disinherited are like the 82-year-old man whose mother was born a slave on the Wilcox County farm he was forced to leave. In his new home without water or light, he will live by "growing some corn." In West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, a woman, blind, crippled, born a slave, will live in a shanty with relatives. Another man and his wife, living on $33 a month social security, are homeless after registering to vote. Driven off the land they had farmed for decades, these people's resolve was best expressed in one old woman's pathetically stubborn defiance: "Our only sin was wanting to be citizens . . . . Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

Retaliation against younger families began in September and usually hinged on their attempts to exercise "freedom of choice" in school desegregation. During October, November, and December the cause was voter registration. The crops were in and the people, old men and women, young families, had to go.

A family in Bolivar County, Mississippi, which had always increased its cash yield by following the mechanical cotton picker to glean what it missed, watched the "picker" drag a disc, plowing their cotton under. The truck which used to pick women up to take them to the fields "didn't stop at their houses any more." Men who had held jobs for over ten years suddenly were demoted or fired. A man lost his job with the Alabama Power Company after enrolling his child in a "desegregated" school; the county was holding up his unemployment check. A Thomas County, Georgia, man lost his job and his land after transferring his children to a "white" school. Women lost their jobs as domestics and their husbands could no longer find work as handymen. Many, like an evicted sharecropper who said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working," forfeited their livelihoods for their challenge to paternalism.

All over the old recalcitrant part of the South families lost their land and their homes for registering to vote or for transferring their children. More than a hundred families in Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, Alabama, at least a hundred people in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, and uncounted numbers of families in Bolivar, Issaquena, Sharkey, and Washington Counties, Mississippi, were put off the land. Though many of these evictions were punitive, reduced acreage allotments under the Agricultural Act of 1965 were to take a far greater toll. An estimated 4,706 seasonal workers in the Mississippi Delta alone would not be needed in 1966. These

people will join the already staggering number of unemployed in the state. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in December, 1965, stated that "the Mississippi welfare agency estimates that as many as 500,000 more needy persons will be added to the regular winter case load of about 300,000." Mississippi's total population is only 2,178,174. That 800,000 (or 36.7%) of this number were scheduled to receive some form of public assistance indicated the magnitude of the problem.

Tent cities in Issaquena and Washington Counties in the Delta and in Lowndes County, Alabama, housed the dispossessed. In one of the coldest winters in Delta memory people huddled inside the tents, unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times the food got tangled in red tape and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness.

Secretary Freeman had assured the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches that money would be available "soon" for Operation Help (an experimental commodities program set up under contract between state officials, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Agriculture).

A spokesman for inhabitants of a tent city near Tribbett, Mississippi, recounted more than a year's frustrating efforts to get commodities distributed to additional poverty-stricken people in the state. Each time a private organization within a county offered to finance and staff distribution centers for the food, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. Immediately after the state bureau set up a commodity program in one such county the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another, the Food Stamp program was substituted. Food stamps must be purchased; a dollar stamp will buy six dollars worth of food (the figure represents the national average); so the very poor were not helped at all by the program. Finally a state-wide plan was initiated under which the Welfare Department was to get 24 million dollars worth of additional commodities from the Agriculture Department and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute food to 500,000 people for six months.

In the old system conditions under which vital food commodities were distributed, when they were distributed, were described by a Delta woman:

> "To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they

don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

In many rural areas county welfare or other administrative boards have refused to accept federal food and money. In Washington County, Mississippi, where the greatest number of people are off the land and out of work, the board of supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because (in the words of a Delta newspaper) "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Earlier in that county, in desperation, a group of about 50 of the dispossessed had left their tents and taken up residence briefly in an abandoned air base near Greenville. This adroit demonstration brought the nation's attention at last to the plight of Mississippi's poor Negroes generally, or at least to the surface of their problems.

The federal government responded in its traditional manner—by, as a spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity's Rural Task Force said, "putting the problem in the same category with Watts, trying to head off trouble." It undertook a labor survey in the Delta and activated the long-promised, dormant 25.6 million dollar surplus program in the state, "the most massive food distribution program since the depression." If the commodities program were stop-gap, presaging more constructive action, it would be welcome relief. But there was the impression that thirty years after the depression, federal remedies for hunger and broken lives and hopelessness had not changed. People who needed the best, most imaginative programs society could muster still got commodities—subsistence—"the dole."

There was not much chance that such palliatives could do more than keep the mass of people alive while buying off moderate leadership. Caesar's old desire for fat folks around him had not changed.

As a matter of policy the poverty program brings together in local administrative agencies whites and Negroes of all classes. While this is perhaps a noble blueprint intention, it has the effect in such a state as Mississippi of putting intransigent whites in a position to block the kind of change which the program is designed to facilitate.

The poverty program had indicated a shift in emphasis on the part of the federal government toward solutions to the fundamental problem of dependence, of economic vulnerability. It came before massive demonstrations demanded it. But it has not as yet reached those who most desperately need it, and its effect has been in all too many instances one of heightening frustrations. This adds another dimension to the problem of government's role in the Negro's struggle: In the event of massive protest or outright riots

by poor people the government's traditional approach of enacting a law that answers the surface needs and quiets the protesters will be less easy, since such a law already exists. So again—the need for strong enforcement and implementation is at the crux of the problem. A reappraisal of this essential aspect of government programs as they affect the Negro community is vital if the nation is to have an answer for outbursts such as Watts which seem almost inevitable in the immediate future.

The poverty program had promised to do more than "dole"—to allow poor people themselves to launch an attack on poverty by means of increasing their own training and exposing themselves to at least a smattering of middle class culture and values. Yet it has failed in many instances to provide even the stop-gap measures such as commodities to fill immediate needs of those who are desperately poor. Its effect was to deepen the disillusionment of people like those in Mississippi who said:

> "You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin' but needs . . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples. We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration [at the Greenville air base]. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

> "I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.
> "We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

Self-Help

To a few, "building for ourselves" had gone beyond the immediacy of a tent city to establishment of cooperatives aimed at breaking the chains of economic dependence. Cooperatives, producing everything from candles to furniture, handbags, quilts and clothing, faced many difficulties. Tools, teachers, and money were badly needed. Without capital, and long-term capital at that, most cooperatives were doomed. Outlets for products were hard to find; often they were either "sympathy" markets which are quickly exhausted or sophisticated ones that require a broad financial base for

participation. Cooperatives which foster communal arrangements run the risk of becoming another Koinonia (an integrated communal farm in south Georgia which was under siege for several years). The co-ops held out hope for a way to those desperately in need of it and so were in danger of increasing bitterness and frustration if the effort failed.

At the same time, they also fostered a spirit of organization that does not die with the failure.

Self-respect on the part of Negroes is at the heart of all efforts to improve their status within the community and the nation. For people who have lost all hope and confidence (and this would include many whose pathetically small educational experience has stifled verbalization rather than enhanced it) self-respect can come from another's interest and respect. That civil rights organizations stress the beauty and worth of each individual has had a large part in instilling self-respect in people whom society as a whole has literally forgotten. To men and women who have had their identities absorbed into a system more ruthlessly dehumanizing than modern industrial society, being valued by another person can be a real beginning toward self-respect. The co-ops have much the same effect, producing tangible objects that are sources of pride. In a real sense the Tribbett tent city, set up to provide homes for striking Delta laborers, while failing to provide a permanent solution to the complex problems of jobless, homeless people, was a rallying point for all the Delta's dispossessed. All across the South, aggressive county "Improvement Leagues" and "Christian Associations" are evidence of Negroes' new awareness of their power.

Half a century after Booker T. Washington's "self-improvement" plan, the poorest Negro's chance of sharing in the South's "new prosperity" was so remote that even the hard-won ballot was often a cruel joke. If the voter's league succeeded in conquering white dominance and taking over a county—what then? Where would the money come from to pave the roads candidates promised would be paved?

To desegregate rural schools may solve the immediate problem, but those schools remain the worst in the nation. Many rural counties do not now afford the minimum matching funds states require. It is prosaic but nonetheless true that nascent efforts toward tax equalization may be the most far-reaching gain for rural Negroes yet devised. But virtually every tax case must be fought long and bitterly in the courts, holding in abeyance any hope that Wilcox, Lowndes, and like counties can be governed at all.

In struggling with these problems newly formed Negro organizations are confronted with the old vestiges of protest, of negativism, and with a growing bitterness and real alienation from American life. Woven into these organizations is a new radicalism which, on the surface, wants no part

of the white man's consensus, daring the Negro to go his own way—to, as Charles Silberman said in *Fortune* (November, 1965), "stop pounding on the door" and, in effect, "tear the house down." Some groups are torn between the tempting chauvinism of their own political slate, which proves their strength, and merger with white "moderates" who are willing to yield to the most superficial of their demands in order to manipulate that power. This presents Negroes with a dilemma that must be faced by the nation as a whole.

The dilemma is an American reflection of a world-wide pattern in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America—all fostered by industrialization, creating "haves" in cities, by-passing shabby "have-nots" on the land. Until recently people in the countryside were never organized.

The Populists came closest in the past, close enough to put a permanent fear into southern Bourbons—fear that lower class whites and Negroes might actually cooperate to throw off Bourbon rule. That fear operates today. So far there has been little actual political cooperation between the races, except in border states like Texas where the Negro population is comparatively small and increasingly urban. There labor, Negroes, Latin Americans and white liberals struggle toward an effective coalition. But Texas has a degree of primitive political sophistication that removes it from the southern arena. In the South generally the lower class white has absorbed enough of the shibboleths, looks forward to a share in the "new prosperity," and finds such psychological value in feeling superior to the Negro that it has been difficult to forge a class awareness. He may, however, come to vote with Negroes on some issues without really meaning to. These people still feel a link with the upper class power structure because of color, rejecting alliance with the Negro for economic reasons. That this further isolates the Negro goes without saying.

Answering Anger

Urban Negroes are cut off from all but the most impersonal contact with whites. They are crowded into slums in the city's core surrounded by housing project palisades, ringed by white suburbia. Until very recently urban Negroes have been poorly organized, venting their frustration on other Negroes. Now radicalism of the same tonal quality as the rural brand has permeated city organizations, directing the rebellion outward. In the past the only attention-getter that produced results was demonstrations. But outside of isolated picketing of a slum-lord's home or sporadic rent strikes, there is a troublesome realization that the negativism of protest can only call attention to the problem and has little to do with fundamental

solutions. In one large city slum, civil rights groups and unaffiliated interested citizens have worked for more than a year to organize effective self-help projects that reach people untouched by the poverty program. The efforts met with limited success until early February when an old man froze to death in an unheated shack. Out of this and other instances of people wretchedly cold, hungry, and hopeless came picketing and rent strikes, and the threat that the slum could become another Watts.

Young liberal idealists who have worked to organize the community have themselves been challenged by the new mood of anger and rebellion. People evicted for participating in a rent strike gathered around a campfire which was the only warmth for families living in hastily erected tents. Out of this meeting came the new voice, the new challenge and the old weapon: "Why don't we 'accidently-on-purpose' burn all these damn houses down?" Young men and women, Negro and white, who had recently seemed radical suddenly became the "moderates," arguing against the burning and the destruction of a white-owned grocery store and white-run Bible center in the area. They came away knowing that their victory was a new form of tokenism—violence grudgingly held in abeyance.

In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding on Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slums. It has, through "welfare," paid poor Negroes (and, incidentally, whites) to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight. If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they will have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc voting, and above all work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. City governments would have no choice but to deal realistically with the *causes* of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators.

Until recently the great mass of Negroes living in poverty in city slums has been cut off from middle class Negroes, who emulated their white counterparts. The same thing was true politically—in rare instances when a Negro was elected to public office he usually joined the white power structure as soon as it made room for him. Now there is a new middle class mood of resentment, which matches in spirit if not in depth the folk consciousness of rural radicalism.

Reasons for this resentment are obvious. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones touched so far by federal legislation, have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow. There is a new awareness that even the first "easy" gains—simply peeling off the old dead layers of institutionalized prejudice—took ten years. To struggle so long just to see two prominent civil rights leaders' children in one ele-

mentary school or seven middle class Negroes join the Georgia House while an outspoken representative of lower class Negro radicalism was denied his seat on grounds that he disqualified himself by rashly-worded opposition to the Vietnam war—to buy tokenism at too high a price—has at last worn patience thin. Finally, too, successful middle class Negro politicians are becoming aware of the wishes and race consciousness of their overwhelmingly poor constituency. Typical of this new voice in southern politics was the conservative, newly-elected Negro alderman of Atlanta who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the city would no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper class white alliance which had agreed on an annexation balance and had at the same time assured control by paternalistic whites. Affirming that Negroes might soon control the city because of the white flight to the suburbs, the alderman speculated on Negroes' control of such vital services as electric power and water as an effective method of bargaining with white suburbia. He urged a fair housing law as a realistic remedy.

All levels of government must deal realistically with this new determination to negotiate from strength rather than rely on the old appeal to white conscience. Whites, too, must realize that in many ways the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life; at the same time frustration with lagging progress tempts the outsiders to destroy it . . . .

Federal Response

To many it has seemed that the nation's response to Negroes' needs has been unimaginative. And most efforts to implement existing laws have met with limited success. In the case of both the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, government action came as a response to protest by organized groups, and, though their effects were far from complete, they stilled the protest. There is every indication that the government will react in the same manner to continued violence against civil rights workers in the South. But this is merely a surface response—a sort of negation of negativism. Little actual headway can be made until Negroes in the South are less economically vulnerable and thus less subject to that method of intimidation. There is an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves and their determination over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating. Violence

often merely strengthens the will and in many cases unites a whole community where other attempts at unity have failed. And yet the violence persists, and does have its deadly effectiveness, if not directly any more, then in subconscious ways that limit Negro options and initiatives.

One of the strongest moves toward better enforcement of the civil rights law was the tightening of guidelines for school desegregation by the Office of Education for fall, 1966, school openings. But the test of this new strength was yet to come.

In a letter asking Negro parents voluntarily to send their children to segregated schools in spite of a Justice Department-initiated suit seeking desegregation of the system, Wilcox County, Alabama, school officials invoked the old reminder that one day the Yankee would tire of idealism, as he had in the past, abandoning the Negroes once again to the white South: "The people of this county will, in all probability, have to continue to live here in this county together after the influences from without have ceased. It is best for all if they can do so in a mutual spirit of good will."

One recalcitrant county in a state notorious for defiance should not be treated as a curiously rebellious mutant in an otherwise acquiescent region. At almost the same time that Wilcox County sounded its primitive warning, Deep South public officials were protesting the sudden, drastic nature of the Office of Education's new guidelines requiring pupil desegregation beyond tokenism and a start toward faculty integration. Twelve years after the Brown decision, feigned shock and overt defiance were not yet isolated phenomena and the violence hinted at in the Wilcox letter is still very much a factor to be reckoned with by people who defy custom in the "hard-core" South.

There have been ten killings, uncounted beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings since that "peaceful" school desegregation began in September, 1965. Yet the result will never again be the old fearful withdrawal. And, though the violence is largely rural, it is felt in the city more keenly now than ever before. Though Negroes have for some time been moving into cities and all major civil rights organizations except the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee operate chiefly from city bases, the emotional center of the civil rights movement remains in places like Lowndes County, scene of two civil rights slayings, and a symbol of the Movement is unpunished brutalization of Negroes in such places. Now a "civil rights assassin" who gets off with a stern reprimand by the judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread violent reprisal by Negroes in city slums and on the land. A Negro "moderate's" outrage that his brother's killer escaped without even the reprimand prompted his rejection of any possibility of dealing peacefully with whites: "We'll have to lay and wait for them all night, and fight with

them all day . . . . No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves. . . . It's time to start killing."

Throughout accounts of the white South's violence there runs a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination—and a warning: "I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

* * * * * * * *

Behind misleading headlines and misconceptions about orderly progress in the South were complexities long familiar.

In the first place, since 1954 and before, reaction to federal court decrees and law affecting segregation had been of three kinds—a grudging, but good faith acceptance, an effort to evade through administrative delay and cheating, and all-out resistance with violence and terroristic intimidation and reprisal. All three reactions could and did occur in all eleven states. Some states, like Tennessee, were characterized by a predominance of the first; some, like Virginia and South Carolina, by a predominance of the second; and some, like Alabama and Mississippi, by a predominance of the third. These were old familiar configurations in the South.

The pattern of reaction to the 1964 civil rights law was essentially this same three-way split. If there was any cause for rejoicing, it was in that at least in its official stance, the government of such a state as Mississippi was no longer encouraging all-out, violent resistance. But there was no overnight change in the South in attitude or patterns of compliance, with the overnight change of the law.

Nor was there any change in one of the oldest truths regarding these three southern reactions to the will of the nation. The resistance would be attempted, grow, and persist to the degree that the enforcement arms of the federal government allowed it. Full enforcement, as it has always been, was possible. It was not forthcoming.

Two other pieces of federal legislation promised a permanent solution to this old problem of enforcement. One was the pledge of the Johnson Administration in 1965 to enact new laws to strengthen southern institutions of justice, and to protect persons exercising constitutional rights from southern lawlessness. The other was the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which promised eventual development of Negro political power sufficient to demand compliance, and an end of lawless violence.

Out of these forces—poverty, continued white resistance, less than full federal enforcement, resultant disillusionment—and out of the new psychological state of Negro Americans (their unwillingness to settle for anything less than full citizenship) was coming something new in the South. It could destroy whatever hopefulness there was in the situation for the

kind of transformation the nation seemed to think had already come. Or it could be another catalyst to force the nation and the white South yet another turn in the torturous facing about to full intellectual honesty in dealings with Negroes.

This most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace. The anger itself is not new, nor the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new. That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded—this seems about the only hope.

But the worst excesses of the ugly side of the South have always had a counterpoint, however faint, of a relation between the races more truly representative of the American ideal than anywhere else. In the shifting patterns of public and private life in the South, forces are at work which encourage this better side of the South more than they have ever before been encouraged. The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here.

PART II

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence September, 1965 through February, 1966

(A Selection)

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
September, 1965 through February, 1966

SEPTEMBER

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/16/65. Dateline: Laurel (AP).

"Shots were fired into the house of a local civil rights leader here today for the second time in 90 days."

A Negro dentist, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, said, "There were no injuries this time as was the case June 15."

Folling Fork and Anguilla, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Ten families enrolled their children in "white" schools. All working members of all ten families lost their jobs.

Akron, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 9/3/65. Dateline: Akron (AP).

The night before 35 Negroes were to enter a previously all-white school someone tried to set fire to city hall and the fire department.

The Negro children were not permitted to enroll.

AFSC Field Report.

White men with guns ringed the school and prevented Negro parents from registering their children.

Grace and Glen Allen, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Negro parents who tried to exercise "freedom of choice" were evicted.

Calhoun, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/29/65. Dateline: Calhoun (UPI).

A Negro motorist was injured when three white boys pushed his car over an embankment and left him in the wreckage.

West Point, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

A family who owns a few acres of land and their own home near West Point enrolled two of their eight children in the "white" school. For the past twenty years the father had worked at the same job in West Point. After his son tested the validity of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act, the father lost his job. He got it back, enrolled his children and lost it again. He was offered money to withdraw the children. He refused. His wife lost her job as a domestic. In November, just after his employer had called him back to work, the sheriff arrested him for having a shotgun in his car. (Carrying a shotgun in an automobile is legal in Mississippi.) He was fired again in December. Later he was jailed for running a stop sign.

Baker County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/4/65. Dateline: Washington (AP).

A group of Baker County Negroes asked the Justice Department for protection from local whites.

One spokesman said that 150 Negro children were signed up to go to the white schools but their parents were threatened with loss of jobs, so the number went down to 40.

Another spokesman said Negroes were beaten when they went to the courthouse in Newton to try to talk to the Baker County sheriff.

Amherst, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 9/6/65. Dateline: Amherst (AP).

A riot involving 250 people of both races broke out during a fight between five Negroes and five whites.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

The mother of three of 19 Negro children attending "white" schools in Elmore County has been active in voter registration and school desegregation. She had been regularly called as a substitute teacher until she enrolled her children in integrated schools. Since then she has had only one call. In October her house burned, and the fire department did not attempt to put out the blaze. One of her sons was accused of stealing a pair of $4 sunglasses from the supermarket where he had worked for some time. He was arrested, found guilty, sentenced to jail or a fine of $38. When his mother paid the fine, her son was released bleeding from a head wound.

Americus and Sumter County, GEORGIA
Atlanta *Journal* 2/16/66. Dateline: Washington.

"Intimidation, harassment and violence have prevented school desegregation in Sumter County, Georgia, and accompanied it in Americus, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission."

"In Sumter, all Negro children who picked white schools to attend under a free choice plan changed their minds . . . .

"In Americus . . . Negro students were struck with fists, had rocks and books thrown at them, were called derogatory names, had books torn from their hands, were tripped and spat on, and were nearly run down by cars in the school parking lot."

Headland, Henry County, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

A mother said the whites sent someone to try to convince them not to send their children to the "desegregated" school. She got a message that someone would "hang those children up to a tree if they tried to go to the white school."

West Point, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

A couple who own their home took several children to the "white" schools in the opening days before buses began picking them up. When whites fired into her home, the woman sat on her porch with her shotgun and fired back. As a result of their transporting the children, both lost jobs and the white man who owns access to the road leading to their property fenced it off and put up "no trespassing" signs.

Cottonwood, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

When one mother sent her son to the "white" school a policeman came to her home and said that if she did not withdraw the boy he would be "put away."

Merigold, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

After enrolling their seven children in the newly desegregated Drew school system, a Negro family was evicted from the plantation where both had worked ten years. The overseer offered to go with them to withdraw the children. When they refused, he would not allow the family to follow the automatic cotton picker to increase the yield of their 26 acres. When the picker went along the rows there was a disc attached to it that plowed the cotton under.

Thomas County, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro farmer enrolled two of his children in Thomas County "white" schools. His home was shot into and he began receiving threatening telephone calls. His landlord told him he had three days to get out of the home in which he had lived for nine years. After he moved to Thomasville, the county superintendent told his children they would have to leave the county school system as their residence was now Thomasville.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 9/18/65. Dateline: Wetumpka.

After being struck with rubber bands repeatedly by the same white boy, a Negro girl jabbed him in the arm with a pencil. She was expelled from school, arrested, held in jail overnight, and finally released on a $300 property bond.

Alabama *Journal* (Montgomery, Ala.) 1/5/66. Dateline: Wetumpka.

Fire destroyed the home of a Negro man, "whose daughter, one of 17 Negro students who desegregated Wetumpka High School in September, had been suspended from school for stabbing a white boy with a pencil. She returned to school Monday, following the end of her suspension period."

The deputy state fire marshal found two whiskey bottles "filled with something" in the bed of a truck parked outside the burned home, but said he saw no evidence of arson or "racial trouble."

Demopolis, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro truck driver was fired from his job after attending a PTA meeting at the "white" school where his daughter is a student. He had held the job 18 years and had an excellent employment record—the only driver with no traffic violations on his record. After the PTA meeting local merchants had a meeting and agreed not to accept any merchandise he delivered.

Camilla, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 2/22/66. Dateline: Washington.

"The Justice Department has charged a Mitchell County, Georgia deputy sheriff with illegally arresting and beating a Negro farm worker" in September.

AFSC Field Report.

When a Negro tenant farmer filled out transfer forms for his six children to attend the "white" school, the man whose farm he lived and worked on came with a deputy sheriff and asked whether he planned to transfer his children. The tenant replied that he intended to do so. He was then handcuffed and taken to jail, severely beaten on the way, and again beaten while in jail, this time by a white prisoner.

Choctaw County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

On the first day of school white men with guns surrounded the "white" school.

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/25/65. Dateline: Memphis.

In an effort to arrest a Negro suspect two white police officers were "struck by a hail of bricks, bottles and boards" hurled by other Negroes.

Conway, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/29/65. Dateline: Conway.

A local union official, active in the county voters' movement, was victim of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

Fayette County, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 9/2/65. Dateline: (AP).

"A west Tennessee school bus driver, accused of spraying disinfectant on two Negro first graders before letting them on a desegregated bus, was sharply criticized by his superiors."

The Fayette County school superintendent called it a "stupid act that marred the peaceful and orderly desegregation program in our county."

The bus driver declined "to admit or deny the incident, but said he assigned the youngsters to the rear of the bus."

Wilmington, North Carolina

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/7/65. Dateline: Wilmington (UPI).

A Negro man and his white neighbor were sitting on the Negro's front porch when another white tossed two lighted Molotov cocktails into the side of the dwelling. Neighbors smothered the flames.

Jacksonville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/5/65. Dateline: Jacksonville.

"Two young men who admitted guilt in connection with the dynamite bombing of a Negro migrant workers' sleeping quarters last month near Swansboro, Monday were given five-year suspended sentences in Onslow Superior Court.

"In passing sentence . . . [the judge] said he had given much thought to the crime during the weekend and concluded there was no motive to harm the Negroes, that the men were trying to frighten them."

Enterprise, Coffee County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro salesman was demoted from area manager for a Chicago-based business firm to representative. He consistently led his region in sales. He had enrolled his children in an integrated school in September.

Warner Robins, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro woman had been lunchroom manager in the Negro high school for ten years. Her daughter urged Negro parents to transfer their children. The lunchroom manager, whose work had never drawn complaints, was fired ostensibly for not keeping her kitchen in good condition.

Waynesboro, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro family exercised "freedom of choice" and sent their child to a formerly all-white school. They were evicted and their home was shot into.

Aberdeen, MISSISSIPPI

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/7/65. Dateline: Aberdeen.

"Police said Monday that at least 32 shots were fired Sunday night into the home of a Negro couple whose son enrolled at a previously all-white school in Aberdeen last week . . . ."

The couple's son was one of two Negro children admitted "without incident" to the second grade.

"School desegregation also got under way in several other cities over the state without trouble . . . .

"Other shooting incidents were reported in Central Mississippi—one in Scott County and another at Florence.

"The Scott County sheriff's office declined comment on a report that a Negro parent exchanged shots with a group of white men who tried to burn a cross in front of his home near Forest . . . .

"They also have a daughter who registered at a previously all-white school."

McComb, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/9/65. Dateline: McComb (AP).

A hand grenade was hurled into a yard, exploding near two Negro workmen who were building a patio.

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 9/21/65. Dateline: Washington.

A spokesman for Negroes in the Vanceboro area blamed inadequate police protection for Negroes from the Ku Klux Klan for outbreaks of violence by Negro youths.

"The Negroes of the Vanceboro area, and the whites who believe in justice and lawful means, have been more than patient with the many atrocities which they have suffered in the last few months," the spokesman said.

OCTOBER

Knoxville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 12/4/65 Dateline: Knoxville (AP).

Three 15-year-old Negro boys were indicted for murder in the razor slaying of a white man, October 16. They were quoted at the time of their arrest as saying they attacked the man "because he was the first white man they saw after they became angered over watching a white boy stab a Negro boy in a street fight."

Suffolk, VIRGINIA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 11/1/65. Dateline: Suffolk.

"Two Negroes were wounded Sunday (10/31) by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car . . . just after they left a Negro voter rally."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 11/1/65. Dateline: Barnwell (AP).

The local NAACP field director said that four Negro voter registration drive workers "were severely beaten up and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 or 20 white youths and men at Barnwell Saturday night.

"The field secretary said the group told him at least one Barnwell police officer saw the incident and did nothing."

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/4/65 Dateline: Nashville (AP).

An African student, arrested when companions were allegedly found drinking whiskey from coffee cups (violating Nashville's blue laws), charged that he was beaten by police.

Blackville, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/13/65. Dateline: Blackville.

"Fights between whites and Negroes that broke out during a municipal election write-in campaign by Negroes here were under investigation Tuesday by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The Negroes filed a protest with the U. S. Attorney General, charging that Negro pollwatchers were beaten. Blackville city officials said Negro pollwatchers attempted to come inside the voting booths.

"The fights took place outside polling places Monday, Blackville police said. No charges were filed, officers said."

Covington, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/21/65. Dateline: Memphis (AP).

"A Negro civil rights worker said Wednesday a white man pistol-whipped a

Negro woman and fired shots at a Negro man outside a drive-in restaurant in nearby Covington Tuesday night."

While the two Negroes were inside the drive-in "this man walked up to the car and told the others they had no business there."

Chattanooga, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/14/65.

A Negro neighborhood youth corpsman was shot and killed by a white fellow worker. The young Negro was seated on bleachers the corpsmen were building near a high school, when the white youth walked up and opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol.

Tallapoosa County, ALABAMA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 10/12/65. Dateline: Norfolk.

A white girl participating in a VISTA training program at Tuskegee Institute was living with a rural Negro family in Tallapoosa County.

"Soon after we got there this white man came by, screaming that the Klan was coming and asking us to go with him and he'd save us," she said. "We didn't go with him.

"But then later this Negro man was beaten up and had his arm broken because of his association with us. They threatened to take another man's job away."

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/2/65. Dateline: Vanceboro.

A Negro church was dynamited Sunday, Oct. 31, in the third bombing in Craven County during the year.

"Negro leaders said it had not been used for civil rights meetings and they were at loss to explain the incident."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/22/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

A young Negro was charged with murder in the knife-slaying of a white man.

"The white youth reportedly swung at the Negro with a bat and was stabbed in the chest."

Colerain, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/12/65. Dateline: Colerain.

In a predominantly white neighborhood a school scheduled to receive six Negro classes containing approximately 200 students was heavily damaged when "oil or gas of some type" was poured on the floor and the building set fire.

Montgomery, ALABAMA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 10/31/65. Dateline: Montgomery (AP).

Alabama's attorney general, "an outspoken moderate on the racial issue and frequent critic of Gov. George C. Wallace, is nursing a sore jaw and some loosened teeth Saturday, after being slugged at a football game."

The attorney general had recently acted as prosecutor in the murder trial of a Ku Klux Klansman.

Trenton, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/16/65. Dateline: Trenton (AP).

The FBI began investigation of a dynamiting outside the home of a Negro in the Wise Forks community.

Hampton, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/6/65. Dateline: Hampton.

"An elderly Negro junk dealer was shot and killed in Hampton Tuesday afternoon, apparently after an argument over money."

The sheriff said the old man had been "a fixture in the town. He made his living by collecting and selling junk from a movable cart."

A white man was charged with the murder.

Lincolnton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/23/65. Dateline: Lincolnton.

"A pickup truck drove into a line of about 95 teen-age Negro marchers Friday afternoon, signalling a charge by about 30 whites shouting 'Kill the niggers! Kill them!'

"Demonstrators were beaten to the ground as five state troopers left their cars and tried to restore order. No one was reported hurt . . . .

"Meanwhile in Washington, Ga., 13 Negro civil rights demonstrators swore out peace warrants against the white driver of another pickup truck, charging he had tried to run them down."

Smithfield, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Smithfield.

Five white persons, including three high school students, are charged with dynamiting the all-Negro Bagley Elementary School in the early-morning of October 25.

Newton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/6/65. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The Baker County sheriff said five carloads of unidentified men built a large fire in front of a rural Negro home Monday night and then began firing, apparently with a shotgun.

Crawfordville, GEORGIA

Washington *Post* 10/19/65. Dateline: Crawfordville.

The Taliaferro County sheriff said that seven Ku Klux Klan 'Black Shirts' were arrested on charges of "forcing a Negro farmer off a road near here yesterday, attempting to beat him and pointing shotguns and pistols at him."

The sheriff said that the farmer had not taken part in recent demonstrations in the area.

"He's just a good ol' darky," the Sheriff said.

Americus, Sumter County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 10/22/65. Dateline: Americus.

"Telephone harassment and cold shoulders in Americus have forced a 63-year-old former college president and his wife to become the second family to decide to leave the southwest Georgia town where racial unrest flared this summer."

The white man had sent a letter to local government officials asking them "to try and contain our racial problems."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/7/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

"A white ambulance driver who refused to pick up a dying Negro traffic victim Wednesday night has been fired from his job."

The manager of the ambulance company said the driver reached the still-conscious man and drove away, "leaving the victim lying on the concrete where he died."

The driver told the ambulance manager he did not pick up the injured Negro because "he didn't think he was seriously hurt."

The Negro was victim of a two-car collision in which he was trapped between the vehicles. An official wreck investigator said both the man's legs had been chopped off by the impact.

NOVEMBER

Livingston, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/19/65. Dateline: Livingston (AP).

Five white men were given six-month suspended sentences for aggravated assault "in the shooting of a Negro's car near Watson."

The Negro man drove his car past the one in which the five were riding and they opened fire on him with a rifle.

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal*. 11/9/65. Dateline: Nashville (UPI).

"A 10-year-old Negro boy brutally beaten . . . by a white youth died Monday night." A fifteen-year-old white boy, already charged with assault with intent to murder, "probably" would be charged with murder, according to police.

Fayetteville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/8/65. Dateline: Fayetteville.

Three Negro marines, armed with pistols, a carbine, a sawed-off shotgun and a hand grenade, terrorized the Fayetteville area several hours before their arrest. They claimed membership in the National Abolitionist Forces, "described as a militant Negro group."

The organization's handwritten oath includes clauses "against the Ku Klux Klan and white rule," officers said.

Ferriday, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/23/65. Dateline: Ferriday (AP).

Police, arriving at the scene of a firebombing, arrested the civil right's worker whose home was target of the blast. The man had emerged from the burning building carrying a shotgun.

(In Dec. 1964 a Negro man died of burns after his shop in Ferriday was firebombed.)

Mami, FLORIDA

St. Petersburg *Times* 11/25/65. Dateline: Miami (UPI).

"A 30-year-old Air Force veteran was charged yesterday with firebombing Negro and Jewish residential areas from a small airplane to 'scare the pants off' left wing agitators."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S. C.) 11/2/65. Dateline: Barnwell.

A fight erupted between Negro and white youths at a Halloween street dance. One Negro girl received a stab wound and three other Negroes reported injuries. Police suggested that the Negroes sign warrants for the arrest of whites responsible for the attack, whose pictures appeared in a newspaper. Civil rights workers helping with a voter registration project in the area said they did not pursue the matter "because it wouldn't do any good."

Greenville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 11/20-21/65. Dateline: Greenville.

"When police halted a civil rights march here last Saturday, one officer's leg was broken and other policemen were hit by flying bricks, rocks and bottles."

To the city attorney, who was also injured, it was "clearly a case of anarchy."

Many of the young people involved were "in high spirits after the incident. They said it was provoked by police. Six of the marchers said they were hit with billy-clubs before the rock-throwing began."

Local Negroes, cooperating with SCLC's protest against "segregated justice," want "a better life, and they want the whites to know it . . . .

"Some white people still say they don't understand what the Negroes want. A slender 18-year-old Negro girl found this hard to believe.

" 'Nothing seems to help,' she said, 'We're trapped!!'. . . .

"One 15-year-old girl told a mass meeting that 'there ain't one of you here that's a man, because you let them cops make you run.'

"After Saturday's fray, a battered sign the marchers had carried lay on the ground.

"It said, 'Violence Is the Result of Ignorance, Peace is God's Way.' "

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 11/10/65. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A former Marine Corps surgeon has been charged with arson in the burning of two Negro churches and a home.

Baton Rouge, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/8/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (AP).

The FBI joined local investigators "seeking a reason for the explosions which destroyed a Baton Rouge printing shop late Saturday night."

The owner said "about 80 per cent of their jobwork was for churches, that they had printed no controversial material, and had not been involved in any labor disputes."

Prior to the bombing the FBI had made a routine investigation at the plant to determine if the owner had printed cards for the Ku Klux Klan. A few days later, the owner said, "a man came into the place with several pieces of literature he said he wanted printed for the KKK." The owner declined the job and "explained that the FBI had already checked his shop."

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 11/15/65.

The Memphis branch of the NAACP filed a complaint against two white police officers charging brutality. The complaint cited an incident in which a Negro mother was abused by police. The officers came to her home to investigate a complaint of disorderly conduct. "She stated that she told them no one there had called and there had been no disturbance. When the officers entered the house to search it, she said, she asked them if they had a search warrant and . . . (one of the officers) told her he did not need one."

She said the officers "proceeded into her children's rooms after she told them her daughters were in bed and some of the other children were preparing for bed."

The woman said she was "not allowed to put on street clothes before leaving the house and was shoved into her closet when she tried to dress. She also said she was kicked by one of the officers after being pushed out of the house."

The complaint also charged that she "was cursed in the presence of her children, aged 1 to 15 years."

She charged she was later beaten while in police custody.

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/1/65.

The partially decomposed body of an unidentified Negro was found in Lake Hico November 30. A deputy investigator described the victim as wearing carpenter's overalls with a red shirt tied around his waist.

"For this reason," the deputy said, "we would not rule out the possibility of foul play."

He said police feel that the shirt might have been used to drag the body to the water's edge.

Victoria, Lunenburg County, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 11/19/65 (AP).

A Negro youth suffered a scalp wound when he was shot from a passing car. He was standing in front of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee headquarters.

Charlotte, NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Charlotte (AP).

"The stillness of a foggy, rainy morning was broken by explosions at the large, modern homes of four Negro civil rights leaders. They and their families escaped injury although damage was extensive . . . .

"A city councilman, a federal court official, a dentist and the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were the targets of pre-dawn bombers Monday."

The head of "Operation Rebuilding" felt that "they (the bombers) have done much damage to four homes. They have done far greater damage to our community."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI
Greenwood *Commonwealth* 11/20/65. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

A white Unitarian minister who was active in civil rights work fled Mississippi due to renewed threats on his life. On August 22, 1965, he was hit in the back and side by a shotgun blast in what police called a "civil rights assassination attempt." A friend said the minister left because of threats against him and others in the downtown apartment building where he lives. He was asked to leave the building after other occupants were threatened.

Morton, MISSISSIPPI
Arkansas *Gazette* 11/3/65. Dateline: Jackson (UPI).

A Negro civil rights worker sued the mayor and town marshal of Morton, charging he was beaten and falsely imprisoned.

The CORE staff worker filed suit in federal district court, charging that the marshal blocked a march and beat him with "a large club or ax handle," while another white man covered the rest of the marchers with a shotgun. He said he was arrested and taken to city jail and again beaten before being placed in a cell. He said he then went before the mayor and was required to post $275 bond on charge of parading without a permit, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest.

Vicksburg, MISSISSIPPI
Jackson *Daily News* 11/30/65. Dateline: Vicksburg (UPI).

"A mysterious predawn explosion . . . heavily damaged a Negro grocery and shattered windows in several other buildings.

"Authorities said at least three persons were slightly injured in the blast in a racially-mixed business and residential section a few blocks from downtown Vicksburg."

Pelahatchie, MISSISSIPPI
Selma *Times-Journal* 11/8/65. Dateline: Pelahatchie (AP).

"An official report was being prepared today on a shooting in which a rural constable killed a Negro."

A white constable shot a 30-year-old Negro man to death when the man "came at him with an open pocketknife." The town marshal and night marshal witnessed the shooting, according to the local sheriff.

DECEMBER

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA
Arkansas *GGazette* 12/6/65. Dateline: Bogalusa (UPI).

"An Italian woman musician on a tour date here Saturday was attacked by three

white women on the main business street. Her attackers apparently believed she was a civil rights worker.

"City officials apologized for the attack and provided police protection for the duration of the orchestra's stay here. There were no incidents at the concert and the group left town Sunday morning."

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

New York *Times* 12/22/65. Dateline: Atlanta.

The regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union charged that eleven Negro sharecroppers were being forced from their homes in Wilcox County for trying to register to vote.

The ACLU spokesman said some of the complaints seem "directly related to the intimidation section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965."

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON A STUDY OF ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN WILCOX, COUNTY, ALABAMA.

Submitted to the regional director of ACLU from a man living in Wilcox County.

A Negro couple registered to vote. The grocer demanded immediate payment of money owed for groceries: "You think you're smart. I'd like to take a damn two-by-four up side your head for registering. Get out of my store."

One of the families which was forced to move because of participation in demonstrations has no money, no food, and no credit. Their water was turned off by the city just after they took part in a protest march.

In many cases land was taken away and the rent raised from nothing to $25 per month. Most of the families involved make less than $1,000 a year.

A man whose mother was born in slavery on the land he was forced to leave is eighty-two years old. According to the study, "He did not want to move. No water or lights where he now lives. Will grow some corn."

One man and his wife, having no income other than $33 per month from Social Security, were told by their landlord that if they registered they would have to move. They registered and he carried out his threat.

A Negro woman voted in a state election. Her employer hit her with a broom and told her to "get out."

Liberty, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/12/65. Dateline: Liberty.

Headline: "INQUEST IN LIBERTY NEGRO SHOOTING SET"

A Brooklyn, New York, Negro was traveling through Liberty with his wife and family en route to Alabama. After a fruitless search for a place to spend the night, the man was taken to the police station, where officers made calls to find a place.

"When he was asked questions . . . [the man] was shot by a policeman after a brief scuffle with officers.

"The inquest will be held in the Liberty High School Auditorium."

West Feliciana Parish, LOUISIANA

New York *Times* 12/24/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (UPI).

"A Federal Court judge issued a temporary restraining order today against white landlords, barring them from evicting Negro tenants who have registered to vote. The case is the first test of the intimidation section of the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

United States District Judge E. Gordon West later ruled that the charges were not proved, and dissolved the injunction. He held some sections of the Voting Rights Act unconstitutional.

St. Francisville, LOUISIANA

Los Angeles *Times* 12/23/65. Dateline: St. Francisville.

Spokesmen for about 100 Negroes evicted for registering to vote reflected similar bitterness, resignation, and a degree of alienation expressed by men and women turned out of an abandoned Air Force base in Greenville, Mississippi in February:

"My sin, child, my only sin, was I wanted to be a citizen."

"Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

"I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

St. George, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/5/65. Dateline: St. George.

A young Negro was released on $25 bond after being charged with threatening the life of a Negro school principal. The incident came during a CORE-sponsored demonstration at the Negro high school.

"Meanwhile, Negroes reported that a cross was burned in a Negro section of St. George Friday night. The city police department and county sheriff's office said there had been no report made of the fire."

Hamburg, ARKANSAS

Arkansas *Gazette* 12/7/65. Dateline: Hamburg.

"First degree murder charges were filed Monday against two white brothers from Ashley County in the fatal shooting of a 14-year-old Negro boy.

"The boy was shot about 6 p.m. while standing in front of a cafe on the main street of Portland . . . ."

The Ashley County sheriff said that "as far as he could determine there was no provocation for the shooting."

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Mobile.

"At least a thousand" leaflets blasting conditions at the Negro training school, attacking "Uncle Tom Negro preachers," two paper mills and an increase in bus fares appeared in the Magazine Point section of Mobile.

"Like the earlier leaflets, the new one refers to the Los Angeles riots of last summer. It calls the rioters 'heroes' for destroying white businesses and factories.

"Then the leaflet says, 'Be prepared, it's coming to Plateau and Magazine Point soon.'

"No recognized Negro leaders have supported the leaflet. Many of them have denounced it, but a few believe that it might do some good, even though they don't like it . . . .

"R. A. Holt, principal of the [Negro] school admitted, 'It might serve as a motivational force.' " (Referring to hastening construction of a long-promised Negro school.)

Jackson, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Jackson.

A Negro boy, attacked by white classmates, missed three weeks of school because he doesn't "want to lose . . . [his] life."

According to another Negro, the high school principal had called and warned that "things would get worse" if the boy returned.

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Selma Inter-Religious Project *Newsletter,* January, 1966.

"All our documentation [relating to people being evicted due to registering to vote], even our little interview with the Atty. Gen., has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hind-

sight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola."

Eutaw, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 12/6/65. Dateline: Tuscaloosa (AP).

"Conflicting reports were issued concerning the injury a Negro demonstrator hospitalized here received after a civil rights march in Eutaw Saturday night.

"Spokesmen for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reported the woman was shot as Negroes staged the after-dark demonstration.

"But officials . . . said they understood the woman walked into a wooden plank which had a large nail protruding from it."

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 12/7/65.

A fight between Negro and white students broke out at East Jefferson High School, which, after being desegregated for the first time in September, "has had sporadic incidents of racial fighting . . . . Deputies were on hand Monday as a result of court action by attorneys for Negro students.

"Attorneys for the Negro students said in their suit recently that on several occasions Negro students were threatened and beaten."

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/15/65. Dateline: Meridian.

"Meridian police and FBI agents today were investigating the shooting into a home of a Negro student at recently desegregated Meridian High School Tuesday night.

"The more than a dozen shots fired from a high-powered gun were believed fired from a passing auto."

Deerfield Beach, FLORIDA

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Deerfield Beach (UPI).

"Three young white men drove past a tavern crowded with Negroes here last night and sprayed it with bullets, wounding seven persons. A witness said they used a machine gun."

Fayette, MISSISSIPPI

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Fayette.

"A Negro civil rights leader stood at the base of the Jefferson County Confederate memorial, the centerpiece of a white-only park, and hurled defiance at armed white men."

The spokesman "warned the whites that violence would henceforth be met with violence.

"About 50 white men, some with rifles racked across the back windows of their pickup trucks, stood a few feet from the Negro crowd and listened in anger to [the speaker] . . .

" 'If you don't bring it [trouble] you won't get it,' he shouted at the whites. 'But if you bring it, you're going to get it. We're tired of your bombings and beatings. We've talked with you and we've prayed for you, and now we're going to sit and wait for you.'

"The Negroes cheered.

"The whites remained silent and grim."

JANUARY

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/20/66. Dateline: New Orleans (AP).

A Negro church, target of vandals several times during the past eighteen months, was again hit by a packet of "relatively harmless" firecrackers.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/18/66.

The *News* announced that business practices prohibited its revealing the identity of the person who advertised Mrs. Viola Liuzzo's death-car, "bullet holes and everything still intact," for sale.

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Birmingham *News* 1/22/66. Dateline: Meridian.

Five men were convicted in police court of having "conspired to accomplish unlawful purposes" after their arrest for attempted cross-burning in the Meridian area.

"Crosses flared throughout the state the night of January 3 in what state law enforcement authorities claimed at the time was a planned 'Ku Klux Klan show of force.' "

New York *Times* 1/9/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

"Law enforcement officials said that nightriders burned at least 100 crosses in Mississippi and a church in Baker County, Ga., to protest civil rights gains and the resumption of a Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington where seven leaders were cited for contempt."

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/25/66. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A middle-Georgia storeowner who had volunteered information on the Ku Klux Klan said he had received telephone calls threatening both him and Representative Charles Weltner, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, one week prior to his store's being shot into by nightriders.

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/2/66. Dateline: Bogalusa.

A Negro man, after firing one warning shot, aimed a shotgun blast at a group of white men in his front yard. He claimed the men had previously fired shots into his home. One man was wounded.

Newton, GEORGIA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/11/66. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The sheriff of Baker County says an unidentified man threatened his life if he investigated the burning of a Negro church near here.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg (AP).

A "tense situation" resulted when police arrested a Negro participating in a memorial march honoring the NAACP official who died of burns when his store was firebombed January 11.

Natchez, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 1/3/66. Dateline: Natchez (AP).

The mayor's supermarket, which had been picketed by both the Ku Klux Klan and civil rights groups during recent months, was destroyed by fire New Year's Eve. Police said the fire was "definitely the work of arsonists."

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/6/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

A 21-year-old Tuskegee Institute freshman and "field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot to death . . . following a dispute with (an attendant) at the service station where the elderly white man was employed."

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Miami *Herald* 1/22/66.

Two young Negroes joined the rest of their family who had fled to Miami from Sunflower County. After taking part in voter registration in 1964 the father lost his job. One son was sentenced to one and a half years in reform school because he was in a shoe store at the time of a burglary. His brother was later accused of stealing a carton of cigarettes and given the same sentence.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Atlanta *Journal* 1/11/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg.

A Negro man, who according to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, "was engaged in the highest kind of citizenship—helping to secure basic rights for his fellow citizens," died of burns when his home and store were fire-bombed.

Camden, Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/24/66. Dateline: Camden (UPI).

A young Negro planned to attend what was described as a political meeting by an SCLC field secretary and what the local sheriff thought to be a funeral at Antioch Baptist Church. As he tried to turn off the highway into the church parking lot, his car was struck from the rear by another vehicle driven by a white man. The white pulled a pistol and shot the Negro in the head, leaving his body lying on highway 41. He turned himself in to the sheriff, who said that by the time he got to town several Negroes, "upset by the killing," had begun to gather around the body. The sheriff reported that the white man was "real upset."

Lowndes County, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/2/66. Dateline: Fort Deposit (AP).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee set up tents to house Negro families evicted after registering to vote.

The Lowndes County sheriff said that "it was quite possible that some families were diplaced," but he blamed automation and a changing economy for displacement.

The SNCC office in Atlanta had charged that 20 families had been told to move because of voting rights activities.

Southern *Courier* 1/8-9/66. Dateline: Freedom City, Lowndes County.

The sheriff said that "probably the families had to go because they weren't needed as the plantation changed over to cattle raising and mechanical cotton pickers . . ." One evicted sharecropper said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working."

To younger people, with "lots of children, Freedom City can't be the last stop. They will have to find land of their own to build houses and to work."

Application has been made to the Office of Economic Opportunity for $1,500 for each farmer to start a house.

"Not only would this program provide houses for people living in Freedom City tents, but it would also provide them with the work of building them.

"So although Freedom City residents know they can't live in tents forever, they still feel they are a community with a future in Lowndes County . . . .

"To one family, which doesn't want to leave the land they've farmed for generations, there is only one alternative to Freedom City:

" 'We've got to take some of the white man's land and build houses on it . . . . That's what you need to do—he got it all.' "

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/18/66.

"A group of Lowndes County Negroes has asked a federal court here to enjoin white landowners in Lowndes County from allegedly evicting Negro sharecroppers because the Negroes registered to vote." The plaintiffs charged that shots were fired at the "tent city" where several were living.

Franklin County, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 1/12/66. Dateline: Washington.

The Justice Department charged that Negroes in Franklin were "threatened

and intimidated by . . . cross burnings and the shooting of firearms at homes" when they exercised "freedom of choice" in school transfers.

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 1/22-23/66. Dateline: Mobile.

Another in a series of leaflets threatening violence warned that the Mobile County Training School (Negro) "will either be blown up or burned down in broad daylight."

Greenville, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Ministry Reports, February, 1966.

Median income for plantation Negroes in the Delta is $456. Because of mechanization and a one-third crop allotment reduction, the state employment service estimates that 4,706 of the 18,124 seasonal workers living with their families on plantations in the Delta will not be needed to work next year.

Of those already off the land and out of work, living in tent cities and abandoned shacks along the Delta, about 50 entered the unoccupied Air Force base at Greenville January 31. Some thirty hours later they were forced to move out by air police.

Following what for many of them was just another eviction, three spokesmen of the group held a press conference in the Delta Ministry office in Greenville. Out of this conference came specific grievances, resentments, frustrations, and anger, and a real sense of alienation from American society.

"I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

"We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

". . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

"We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

". . . The building was more respectable than poor hungry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways to do for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks . . . .

"The only reason . . . for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection."

A spokesman for the Delta Ministry recounted over a year's frustrating effort to get commodities distributed to poor people in the state. Each time a group within the county offered to distribute commodities the Department of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. In one instance immediately after the state department set up a commodity program the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another county the Food Stamp program was initiated. The Food Stamp program costs individuals money, so the very poor were not helped by it. Under a state-wide plan the welfare department is to get 24 million dollars worth of commodities from Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from OEO to distribute food to 500,000 for six months. The food was due to be ready for

distribution January 23. "When that day came we could not find (any) food being given out. And now it's February."

"I'd like to add to that to live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then . . . when they start qualifying you for commodities, they say you got to find our how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

". . . See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: It's political — that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor."

". . . You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored . . . The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future:

". . . Because of the fact that we was refused by the government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government."

Delta *Democrat-Times* 2/10/66.

"The Washington County Board of Supervisors plans to meet at 10 a.m. Friday to reconsider its decision Monday to reject county participation in an expanded food program.

The president of the board confirmed that "the supervisors will meet in the courthouse Friday and give further consideration to participation in a $24 million program announced by the State Welfare Dept.

"The reason given Monday for the board's rejection was that county farmers and merchants don't want it.

"The program would probably benefit primarily Negroes and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Montgomery, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/1/66.

Four whites, charged with "threatening and throwing rocks" at Negroes, were arrested after their car crashed into two other vehicles on the street where the rock-throwing occurred.

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

One man was arrested in the aftermath of a rock and bottle throwing riot which damaged 11 stores and a number of automobiles.

Macon County sheriff said the incident was triggered when a deputy tried to serve a warrant on one of students protesting the shooting death of a fellow student by a white service station attendant.

Washington *Post* 1/12/66.

Three men were arrested and charged with depositing trash in a public place after they placed a coffin in front of the White House. Spokesman for the three, who were protesting the shooting death of a Tuskegee, Alabama student, said, "A man is dead. We're getting tired."

FEBRUARY

Helicon, Crenshaw County, ALABAMA

Southern Courier, 2/26-27/66. Dateline: Helicon.

A Negro, leading a demonstration against the school principal of Helicon Junior High School, was beaten by sheriff's deputies while trying to aid a boy who had been tear-gassed in the face. After receiving medical aid, the man was arrested and released on bond.

Earlier, on February 7, a *Courier* photographer was arrested for trespassing when he attempted to interview the principal.

In a related incident on the night of February 13 "a stick of dynamite exploded outside the home of a long-time civil rights worker in Crenshaw County," according to the sheriff.

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66. Dateline: Forest.

The county sheriff said he would "appreciate any information" regarding the identity of the party or parties who fired into the home of a 73-year-old retired Negro school teacher."

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/2/66. Dateline: Laurel.

A Laurel man was charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities found several sticks of dynamite in his automobile. He had previously been charged with shooting into the home of a local NAACP representative, but the Jones County Grand Jury failed to indict him.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/26/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

On Monday night about 150 demonstrators picketed a local supermarket. When they failed to move from the path of a white man's automobile, he fired an eight-shot, .32 calibre automatic into the crowd. Five people were wounded, two severely.

Kosciusko, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/4/66. Dateline: Kosciusko (AP).

Headline: "CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MAKE VIOLENT THREAT"

"A band of young civil rights workers say they intend to shoot back if their 'Freedom House' is again made the target of nightriders."

One of the college students living in the house was nicked by pellets on February 2, when a carload of "nightriders" pumped five shotgun blasts into it. The students had been keeping watch in the house since New Year's Eve, when someone tried to burn it down.

Elba, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 2/26/66. Dateline: Elba.

A blast triggered by ten sticks of dynamite ripped through one wing of Elba High School, where two Negro students entered the eleventh and twelfth grades last fall. Two hundred people had just left the building following a banquet, but authorities said there were no Negroes in the crowd.

Members of the Second Howitzer Battalion of the 117th Artillery in Elba "will have 35 men on duty . . . throughout the weekend to preserve evidence relating to the bombing."

Neshoba County, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Democrat-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Neshoba County, (UPI).

A small Mennonite church, burned in 1964 during investigation of the murders of three civil rights workers, was dynamited Feb. 19.

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66.

"A representative of the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. filed suit . . . in Hinds County Court against four civil rights organizations and their directors in connection with the burning of a church March 5, 1965 . . . .

"In the declaration . . . (the representative) said, the defendants began renting the church July 24, 1964, with the purpose of achieving full and complete integration of Negro citizens into the political and economic life of the state of Mississippi.

"Shortly after the organizations moved into the building, the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. was notified that its fire insurance policy had been canceled due to the fact that the property was being used for a different purpose than it was when the policy of insurance was issued. The association then found out that no insurance company was willing to insure the property."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 2/23/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

Authorities discovered a "time-bomb factory," which they think may lead them to the "Birmingham Bombers" who terrorized the city early in 1965.

The county sheriff said the time bombs were "made and set out by members of an organization. He did not identify the organization."

Prattville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/19-20/66. Dateline: Prattville.

A Negro youth was beaten by "at least a dozen" white boys as he was repairing his car at a service station. He was arrested, and, "while in the car . . . he said that someone would get even with his attackers.

"The next thing he knew he was belted over the head again.

"The youth was rushed to the hospital, treated, and released . . . . "

He was "charged with resisting arrest and released on bond."

Zachary, LOUISIANA

The New York *Times* 2/8/66. Dateline: Zachary (UPI).

"A Negro's house was bombed last night, the fourth such mysterious explosion involving Negroes since last summer in the Baton Rouge areas."

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/1/66. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

"A retired Negro school teacher has said his Forest, Miss., home was riddled with gunfire a week ago on the eve of the desegregation of two Forest schools."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Clarion-Ledger-Daily News* 2/13/66. Dateline: Jackson.

"With one dissenting vote, the Senate passed a tightly written bill making it a felony for any person to fire a deadly weapon into a residence or other inhabited structure.

"The offense is currently classed a misdemeanor and carries a light fine and lighter jail sentence. The existing statute is so loosely written that it has occasionally led law officers in rural areas to laugh off volleys of gunshots fired into homes if no injury is reported.

"Officers have been prone to assume the negativistic attitude that since the offense is a misdemeanor, why bother to conduct a full-fledged investigation? A conviction, they have reasoned, would hardly be worth the time, effort and expense consumed by a thorough probing.

"This unfortunate fact, coupled with a barrage of civil rights activity in the state, has triggered the imagination of certain groups of people. The result has been a number of incidents in which nightriders fire upon the homes of persons they do not see eye to eye with."

Morven, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 3/3/66. Dateline: Morven (AP).

A white Methodist minister who set up a Negro Bible school near Morven, said he was being transferred to a church in Mecklenburg County because he feared "violence to my family."

"He said the first sign of any objection to the Bible school came in January when he found what appeared to be a bullet hole in the rear of his station wagon . . . .

"He said his family had received numerous telephone calls, some sympathetic, some curious and some objectionable."

Atlanta, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 2/25/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

The mayor of Atlanta and a young Negro "exchanged heated words Thursday night over whether Negroes living in Atlanta slums will stage a Watts-type riot here to improve their lot.

" 'Atlanta may have some violent disorders as we've seen in Watts,' warned . . . a spokesman from the Vine City Council.

" 'Your statement in my opinion is totally erroneous,' " the major retorted.

After being warned that "Negroes in Atlanta are getting anxious . . . . the mayor repeated, " 'I say to you again, there won't be another Watts in Atlanta. It'll have to happen over the top of me and a couple of other people I know.' "

The mayor then went on to discuss water pollution, finances and the police department.

Irvington, NEW JERSEY

Delta Democratic-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Irvington (UPI).

The NAACP field director from Mississippi, "brother of slain Medgar Evers, Sunday called for a violent answer to violence in the South."

He "claimed there were 32 unsolved civil rights deaths in Mississippi since the death of his brother, June, 1964.

"He said the FBI and the Justice Dept. 'had no intention of bringing justice' to the murderers of his brother, formerly the NAACP field director in Mississippi.

" 'It's time to start killing,' . . . (he) said. 'I will do all that I have to do so that Medgar is avenged.'

"He told his audience the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the nightriders would have to be answered by violence.

" 'We'll have to lay and wait for them at night, and fight with them all day,' he said. 'No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves.' "

THE CONTINUING CRISIS

File Malcolm's files "The Continuing Crisis"

JUNE 7, 1966

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wittenstein:

We are, under separate cover, forwarding 500 copies of "The Continuing Crisis" to your office. We are also sending an additional 500 copies to your New York office per their telephone request today.

We have received the invoice from Higgins McArthur for printing, including typography, etc. This includes Georgia Sales Tax. The bill is for $3,093.18. Your portion, as per our agreement, is $1,546.59.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

June 7, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Ed Lewis

Please send 500 copies of "The Continuing Crisis"
to:

American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Label is attached.

INTEROFFICE MEMO July 14, 1961

Dear C.H.

Jim asked me to let you know his arrival time in Louisville on July 21th: it is EAL flight #122, arriving at 9:56 a. m.

He leaves on EAL flight 408 at 4:45 p. m.

Montez Albright

TRIP SCHEDULE: C. H. PARRISH _ CHATTANOOGA, August 25, 1961

Thursday noon

Atlanta to Chattanooga

#124 EAL 8:30 a. m. (snack breakfast included) 9:09

#166 12:30 lunch 1:09

Chattanooga to Atlanta

#309, EAL 10:00 p.m. 10:34

October 2, 1961

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Enclosed is Bob Anderson's first draft of the Houston report. If possible, could you read it over and forward whatever comments you may have? I have agreed to meet with him on Saturday morning, October 7th. If you feel that this warrants your coming to Atlanta, I wonder if you will give me a ring and let's discuss it. If I don't hear from you, I'll know that your written comments will be forthcoming and will use these as a basis for our discussion. I am just in the process of reading over the draft myself, and so I cannot even begin to give you my impressions--the first two pages read well.

With all personal good wishes,

Cordially,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:A
Enclosure: CC of Houston Employment Study

Anti Desegr. City ordinances are what he wanted

November 3, 1961

Dear C. H.--

This has been an awful week; the Georgia Council meeting, getting ready for Mrs. Tilly's meeting and the Annual meeting, the office full of Russians half the time, plus a German and other visitors, and several people out sick with colds.

I have not been able to find what you want, but will list a capsule of what I found; I don't think it will do much good.

Petersburg, Va. Federal Districk Judge Albert V. Bryan has declined to rule on a plea to open the Petersburg public library on a non-discriminatory basis. Judge Bryan kept the case on the U. S. District Court docket subject to a call for a hearing from either the city of Petersburg or the Negro plaintiffs. The technicality for dismissing the suit is: the issues listed by the Negroes in their complaint do not exist; the library is closed to everybody. Oct. 8, 1960. Richmond News-Leader

Hopewell, Va. Municipal Court Judge Kirk L. Woody convicted a total of 20 Negroes on treaspassing charges (sit-ins in two Hopewell drugstores). 60-day jail sentences, $250 bonds. All will appeal. 9-14-60, Richmond News Leader

Four Hopewell (9-16-60) Negroes filed a civil rights suit in the U.S. District Court at Richmond, seeking to restrain Municipal Judge Kirk L. Woody from trying Negroes in groups instead of as individuals. Eight Negroes filed a suit in Hopewell Circuit Court alleging they were denied constitutional rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment and asking $25,000 damages. Also filed in the Federal Court was a suit by seven Negroes asking that Virginia's trespass laws be voided.

Norfolk, Va. Circuit Judge Thomas M. Johnston has dismissed the cases of 8 Negro juveniles charged with littering the streets by passing out handbills protesting lunch counter segregation.

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
• TRinity 5-7081

Printers & Lithographers

C. H. Parrish =

Human Relations Report

C H Parrish

City ordinance { desc. upheld rejected

State Court

Public facilities

Committees

Norfolk, Va.

4-21-61 7 students taken into custody for violating Norfolk municipal ordinance against passing out handbills

7-12-60 Judge dismisses case

~~Norfolk, Va~~

18

Petersburg, Va

7-22-60 Charges against 10 students in library for trespass dismissed - (I think on a technicality but you can check)

Richmond, Va.

check dismissal & chg. against students on sidewalk

November 3, 1961

Dear C. H.--

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Norfolk, Va. Circuit Judge Thomas M. Johnston has dismissed the cases of 8 Negro juveniles charged with littering the streets by passing out handbills protesting lunch counter segregation.

February 26, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

I am sorry I was tied up on another long distance call when you phoned this afternoon. Jean told me of the two matters you discussed and she will give you below the gist of my talk with John Abernethy in Washington as excerpted from another memo.

We will also get the information you require on Negro population and distribution to you before the end of the week.

> "...my first interview was with Mr. John T. Abernethy, Special Assistant, Bureau of African Affairs. We started off discussing the reaction of the Europeans attending the Salzburg seminars to my lectures last summer. My observations to the effect that the Europeans themselves sensed a common basis for understanding America and themselves on the very issue of race; that France, with its nationality problems, England similarly with regard to the British West Indies, etc., were more curious about how we have dealt with our inter-group relations problems than they were critical. This discussion led to a subject that a comparable interest

in race relations strategies in effecting change may be present in other areas of the world, particularly the multi-racial societies in East Africa and in Central Africa.

"Abernethy raised with me the possibility of sending to these areas of Africa mixed teams of inter-group relations specialists to perform a double function:

1. To bring up to date the information available to official State Department personnel and their families on racial changes in America, and

2. To enter into discussions with mixed African groups on successful strategies in race relations changes in America.

"I must confess that I am fascinated by this proposal. I think it suggests a departure in State Department policy in that we are no longer denying that racial problems exist, but shifting the emphasis to accepting the fact that these problems exist and emphasizing ways in which these problems are being constructively dealth with. I am fascinated, too, by the mixed team approach. It well indicates that there may not be any single way or method organizationally sanctioned for introducing change in American race relations, and that we may have to look to a variety of approaches for ultimate success."

If there is anything more we can do for you before you leave for Washington, C.H., please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

February 28, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

I had hoped to get this enclosed copy of a page from U.S. News & World Report off to you yesterday. I know you are eager to get this information before the end of the week. However, our Thermofax machine was out of kilter all day yesterday. It was repaired this morning and I was able to make this copy for you.

This seems to cover your request for data on Negro population and shifts in that population for the period 1950-60, Dr. Parrish. I hope it will be useful for you. If there is anything else we can do for you before you leave for Washington, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Research Department
Administrative Secretary

enc.

LD ✓

ML ✓

PR ✓

JAM

Jim: This was hastily written from memory and later typed without corrections — C.H.M.

Monrovia
April 9, 1962

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Mays:

I have had a hectic, but stimulating sojourn visiting (in Africa): —Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam, N'Dola, Addis Ababa, Lagos, Accra, and now Monrovia. After one more stop, in Dakar, I'll be heading for New York. I experienced little disappointment in being denied a visa to the Republic of South Africa. The refusal was expected and my trip has been fruitful beyond expectations, even without seeing the land of apartheid.

The duration of my stay "Inside Africa" has been short, but not quite short enough to qualify me as an expert. Nevertheless, certain conclusions have been borne upon me and confirmed by nearly everyone to whom I have talked.

In the first place, I have not sensed that the prestige of the United States is very high. In addition to a long, bitter experience with colonialism, many highly placed Africans, educated in the U.S., know at first hand about discrimination in America. They cannot believe that these attitudes have changed overnight. Consequently, to the question frequently asked by Europeans about race relations in the U.S., the Africans already have the answer. (Parenthetically, it may be suggested that Communist bloc countries have not been colonial powers and therefore do not suffer too much from the handicap of past exploitations.)

Another point in this connection is the quality of U.S. official representation. I do not know, of course, the importance now attached to posts in the new African countries. Nor do I have any statistics on the number of "carry overs" from the colonial period. But my guess is that diplomatic places in the African continent are much less sought after and carry less prestige than posts in most other parts of the world. I am told that southerners are much in evidence. I am also told that the Americans isolate themselves and have little to do with the people except in their official capacities. (In two places I visited, white Americans were having some difficulty retaining their African servants.)

It is a matter of no small significance that the few American Negroes I have talked to, who are not official representatives of the government, are more keenly aware of the advantages of U.S. citizenship after spending some time abroad than they were before they came. One man said to me, "My brown skin is the most valuable asset I have over here, <u>next to my American passport</u>." I am convinced that the American Negro's long and sometimes bitter struggle to attain equality of opportunity in his own country makes him, paradoxically, the strongest possible advocate of our brand of democracy when he goes abroad. He values his American citizenship because he has fought for it. He has fought for it, not by taking up arms against the government, but by appeal, through the courts, for implementation of the constitutional guarantees of individual freedom.

This brings me to a proposal, which seemingly germinated in the Bureau of African Affairs, and was called to my attention by Jim Moss, presently SRC Director of Research. It is the notion of the "biracial team." Briefly, an attempt would be made to involve more Negroes in more influential and varied capacities as member of delegation, commissions or other groups representing U.S. interests abroad. I had a short talk about this with Mr. Abernathy of the State Department when I was in Washington on my way out here. The soundness of the idea has grown on me during my trip. Originally, no doubt, proponents of the idea had Africa in mind as a focus for the biracial team approach. But immediately it occurred to me that the notion is equally valid for other parts of the world where the image of the U.S. is obscure (which is everywhere else). In Accra, the other day, I encountered a committee of American physicians who had come to make plans for a medical school there. It struck me that the approach should be broadened to include business and professional groups as well as official government representatives. I am confident that there are qualified Negro architects, engineers, public administrators, economists, or any other specialists that might be mentioned who would make themselves available for such missions.

Now, the two questions I am putting to you are: What do you think of these suggestions? ~~Just~~ How may they be implemented? The answer to the latter question would seem to involve the preparation of a joint memorandum and the selection of persons to whom it might be shown and who would, in turn, get consideration for it in the right place.

Please, when you have time, jot me a note to my Louisville address and I'll seek a convenient time to discuss the whole matter with you on my next trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

CHP/jre

March 1, 1952

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21 Burbury Lane
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March 1, 1952

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* * * *

Miss Annie E. McCleughlin
21 Burbury Lane
Great Neck, L. I.

March 28, 1952

Mr. William E. Cadbury
225 South Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Cadbury:

Many thanks for your letter of March 26th.

I can come up conveniently next week, and if you would be free on Wednesday, April 2 I would meet you at the University Club at 12:30 that day. If that's a poor day, or a poor time, let me know by Monday, and I can change.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM:s

PENN NORMAL INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

FROGMORE POST OFFICE

ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

MAR 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

COURTNEY SIDELOFF
Director of Community Program

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March 26, 1952.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your brother, Morris, called to see me about a week ago and we discussed the possibilities of some sort of cooperation between the Southern Regional Council and Penn Normal Industrial and Agricultural School.

While my mind is not clear regarding the course that we could take, it would be very helpful indeed to me if you and I could talk the matter over face to face.

Your brother said that you occasionally come to Philadelphia and perhaps we could get together. It would be a very real privilege for me to have you as my guest at luncheon at the University Club or, if that time of day did not suit you, we could talk here at my office.

I expect to be on hand here daily except for the Easter week-end, when we have our meeting on St. Helena Island - the Penn School Trustees meeting. If your visit here should precede that date, it would, of course, make possible the discussion of this suggestion then.

Very truly yours,

Wm E. Cadbury

Chairman.

225 So. 15th Street,
Philadelphia 2, Penna.

WEC:J

April 10, 1952

Dr. Morris Mitchell
The Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education
Putney, Vt.

Dear Morris:

Here is a copy of a letter I sent Marion Wright.

Sad, but so.

I have a corner of a hope that our idea will grow, but not immediately.

Sincerely,

GSM:ec
Encl.

THE PUTNEY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF TEACHER EDUCATION
Putney · Vermont

March 5, 1952

William E. Cadbury
R. D. + 2
West Chester, Pa.

Dear Friend:

I have been following with interest the work of Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff at the Penn School. They visited us here in November.

At the time of our earlier discussion I had the feeling, and sharedit with you, that the time had come for the Penn School to move from a local into a regional role. I find myself feeling this still more strongly and would like to discuss the matter briefly with you if you are willing.

I shall be on my way, with the students of this school, to study regional and community developments in the South leaving Putney the morning of March 16. I would be leaving Elizabeth at eight o'clock Monday morning, March 17 and could come to your office, if convenient, at about 10:30. 2255 So. 15th St

May I ask if this would be convenient and agreeable?

Cordially,

Morris R. Mitchell
Director

mrm:bm

M.R.M. It will be good to see you again & to hear what you have to propose —
WEC
3/10/52

Gen-8, Wed not return. d'd write
Wed compliment. RR.

Penn School

PENN NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

FROGMORE POST OFFICE

ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

HOWARD KESTER
Principal

MRS. HOWARD KESTER
Supervisor of Instruction

April 23, 1953

RECEIVED
APR 25
Southern Regional Council

Dear Harold,

I'm not much of a ball fan except around world series time, but have been interested that two of the ball clubs in this area--Savannah and Jacksonville-- have put Negroes on the teams. A couple of days ago, the Jacksonville team was in Columbia, and the result looks encouraging. I'm enclosing the clippings in case your scope of activity takes you to the ball parks.

Also slipping in some propaganda in case you've been overlooked--I don't think you have.

Some books arrived yesterday, and I'm taking them to Charlotte tomorrow when I go to pick up Elizabeth; she's been there for a week helping Sara have a baby. A little experience should serve the family well.

Best wishes,

Courtney

PENN
COMMUNITY SERVICES

Formerly

PENN NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL &
AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

FROGMORE P. O.

ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn School, founded in 1862 on the Island of St. Helena in South Carolina, has entered the second phase of its long and distinguished career of service. One of the earliest Negro educational ventures in the entire country, its school obligations are now assumed by the County and State. This leaves the plant, with a considerable nucleus of good will, free to operate as Penn Community Services, continuing to offer encouragement and guidance toward a well-integrated, self-reliant rural Negro community.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

FARMER'S GROUP

HEALTH CENTER

SALES HOUSE

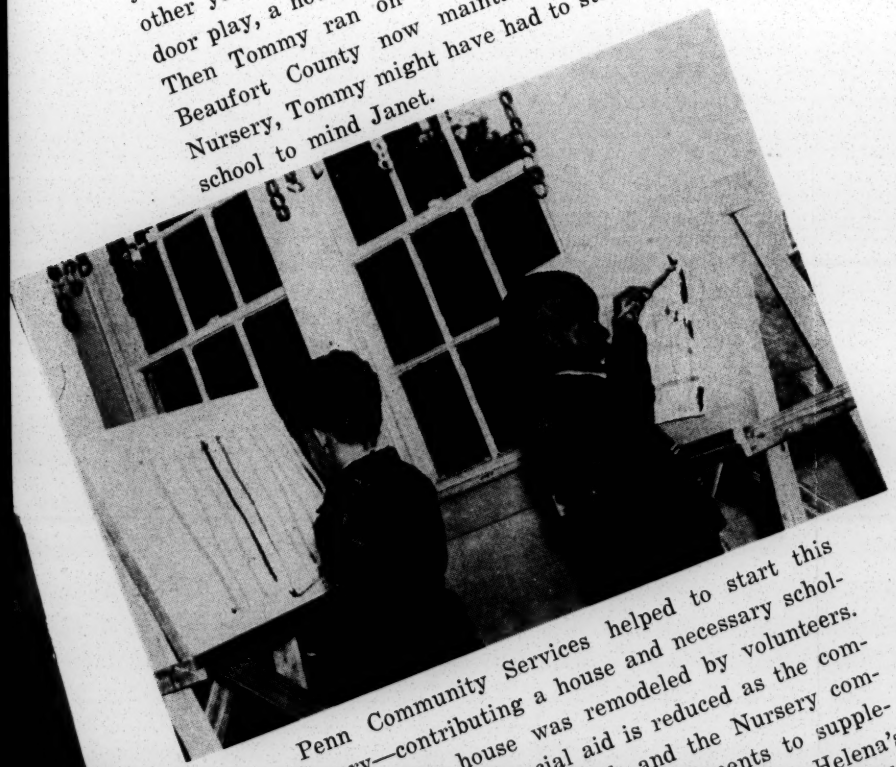
NURSERY

LIBRARY

"I'm going to Penn School now," sang four-year-old Janet as she was helped down from her parents' truck by big brother Tommy.

Actually the little girl was going to Penn Community Nursery, but the old school buildings, so much a part of St. Helena's tradition, will long be called with deep affection "Penn School."

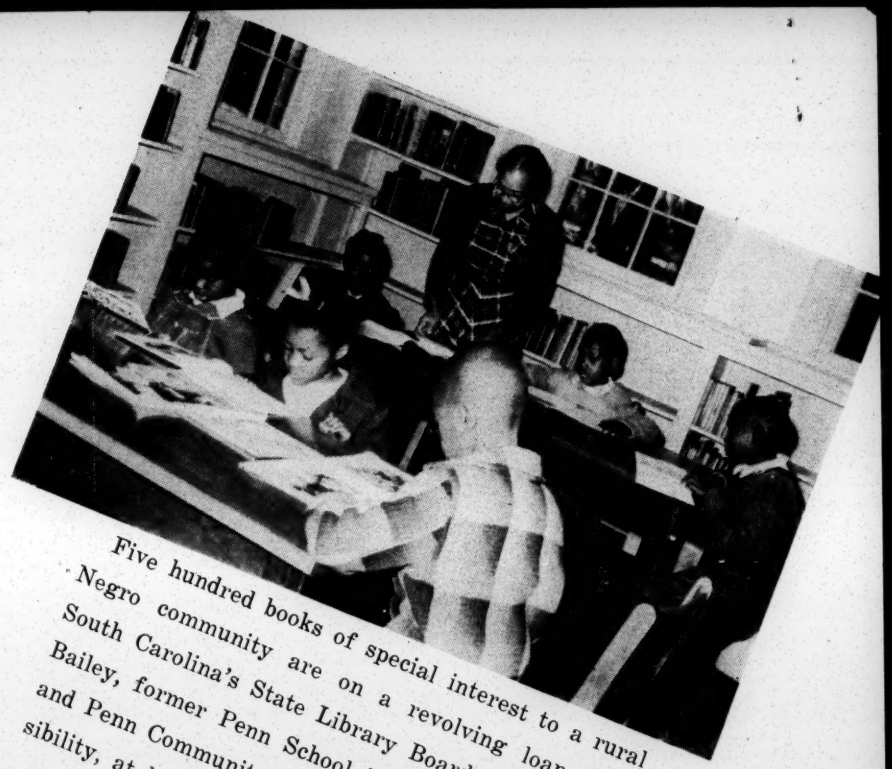
As Janet's father and mother drove off to their jobs, Tommy led the toddler in to join a score of other youngsters for a day that would include outdoor play, a hot lunch and a nap, stories and songs. Then Tommy ran on to elementary school which Beaufort County now maintains. But for Penn Nursery, Tommy might have had to stay home from school to mind Janet.



Penn Community Services helped to start this Nursery—contributing a house and necessary scholarships. The house was remodeled by volunteers. The amount of financial aid is reduced as the community's share is increased, and the Nursery committee sponsors monthly entertainments to supplement the low fees charged. Thus, St. Helena's Negro community, given some help in helping itself, gradually assumes more and more responsibility for what it needs and wants.

A farmers' committee meets to study marketing problems and new crop possibilities for St. Helena Island.

Little Janet and her mother make regular visits to the Rossa Cooley Health Center, located in Frissell Community House and equipped by the Cooley Memorial Fund. The clinic is serviced by Beaufort County Health Department and offers regular prenatal and well-baby clinics as well as pre-school immunization. The clinic provides the only preventive medical treatment on the Island. At the clinic, too, are monthly classes for midwives in the area, with the State Board of Health conducting yearly its State Midwives' Institute on the Penn campus.



Five hundred books of special interest to a rural Negro community are on a revolving loan from South Carolina's State Library Board. Mrs. Y. W. Bailey, former Penn School librarian, is in charge and Penn Community Services has financial responsibility, at least for this first year.

Both the library and the nursery are supervised by Island committees. Monthly meetings of the Community Activities Committee, with representatives from each "plantation," or neighborhood, coordinate the work of these two committees and others as well. Here too, problems are thrashed out and plans proposed.

The Sales House, through the sale of used clothing contributed by friends of Penn School, provides income to help finance community projects. The Sales House committee strives to keep the prices of its goods within the reach of low-budget families.

Scholarships given by Penn Community Services to two high school graduates enabled one girl to enter Tuskegee Institute and another Benedict College in Columbia this year. After receiving this initial aid, last year's scholarship holders are both continuing college on their own.

Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, an authority on small communities, recently said:

". . . It seems to me that the Penn School organization may be of significant value to St. Helena Island, perhaps even more than in the past . . .

"St. Helena Island has presented an exceptional opportunity for a Negro community to develop its own life on its own terms. If the young people leave for the cities and if the lands they own go out of use, they will be acquired by outsiders for raising cattle or for other large scale use, and in time the opportunity for a self directed community life will be largely lost. It will not be easy to create another such opportunity . . ."

The reason for seeking financial support for Penn Community Services is to assure the continuation of encouragement and guidance leading to a well-integrated, self-reliant rural Negro community.

You can help us to meet the continuing challenge of St. Helena Island by sending your contribution to:

Paul W. Brown, Jr., Treasurer
1416 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

A financial statement will be sent by the treasurer on request.

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DIRECTOR OF COMMUNITY PROGRAM

Courteney Siceloff

ADDRESS PARCELS FOR SALES HOUSE TO:

Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
Frogmore P. O.
St. Helena Island, S. C.

August 7, 1951

Mr. J. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Service Council
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

We have had a letter from Miss Harriet Davis Dryden inviting us to pass on to you any suggestions we might have for "The People Act" project.

Since your visit to the office, it has occurred to us that a good instance of local democracy at work has occurred recently right here in Atlanta. The Atlanta Urban League has coordinated a remarkably successful effort to get new, modern private housing for Negroes. The accomplishment is especially noteworthy since it resulted from unprecedented cooperation across racial lines. White and Negro entrepreneurs, white and Negro capital and credit were involved in various combinations; the FHA was persuaded to guarantee the financing by the joint efforts of white and Negro Atlantians; and of course, the Urban League itself is interracial.

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, executive secretary of the AUL, will shortly be writing you. But we did want to let you know that we are familiar with the achievement and feel that it is an example well worth spreading.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:bj

August 9, 1951

Miss Harriet Davis Dryden
Program Research
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Ave.
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Miss Dryden:

We were delighted to learn of "The People Act" project. The practice of local people solving their problems in full democracy is one which we have long sought to further.

Mr. Carson Pritchard visited us only last week, and we passed on to him our suggestions for suitable instances of local action. One of these—the Greenville, S. C., self-survey of conditions affecting the Negro community—fits your definition astonishingly well.

I think you will be interested in seeing a copy of our pamphlet "Greenville's Big Idea," which tells the story in brief. Note particularly the paragraph on page 31 beginning, "All these tangible gains. . ."

Feel free to call on us for any help we can give you or Mr. Pritchard.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 3, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. George C. Stoney has suggested that you might be interested in our radio project, explained in the enclosed material. He also thought that you might have suggestions as to good local action stories in the South.

We plan to be on the air, over CBS, sometime in November on Sunday afternoons, and are trying to research and explore as many meaningful story situations as possible. Our main consideration is that the community, area, or industry has solved its particular, fairly current, local problem through local action. In effect, we are trying to focus the nation's attention on the potentialities of democracy - democracy in action.

J. Carson Pritchard of the Carroll Service Council, Carrollton Georgia is our southern Field Associate and would follow through on any suggestions you care to offer.

Considerable attention will be given to the educational follow-up of these programs through a committee headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower. Therefore, we can be assured that any audience interest will not be neglected, rather it will receive guidance and consideration in constructive directions.

Any word from you will be deeply appreciated.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Harriet Davis Dryden

Harriet Davis Dryden
Program Research
"The People Act" Project

HDD:ml

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT REGARDING "THE PEOPLE ACT"

"The People Act" is a Project in the field of mass communication, which is part of The Ford Foundation's basic program for strengthening the processes of democracy.

Its medium is a radio program which shows Americans uniting to solve their local problems; agricultural, industrial, economic, educational, civic, cultural.

The Program tape-records the voices of the people telling their own story.

Listeners are invited to ask for printed materials and to seek counsel regarding their local problems. Certain university departments and organizations in various parts of the country will give a measure of assistance in the servicing of the inquiries. Such assistance will always be in terms of encouraging local people to release local energies to achieve solutions.

The type of local story sought for programing would have this kind of core:

"Here is a group of persons, who becoming conscious of a critical local need, set about to meet it with minimum assistance from the outside and with maximum release of local resources and energies. In the process of working together, through storm as well as fair weather, the participants grow in respect for each other, and the community experiences a certain elevation of its spirit."

This kind of action-experience we believe to be a distinguishing mark of vital democracy. We believe it is to be found throughout the free world and that its selection and delineation can effectively serve and inspire the common cause.

The Project will be sponsored by a National Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Milton Eisenhower, President of Pennsylvania State College.

The Program will be produced as part of the general program of The Ford Foundation for the use of television and radio as educational media under the over-all direction of James Webb Young.

The Director of the Project is Elmore Nakes. Field Associates are J. Gordon Pritchard and Alden Stevens.

The headquarters of the Project is at:

The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

THE PEOPLE ACT

True stories of real people acting together to solve their community problems of everyday living

---

Documentary radio series jointly produced by

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND AND THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

Transcriptions available for free loan distribution through

FEDERAL RADIO EDUCATION COMMITTEE (FREC)

U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

THIRTEEN DRAMATIC *half-hour radio programs telling how citizens of typical American communities acted together to solve some of their crucial everyday problems. These programs are transcribed from the original broadcasts, produced as a public service by the Twentieth Century Fund and the National Broadcasting Company's LIVING series.*

THE PEOPLE ACT

1 • MIRACLE ON THE MOUNT

Bat Cave, North Carolina

Through the zeal and devotion of a selfless young doctor, people in a remote mountain valley act to build themselves a hospital.

2 • PARTNERS IN VELVET

Stonington, Connecticut

The owner of a weaving mill acts to change the relationship with his workers from bitterness under a former regime, to mutual understanding and respect under his own.

3 • A PRAIRIE NOEL

Morganville, Kansas

The citizens of a tiny Kansas town acting "to do one constructive thing for peace" affiliate themselves with a tiny French town, and, incidentally, give an object lesson in two-way world trade.

4 • THE SUN SHINES BRIGHT

Kentucky

The dramatic story of civic awakening across the Blue Grass State typified by a doctor's wife's struggle for better rural schools and a veteran-student's campaign for legislative reforms.

5 • THE SYLVANIA STORY

Sylvania, Arkansas

Fifty-one farmers acting together to save the gutted soil inherited from their forebears, form a soil conservation district and, in so doing, discover a new solidarity.

Ben Grauer is Narrator and a Field Reporter (Elmore McKee, originator of the series' idea) brings to each program the recorded voices of Americans telling their real-life stories of democracy in action. A guest speaker from the Twentieth Century Fund shows how the stories apply to our whole nation. All programs have fine musical settings, top NBC direction.

Dynamic, educational, inspirational, full of practical suggestion—these action-packed documentaries are good entertainment, must-listening for everyone, young and old, who values democracy and is concerned about its future.

★

6 • HOME IS WHAT THEY MADE IT

Lorain, Ohio

Thirty-nine young war veterans act to overcome the delays, frustrations and high costs of construction by building each other's homes with their own hands in off-time hours.

7 • THE WOMEN DID IT

Lawton, Oklahoma

Women working as a group lead a whole community to clean up a slum area, to improve the city government, and to organize an expanded social service.

8 • CRUSADE IN BALTIMORE

Baltimore, Maryland

Aroused citizens organize to enforce the local Housing Code to make existing tenements more livable at a time when materials for new construction are hard to get.

9 • CLOTH OF MANY COLORS

New York City, N. Y.

A group of dauntless labor leaders strives over a period of years to bring about mature collective bargaining in the once-turbulent dress industry—one of the country's largest.

10 • THE CITY THAT REFUSED TO DIE

Decatur, Alabama

A community that faced ruin when its main industry left town works out its own destinies without benefit of outside help.

11 • AS THE CHILDREN GO

Haddon Township, N. J.

A group of citizens campaigns to educate the public which voted against the expansion of over-crowded schools so that when the issue comes up again at a special election, it wins unanimously.

12 • RED CLAY AND TEAMWORK

Carrollton, Georgia

Under strong spiritual leadership, a county discovers the power of teamwork, organizes a service council and lifts itself to new levels of prosperity and well-being.

13 • OUR PARTNER: THE PUBLIC

Toledo, Ohio

Industry and labor leaders of the world's glass capital, once torn by labor strife, unite with the public to make it a proving ground for peaceful labor-management relations.

Available on free loan from FEDERAL RADIO EDUCATION COMMITTEE (FREC), U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

WHAT THEY ARE **DOING** ABOUT

THE PEOPLE ACT

APPEAL UNIVERSAL

One of the largest groups of stations ever assembled for a public service program on the NBC network carried the programs originally. People listened attentively, wrote in from every state in the Union and as far away as Alaska and Hawaii. Letters came from listeners in all walks of life, all age groups, all income brackets. More than half the letters came from men.

PROGRAM MATERIALS WIDELY USED

Scripts and transcriptions of these broadcasts are being featured by leading universities, colleges and school systems, as well as in the Armed Forces of the United States. Teachers and discussion leaders find them of great value in citizenship training, community service, social studies, labor relations, radio, economics, government, English courses, etc. A number of educational institutions plan to adopt the programs for special study with credit toward a degree.

Materials are also being used by business firms, civic organizations, citizens' committees, women's clubs, and individuals, in personnel training courses, as source material for theses, speeches and debates, for group discussion meetings, etc. Many communities are using them to inspire similar projects.

CONTINUATION OF THE IDEA

The Voice of America rebroadcast the series in English to Europe, South America and the Orient; has scheduled a new 15-minute series based on the programs, with Elmore McKee as the Free World Reporter. The Pan American Union sought permission to translate the scripts for seminars in South America. A State Department representative recommended that the series be adopted globally.

Independent and educational radio stations intend to rebroadcast the programs. The Fund for Adult Education, financed by the Ford Foundation, is planning a new and enlarged series under the same title with Elmore McKee participating.

THE PEOPLE ACT, in fact, lives on!

WHAT THEY ARE **SAYING** ABOUT

THE PEOPLE ACT

"This seems to me the most important recent development in the use of the radio." — Francis S. Chase, *Director, Rural Editorial Service, University of Chicago.*

"This kind of program . . . can be a most important resource in furthering the work of citizenship education." —William S. Vincent, *Executive Officer, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University.*

"If I were asked to name the finest single radio performance of 1950, I would name . . . this powerful dramatization of labor-employer relationship founded on a factual case. [It] is a lesson to America." — Mrs. O. B. Eisendrath, *Chattanooga, Tennessee.*

"I think they should be of very great value, particularly at the present time, in reminding the American people again of the fact that democracy must have living roots at community levels or else it will wither away." — General Lucius D. Clay.

"The material received is not only beneficial for discussions, but it has really changed a few citizens toward their civic duties." — Charles W. Chylinski, *Calumet City, Illinois.*

"We felt that through these programs the students got a clear idea of what democracy means." — Willis Thompson, *Principal, New Rochelle (New York) High School.*

"I am of the conviction that [the series] should have very genuine interest for the radio audience." — Reverend William J. Kelley, O.M.I., *Oblate Scholasticate, Washington, D. C.*

"We are very much impressed with your program 'The People Act.' " — Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale, *Editor, Parents' Magazine.*

"Such a series is a credit to radio." — *Christian Science Monitor.*

". . . an inspiring document." — *The New York World-Telegram and Sun.*

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

New location:
655 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
17 1951
Southern Regional Council

August 14, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Dryden is at present away on a field trip, so I am taking the liberty of writing to thank you for your letter of August 9 and the most interesting suggestion you made for possible inclusion in "The People Act" radio series.

It sounds just the type of local action instance for which we are looking and I am sure Mrs. Dryden, and others at the Foundation, will go over it carefully with reference to its program possibilities.

Thank you for passing on the information to Mr. Carson Pritchard when he visited you last week, and thank you also for your pamphlet "Greenville's Big Idea," telling the story in brief.

Sincerely yours,

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1
Southern Regional Council

Joy Ruby

Joy Ruby
Secretary to Mrs.H.D.Dryden

November 23, 1951

Mrs. Harriet Dryden
"The People Act"
855 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Dryden:

I have just talked with Carson Pritchard about the proposed broadcast on the Greenville, S. C., self-survey.

In our experience with the self-survey method, we have never seen it yield more effective results than it has in Greenville. The explanation, in one word, is participation. From the time the self-survey was first conceived, it had publicity of the widest kind. As a result, it had the interest of ordinary people in the community from the start. About three hundred persons had a direct part in the fact-finding. They were volunteers who responded to a newspaper call for members of the public to turn out at a mass meeting, where the survey was organized.

Thanks to the broad base from which it was launched, the survey came as close to being pure community action as any organized effort can. It was never regarded as the "project" of any particular agency or group of individuals. (The Community Council performed many of the necessary administrative tasks, but its function was wholly a coordinating one.) A glance at the membership of the Steering Committee, as listed in the enclosed pamphlet, gives some idea of the breadth of representation on the policy level; race does not appear, but about half the members are white and half Negro.

Since the survey was completed, the cooperation of a large segment of the public has been enlisted in the follow-up, through speakers, the press, radio, and civic clubs.

The Greenville survey is significant in race relations in the South because it undertook and largely accomplished a thing greatly needed. A background for better race relations is being systematically and vigorously laid by such private agencies as the NAACP, by the whole civil rights movement, and by the pressure of religious and moral forces. The result is controversy, of course, and good controversy. But there

is all too little of getting down to the brass tacks of answering day-to-day Negro grievances. Houses and schools and jobs and bus rides and parks and sanitation and newspapers and the rest need long strides now. As a matter of fact, the very heat of controversy over the general issues, we are finding, deters many people in many communities from working energetically at present injustices. The value of the Greenville example lies in the community determination to clean up a lot of things here and now. And of course (whisper it not) in doing that Greenville learned lessons in dignity and equality which will greatly speed the day when the whole principle of non-discrimination will have been accepted.

Having rendered advisory services to the Greenville self-survey, we would be especially pleased to see its example spread. As an instance of local initiative and democracy at work, it seems to us eminently suitable for a series entitled "The People Act".

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/f

bc: Carson Pritchard

November 30, 1951

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Community Council
Carrollton, Ga.

Dear Carson:

Here is a letter Miss Dryden sent us.

I hope any reluctance in Greenville can be overcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

"THE PEOPLE ACT"

A National Radio Series That Shows People Working Together to Solve Their Local Problems

655 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

HEADQUARTERS
FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Director
ELMORE McKEE

Field Associates
J. CARSON PRITCHARD
ALDEN STEVENS

Program Research
HARRIET DAVIS DRYDEN

Public Information
HAROLD MANTELL

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman
MILTON S. EISENHOWER, President
The State College of Pennsylvania

WILLIAM W. BIDDLE
Program in Community Dynamics
Earlham College

THOMAS R. CARSKADON
Education Department
The Twentieth Century Fund

BEN M. CHERRINGTON
Social Science Research Foundation
University of Denver

ROY J. COLBERT
Bureau of Community Development
University of Wisconsin

RABBI MORTON GOLDBERG
B'Nai Israel Synagogue
Toledo

JOHN A. HANNAH, President
Michigan State College

IRVINE S. INGRAM, President
West Georgia College

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President
Fisk University

JESS OGDEN
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Extension Division
University of Virginia

ROBERT A. POLSON
Department of Rural Sociology
Cornell University

RICHARD W. POSTON
Adult and Extension Services
University of Washington

F. C. ROSECRANCE
School of Education
New York University

PAUL SHEATS
University Extension Service
Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles

CARL TJERANDSEN
Institute of Citizenship
Kansas State College

November 28, 1951

EDUCATIONAL OFFICE
RAY H. SMITH, *Director*
Box 342
State College, Pa.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter of guidance on our proposed Greenville program. You have certainly given me perspective about Greenville, as well as the South.

Now, unfortunately, we have not received consent from some of the Greenville participants to have the people who have acted, tell their stories. I assume that Carson Pritchard has revealed these details to you by now.

Please be assured of my appreciation for your continued interest and assistance in our project.

Sincerely,

Harriet Davis Dryden

HDD:jr

Harriet Davis Dryden
Program Research

Ford - Radio

"THE PEOPLE ACT"

A National Radio Series That Shows People Working Together to Solve Their Local Problems

655 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

HEADQUARTERS
FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Director
ELMORE McKEE

Field Associates
J. CARSON PRITCHARD
ALDEN STEVENS

Program Research
HARRIET DAVIS DRYDEN

Public Information
HAROLD MANTELL

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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School of Education
New York University

PAUL SHEATS
University Extension Service
Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles

CARL TJERANDSEN
Institute of Citizenship
Kansas State College

EDUCATIONAL OFFICE
RAY H. SMITH, *Director*
Box 342
State College, Pa.

Carrollton, Georgia
December 4, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I appreciate the help you gave me in my attempt to develop the Greenville story. I did a 15,000 word document with good quotes for the radio program; but one after another has written me that he or she thought it unwise to say for radio what they had said to me. I regret this exceedingly.

I am currently on the trail of the International Harvester attitude toward fair employment in their Memphis plant. If you know anything about that I would appreciate hearing. In fact I want to get over there and have another gab-fest with you soon. If you have contacts in Memphis that would be of help I would appreciate a call from you rather than waiting for the gab-fest.

The Mrs. Hamilton has never written me or sent me the Atlanta Urban League material. It might be just what we are looking for, although the series is heavily weighted now with Georgia stories.

Thanks from The People Act people.

Sincerely,

J. Carson Pritchard

J. Carson Pritchard

JCP/lm

"THE PEOPLE ACT" is Supported by the FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION Established by THE FORD FOUNDATION

Same letter sent to heads of all State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees.

January 9, 1952

Rev. C. Emerson Smith
Virginia Dept. of Interracial Cooperation
of the Virginia Council of Churches
109 W. Grace St., Rm. 202
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We will be grateful for any advice you may be able to give on the following project.

The Television and Radio Workshop, financed by the Ford Foundation, is producing a series of radio programs under the title, "The People Act." (Columbia Broadcasting System, every Sunday, 10:05 P. M. EST.) The object is to dramatize actual examples of grassroots community action in which local people recognize a problem and organize to meet it effectively. The stories are told by the recorded voices of the people who actually took part; names, places, and dates are used. The problem dealt with may be anything—getting a new hospital, eliminating organized crime, getting interracial cooperation, improving housing conditions, or what not.

Mr. J. Carson Pritchard, of Carrollton, Georgia, is the Southern representative of "The People Act." He is most anxious to learn of instances in the South which would be suitable for dramatization. (One of the main problems, of course, is that the local people concerned must be willing to have their achievement dramatized, and to cooperate in the production.)

We think it is appropriate that the Southern Regional Council assist "The People Act" in every possible way. If you know of likely stories in your state, or elsewhere, please let me know, so that we can pass the information on to Mr. Pritchard.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec

January 16, 1952

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Service Council
Carrollton, Ga.

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

I had occasion today to mention "The People Act" to Miss Mary Jane Willett, head of YWCA activities in the Southeast. (Her office is here in the building.) She, like us, is very much interested in the program and eager to help in any way she can. She said that she would put the word out to her people to report promising community action.

I will pass on to you any suggestions that Miss Willett may turn up.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JAN 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 19, 1952

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I don't think now of a situation in New Orleans which is of sufficient interest to present in "The People Act". However, our Race Relations Committee is working on a plan for developing public interest in the improvement of our public school system. If we come up with something effective I will let you know so that a determination can be reached as to whether it might be well to dramatize our experiences on this radio program.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Department of Education

FRANKFORT

February 5, 1952

RECEIVED FEB 7 1952 Southern Regional Council

FILE REFERENCE

Reply to:

Moral and Spiritual Education
1275 Starks Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

After receiving your letter of January 9 relative to the Television and Radio Workshop financed by the Ford Foundation, I wrote the enclosed letter to the Superintendent of Fort Thomas Schools and described the incident I'd heard of and thought might be dramatized for the radio program, "The People Act".

I suggest that you write to him and to Mr. Pritchard about the nature of the experience and the possibility for a radio skit. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Morris B. Cierley, the new president of the Northern Kentucky Education Association and principal of Highlands High School, Fort Thomas, Kentucky. Mr. Cierley has read your letter and mine and advises that "...the N.K.E.A. will cooperate in any way possible if CBS has an interest in presenting this on their program, "The People Act." The delegate meeting with the same personnel could very easily be re-enacted."

If there is any need for my further cooperation in this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings
Director

JMT:vg

COPY

January 25, 1952

Mr. Russell E. Bridges
Fort Thomas City Schools
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Bridges:

The enclosed letter, received from Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information for Southern Regional Council, will serve to give you the background for a suggestion I would like to make.

The Southern Regional Council is especially interested in inter-racial progress, and is a positive and respected group. One of the best incidents of interracial progress made on the basis of good will, and as an application of moral and spiritual values, happened during the N.K.E.A. meeting in November.

I have been told by a delegate that the Negro schools at Covington asked to be included in the N.K.E.A. meeting, presenting as they made the request a check for $24.00, the equivalent of membership dues for the Negro teachers interested in attending. The delegate telling me the story said, "Here we were, planning a meeting on 'Moral and Spiritual Values in Education'. There could be but one answer. The request from the Negro teachers was a test of our sincerity in applying moral and spiritual values in our own situations. It's one thing to want it for our pupils, but we must live these things in our own lives first".

Plans for the reception which opened the meeting included the Negro teachers. There were no closed doors, and only one delegate voted in opposition to sending in unqualified invitation to the Negro teachers.

It seems to me that a reenactment of the delegates meeting using the teachers in Covington (or the actual people concerned, if possible) would present the kind of dramatic incident SBS is looking for. And it certainly proves the point of our emphasis on moral and spiritual values.

You might place this correspondence into the hands of the people who should decide whether or not to accept the invitation.

When you advise me of their reaction, I will forward recommendations to Mr. Fleming.

Give my best regards to everyone.

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

"THE PEOPLE ACT"

A National Radio Series That Shows People Working Together to Solve Their Local Problems

~~655 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.~~

601 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

PROGRAM HEADQUARTERS
THE TV-RADIO WORKSHOP
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Director of "The People Act"
ELMORE McKEE

Story Editor
JOHN JEFFERSON

Program Research
HARRIET DAVIS DRYDEN

Field Research Associates
J. CARSON PRITCHARD
CHARLES W. ROMINE
LEWIS H. SPENCE

Assistant to the Director
ELEANOR A. EATON

Public Information
HAROLD MANTELL

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman
MILTON S. EISENHOWER, President
The Pennsylvania State College

ALVIN T. ANDERSON
Department of Agricultural Economics
University of Illinois

WILLIAM W. BIDDLE
Program in Community Dynamics
Earlham College

THOMAS B. CARSKADON
Education Department
The Twentieth Century Fund

BEN M. CHERRINGTON
Social Science Research Foundation
University of Denver

ROY J. COLBERT
Bureau of Community Development
University of Wisconsin

RABBI MORTON GOLDBERG
B'Nai Israel Synagogue
Toledo

JOHN A. HANNAH, President
Michigan State College

IRVINE S. INGRAM, President
West Georgia College

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President
Fisk University

JESS OGDEN
JEAN OGDEN
Extension Division
University of Virginia

ROBERT A. POLSON
Department of Rural Sociology
Cornell University

RICHARD W. POSTON
Adult and Extension Services
University of Washington

F. C. ROSECRANCE
School of Education
New York University

PAUL SHEATS
University Extension Service
Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles

CARL TJERANDSEN
Institute of Citizenship
Kansas State College

"THE PEOPLE ACT" CENTER
BOX 342, STATE COLLEGE, PA.

Educational Director
RAY H. SMITH

June 18, 1952

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE ACT RADIO SERIES:

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The current People Act radio series will conclude Sunday, June 29. The final program will be a recapitulation, with a pointing up of certain conclusions.

I am writing on behalf of the TV-Radio Workshop and the National Committee to thank you for your cooperation on the series. Also to make this report:

1. The series has been carried over some 165 stations of the C.B.S. radio network and some 27 stations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The Nielsen ratings suggest that there have been nearly 5 million weekly listeners. The Voice of America is currently broadcasting The People Act in English. There will be a second-run of the series in the autumn. The original agreements make possible two broadcasts in every city. Commercial stations may secure transcriptions on sale at cost, or on free loan, from our State College office; educational stations from the Federal Radio Education Commission, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.---after September 1. The enclosed folder has just come from the printer. Should you wish additional copies, please let us know.

2. Over 700 universities, colleges, schools and community organizations have requested scripts or records. Many of the records are affording excellent material for local panel discussions and as supplements to talks on the sources of democratic strength. Records have been requested for use in Canada, England, India, Israel and Germany.

3. The Center has received some 700 specific requests for help or counsel, varying, of course, greatly in their significance. We are doing our best, with a limited staff, to answer these letters by referral to qualified persons, concerned organizations and agencies, and in a few cases by personal visits.

"THE PEOPLE ACT" is Presented by the TV-RADIO WORKSHOP and Supported by the FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION, Established by the THE FORD FOUNDATION.

4. We expect to publish an inexpensive book containing the best stories of the first and second People Act series, with a separate teaching manual.

5. We are currently making return visits to all communities of program origin, to express appreciation, to continue research, and to relate each community to on-going developments.

6. Because of the above mentioned community response to the radio series and in view of the wide interest in a second-run of the series, The People Act Center will continue in being with headquarters at State College, Pa., and a smaller office in New York (MUrray Hill 8-7624). We would appreciate knowing of any community projects which you believe have been stimulated by the series. We would also appreciate your frank reaction to The People Act programs and your suggestions as to how we may be of service to you.

Ours has been an experimental and difficult, but, on the whole, encouraging venture. We trust we have been of some help in stimulating local action processes and in furthering an exchange of information.

As this letter was being written, we received a copy of a United Nations translation of the "Tin Top, Texas" story into Chinese and Korean for possible use among prisoners of war. The narrator concludes: "The citizens of Tin Top have shown what free peoples can do. You can do it too - in your community - when you return."

Sincerely yours,

Elmore M. McKee

Elmore M. McKee

enclosure

August 26, 1952

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Service Council
Carrollton, Ga.

Dear Carson:

September 22 at Emory for lunch on the follow-up of "The People Act" is grand, and I will be there. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

11/22/52

GSM--

Carson Pritchard called to invite the two of us to a luncheon meeting at Emory University on September 22 at 1:00 p.m. Purpose is to discuss follow-up on responses to The People Act series, by communities seeking help in solving their local problems. I told him we could be there as far as I knew, but that you would confirm on your return.

HCF

Dear George Mitchell:

I want to share with you the news contained in Houston Myers' letter from Georgetown, Miss.

You will delete the personal credit and accent of the letter; because the truth of the matter is that they did make the gains without any help from me.

Further reports I want you to have include: (1) appreciated encouragement expressed in many ways by participants in four "clinics" held so far, including the listing of additional responsible referral persons in various problem and geographical areas of the country; and (2) encouragement has been given the Research-on-tape technique as a possible device of community therapy by Dr. Carl R. Rogers of the University of Chicago Counselling Center. It was from his use of non-directive approaches to problem individuals that the idea came of taking a similar approach to problem communities.

J Carson Pritchard

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

C
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P
Y

160

Georgetown, Mississippi
October 8, 1952

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

I am sure you have decided by this time that I do not intend to let you hear from us. But to be truthful we have been quite busy and so many things have happened that I haven't had time to write.

One of the things we have done is to carry out one of the aims we talked about when you were here; and that is securing a doctor for our community. We had Dr. Wright from Summit to move into our clinic last week and we feel very fortunate in having him here with us. Already he is quite busy and his practice is growing daily, which brings people into town who otherwise went to adjoining communities.

We have also gotten the streets paved by both churches joining the new highway; and one by the clinic; with progress being made on one by the school building.

Work has been started on the bleachers for the football field and we feel this quite an accomplishment for a town our size.

We were contacted by the Mississippi Employment Service and plans are underway for a labor survey to be made of Georgetown and surrounding territory on October 11, which we hope will result in an industry of some type being interested in locating in Georgetown. This will be followed by an industrial survey. We felt that possibly you were responsible for this and if so we wish to thank you.

We are working at present with the Public Service Commission and the local telephone company to improve telephone service for Georgetown and to secure telephone service for adjoining areas.

Two new businesses have been set up here including a beauty parlor and an appliance store. The Pure Oil service station has been rebuilt and improves the looks of our town considerably. And it is possible we may have a shoe repair shop soon.

Attempts have also been made by a committee of men from our club to contact the members of the board of aldermen and the mayor in an effort to establish a better municipal government in that the people feel that they are entitled to know the financial status of the town and we would like to get the administration to work with us for a better Georgetown.

We feel encouraged over the progress we have made since your visit and feel that it was your influence which gave us the urge to go forward. We cherish your prayers for us as we strive to do what we feel is best for our community.

Let us hear from you.

Yours truly,

Houston B. Myers, President
Pearl River Valley Civic and
Commercial Club

A Dramatic New Radio Series

THE PEOPLE ACT....

Real-Life Stories About Americans Today . . . Working Together to Solve Their Local Problems.

26 Tape-recorded Programs Presented by

THE PEOPLE ACT CENTER

A Project of the Fund for Adult Education
Established by the Ford Foundation

(Programs originally presented by the TV-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation and produced over the CBS Radio Network.)

The People Act . . . .

1 • In GARY, INDIANA
Ten thousand women unite to lead the fight against crime and corruption in a teeming industrial city.

2 • In ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
Suburban commuters win new schools for their children — and their area by cooperating to defeat a political machine.

3 • In BLAIRSVILLE, GEORGIA
Average men in an isolated area remake their community and relate it to the outside world by discovering their own leadership.

4 • In KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
A group of Mexican-American residents act to improve their neighborhood by integrating themselves into the life of their city.

5 • In UPPER VERMONT
The people of six rural towns find "sacred local boundaries" giving way, as they unite for fuller use of their common resources.

6 • In CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Labor and Management in a steel fabricating plant find a path toward harmony and cooperation, after years of bitterness and suspicion.

7 • In TUPELO, MISSISSIPPI
An area, dependent upon one crop, creates the "Tupelo Plan" to achieve new prosperity through model farms and diversified industry.

8 • In NEW SHARON, MAINE
When the school house burns down for the third time, 761 townspeople finance and re-build their own modern fireproof grade-and-high school.

9 • In TIN TOP, TEXAS
Thirty-three widely scattered farm families, living with poor roads and eroded soil, become a community by facing and acting upon their mutual needs.

10 • In MT. ADAMS, WASHINGTON
The citizens of a declining lumber area survey their total resources and map a new future.

11 • In SYRACUSE, NEW YORK
An industrial city mobilizes its resources to meet the recreational, health, housing and employment needs of its older citizens.

12 • In BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS
A community and an airforce base work out their common problems together.

13 • In KING COUNTY, WASHINGTON
A community reorganizes its court system to meet its juvenile problem.

14 • In BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK
An industrial community seeks to meet the needs of the physically handicapped.

15 • In SCRANTON, PENNSYLVANIA
An industrial city in a depleted coal mining area seeks to solve the problem of unemployment.

16 • In SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
The citizens of a racially mixed neighborhood learn the power of teamwork.

17 • In ESSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY
Concerned citizens organize to provide training and opportunity for mentally retarded children.

18 • In SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIF.
Ranchers, agricultural workers and community face up to the problems of migrant workers and provide health and educational facilities.

19 • In CARROLL COUNTY, GEORGIA
An international exchange of farmers brings new understanding to rural communities.

20 • In OWATONNA, MINNESOTA
A community exercises "A Peoples' Foreign Policy" by welcoming and integrating displaced persons into its life.

21 • In EAST HARLEM, NEW YORK
Church leaders work with the people of an overcrowded area to improve housing, train leaders and build responsibility.

A new series of 26 half-hour broadcasts about the adventures of typical Americans—

Men and women who are solving crucial every-day problems of community living—

Problems that concern you.

These transcribed programs are presented by The People Act Center of The Fund for Adult Education.

They are brought to you by CBS producer Irving Gitlin, winner of a Peabody Award for his "Nation's Nightmare" series—in the real voices of the men, women, and children who are making democracy work—by working together.

With commentator Robert Trout as narrator, "The People Act" series unfolds the human drama of Americans in action . . . in communities across the nation.

These memorable stories, which have made network history, are now available as long-playing transcriptions for re-broadcast by radio stations . . . and for permanent home, school and community use.

22 • In SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
A community organizes to solve the problem of alcoholism through education and guidance.

23 • In ALEXANDRIA, MINNESOTA
A Minnesota town is aroused by its young people who form a Youth Council that becomes a force for progress and unity in the total community.

24 • In JEROME COUNTY, IDAHO
A community overhauls and develops a sub-standard farm as a model soil conservation project for the region.

25 • In DELAWARE, OHIO
Campus and town unite to form an experimental political council, in their battle for good local and national government.

26 • In the U. S. A.
The human meaning of democratic teamwork summed up in the voices-and-sounds of Americans acting together in communities across the nation.

Available for sale to individuals and groups from:
THE PEOPLE ACT CENTER, State College, Pa.

Available on free loan from: **FEDERAL RADIO EDUCATION COMMITTEE (FREC)**
U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

YOUR COMMUNITY and *"The People Act"*

In 1950 Elmore McKee originated the idea for the *first* "People Act" series. This was sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund and produced over 125 stations of the NBC Radio Network. Since then the series has been broadcast by the "Voice of America" and the Armed Forces Radio Network overseas, and by many independent stations in the United States.

In 1952 the Ford Foundation's TV-Radio Workshop and the Fund for Adult Education presented over the nationwide CBS Radio Network the current series of 26 programs showing typical Americans acting together to solve their local problems, and so, to strengthen their communities. To meet the response caused by the programs, the National Committee for The People Act (Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, Chairman) maintains THE PEOPLE ACT CENTER. The Center is ready to answer inquiries and to help listeners adapt the programs to their own local situations, through:

RECORDS. These are long-playing microgroove transcriptions (12 in. 33-1/3 rpm) for permanent home, church, school, factory or community use. You can purchase records at $1.85 per disc (each coupling two programs) or $24.85 for the complete series (13 discs containing all 26 stories) from the Center. Records are also available for free loan distribution through the Federal Radio Education Committee (FREC), U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

SCRIPTS. Scripts printed in convenient pamphlet form, together with interpretive material for each program, are available on request.

TEACHING MATERIALS. After September 1, 1952, teaching materials including story summaries, general factual material about each subject, and suggested questions for *discussion groups* will be available for use with the recordings.

CONSULTATION SERVICES. Communities facing local problems are invited to write to The People Act Center for further information as to the application of programs to their special needs and for the names of qualified persons in their area with whom they may consult.

THE PEOPLE ACT CENTER

A Center for the Study and Strengthening of The Local Community

STATE COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

COMMENTS ON
"The People Act"

"To reawaken the individual's awareness of his own power and remind him that democracy's strength lies in action and not words, 'The People Act' is using a most vivid and pertinent type of lesson, the lesson of example."—Jack Gould, *Radio Editor, The New York Times.*

". . . an excellent contribution to our definition of democracy." —Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale, *Editor, Parents' Magazine.*

"Hearing actual examples of democracy at work rebuilds one's faith and is a source of inspiration in these times of fear and hysteria."—A family in California.

" . . . my recommendation for the outstanding radio program of the year."—Bill Ladd, *Radio Editor, Louisville Courier Journal, Kentucky.*

"My congratulations on your magnificent radio production. . . . It paints a very important and dramatic picture of what is happening in so many of our cities today and should arouse the public from an apathy toward their obligations as citizens of their community."—William Westley, *Westley-Roosevelt Enterprises, Carmel, New York.*

"Last evening Armed Forces Radio carried a People Act program about Baltimore. It was a great pleasure to be able to refer some of my cynical friends to your clear-cut story of one American town's progress in slum clearance."—A U. S. Army Major writing from Korea.

"Your dramatization of the Inland Steel labor-management dispute and settlement was one of the most enlightening and encouraging broadcasts of the past decade."—J. Ray Hunt, *Research Institute of America, New York City.*

"There is a refreshing candor about the program, an effort to get at the bottom of things, a refusal to glamorize or excuse civic corruption and slipshod citizenship. It is a grand lesson in that very term—citizenship."—Saul Carson, *Radio Critic, Billboard.*

"Our democracy depends upon individual participation. . . . I was deeply impressed by your true story of people in the Kansas flood area. . . . With us, discussion-into-action is fundamental, to the end that the local community and the world may be better for all."—Dorothy C. Stratton, *National Executive Director, Girl Scouts of the U. S. A.*

"I have learned to look forward eagerly to your most worthwhile educational program."—David Robinson, *Chairman, Advisory Committee, Fair Employment Practices Division, Oregon Bureau of Labor.*

"If democracy is to succeed, people must be shown ways to work out their problems. When people are given the facts and are shown how community problems can be solved, they usually are willing to do what is best for all. . . . Again, accept my thanks for your efforts to inform the public on ways to improve existing conditions."—Julia A. Emmons, *Michigan Education Association, Grand Rapids, Michigan.*

119 Washington Avenue
Lexington, Kentucky
April 3, 1939

RR-KY-EM

Mr. H. H. Gordon
Regional Director
Farm Security Administration
United States Department of Agriculture
Raleigh, North Carolina

Subject: Appalachian Area

Dear Mr. Gordon,

You may recall that on Saturday, April first, in Doctor Mitchell's office I attempted to draw on a map an area to be designated as an Appalachian area or a special problems area, and that I made the statement that upon further study, the line might be changed somewhat. I pointed out that I had in mind that in all probability, because of commercial farming in the extreme southern tip of it and because of the large amount of self-sufficing farming generally through the area, the area should be confined to one problem, namely, that of self-sufficing farmers.

I find, upon making a review of the Appalachian area and of "Disadvantaged Classes in Agriculture", that it appears practical to designate as a problem area that part of the area and contiguous territory where the predominating type of farming is self-sufficing and part-time farming. This self-sufficing and part-time farming will usually be associated with mine and forest, and will have many other problems in common.

To so designate the area would leave out the cotton belt portion of northern Alabama and northwestern Georgia, and would bring in the coal measures area of western Kentucky and southern Illinois, and would bring in some area east of the Blue Ridge and lying just contiguous to the Appalachian area in north central Virginia. Anyway, at the present time I think that this is the area involved.

I would appreciate receiving your opinion on this.

Very truly yours,

Earl

EARL MAYHEW
State Director

EM:ep
Copy to: Mr. George S. Mitchell, Assistant Administrator

EXHIBIT

Pto P

March 21, 1944

Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

In the next issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which is a monthly publication issued by the Southern Regional Council and which has nearly 3,000 subscribers, we should like to call the attention of our readers to Dr. Myrdal's magnificent and challenging work, An American Dilemma. We should greatly appreciate the privilege of quoting fifteen or twenty brief excerpts from Dr. Myrdal's volumes.

The Southern Regional Council is a new organization composed of progressive and liberal people of both races in the South. It's functions are research, planning, and constructive social action.

Hoping to have your permission to make these quotations, I am,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

Established 1817

Harper & Brothers · Publishers · New York and London

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16,

March 24, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This letter will constitute your permission to quote the material as specified in your letter of March 21st from "An American Dilemma" on condition that full credit is given as to its source, mentioning author, title and publisher.

Cordially yours,

Ordway Tead, Editor
Economic Books

OT:mn

CABLE ADDRESS: HARPSAM · TELEPHONE: ASHLAND 4-1900

Board

June 15, '44 PTOQ

Dear Dr. Johnson:

To be sure you may use my material whenever you wish. In all of my writings I attempt to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Sincerely yours,

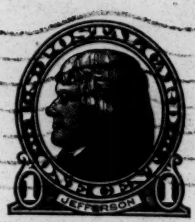
Luther P. Jackson

Luther P. Jackson

Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

ETTRICK
JUN 16
8 - AM.
1944
VA

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Dr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
98 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Permission to Quote

The Saturday Review
of LITERATURE

25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

August 24th
1 9 4 4

Mr. Ira De A. Reid
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Reid:

So far as The Saturday Review is concerned, you are quite welcome to reprint William Rose Benet's "Primary Day in Georgia." I am quite certain that he would have no objection to your using it, but as you can reach him without difficulty, perhaps you had better secure his permission to reprint the poem. His address is: Pigeon Cove, Cape Ann, Massachusetts.

Sincerely yours,

Amy Loveman

ff

Amy Loveman

America's Cultural Weekly

EDITED BY: NORMAN COUSINS AMY LOVEMAN HENRY SEIDEL CANBY WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

PRESIDENT HARRISON SMITH *EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT* J. R. COMINSKY

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT
PIGEON COVE, CAPE ANN, MASS.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I'll be very glad to have you use my "Primary Day in Georgia" in the Southern Frontier. More power to your good work!

William Rose Benét

Sept. 11, 1944

Permission to quote

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

INCORPORATED 1926
525 WEST 120 STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: UNIVERSITY 4-7000
CABLE ADDRESS: "ACUBEE NEW YORK"

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 6, 1944.

Mr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Reid:

We shall be glad to grant the Southern Frontier permission to reprint the article "Easing Our Inter-Regional Tensions" by Emeric Kurtagh, which appeared in the ADULT EDUCATION JOURNAL for October, 1944. It is understood, of course, that due acknowledgement will be given to its source.

Sincerely yours,

Glen Burch

Glen Burch, Editor
ADULT EDUCATION JOURNAL

GB/K

Ministers
REV. RUSSELL HENRY STAFFORD, D.D.
REV. JAMES HODGES PERKINS
REV. LEE DELROY BERGSMAN

Old South Church in Boston

[Third Church, 1669]
COPLEY SQUARE
BOSTON 16

MRS. CLAUDE W. FISHER, Secretary
TELEPHONE KENmore 1970

Permission to quote

9 November 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Please feel free to use in full or in part for publication purposes the excerpts you have made from the typescript of my recent address to a meeting of social workers at Atlanta.

Yours very sincerely,

Russell Henry Stafford

RHS/pf

Permission granted Jan. 25. I wrote her. G.B.J.

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

January 23, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Frontier
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

May we have your parmission to reprint in the February issue of FIVE CONTINENTS the story, "I Never Knowed," by Miss Margaret Fisher, which appeared in your publication about a year ago? FIVE CONTINENTS is a magazine for young people on the subject of missions, published by the Presbyterian Board. Miss Fisher's story is so vivid and so pertinent that I should like to pass it on to our readers. We will, of course, carry proper credit both of author and publication.

Very sincerely

Eleanor Balmer

Eleanor Balmer
Editor, FIVE CONTINENTS

EB:GR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

3/8, 194

TO: EBJ

FROM: K.

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	☐	2. Consideration	☑
3. Signature	☐	4. Recommendation	☐
5. Reply	☐	6. Suggested reply	☐

7. Please circulate to desk(s) of:

Miss Clay	☐	Dr. Reid	☐
Miss Fisher	☐	Dr. Johnson	☐
_____	☐	_____	☐

8. Please return to this office. ☐

9. Please return to secretary for filing. ☐

FARRAR & RINEHART
INCORPORATED
PUBLISHERS
232 MADISON AVENUE
CABLES · FARRINE · NEW YORK

6th March 1945

Ira de A. Reid, Esq.,
Associate Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Reid:

Thank you for your letter requesting permission to reprint the following excerpt from Philip Wylie's GENERATION OF VIPERS:

Page 169, "This is a modern city..."
through
"can bring itself to bear," Page 172.

We should be glad to have you use this excerpt upon payment of a fee of Five Dollars ($5.00) and the giving of credit as indicated on the enclosed permission form.

However, we must insist that if this material is used, it be reprinted exactly as it has been written by Mr. Wylie; in other words, the city about which Mr. Wylie is writing is to remain identified, and no attempt is to be made to conceal the name of the city or state.

If these terms are acceptable, will you please fill out the enclosed forms in duplicate and return them to us for signature and final permission.

Sincerely,

Adelaide A. Shearer

AAS:MR

Managing Editor

Permission to Quote

This application, in duplicate, to be mailed to FARRAR & RINEHART, Inc.
232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

The undersigned requests permission to reprint from your publication entitled:

the following passage or passages: (Give specific details of the quotation desired, furnishing pages and opening and closing lines.)

These quotations are to be reprinted in a volume by.....

Entitled: .....

To be published by.....

Date of Publication.....Proposed Price.....

The undersigned applicant agrees to make full acknowledgment of the copyright of the above selection or selections in the form specified by Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., to make no adaptations or changes in the text without the consent of Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., to restrict the use of the above material to the publication named above, to pay on or before the publication date the fee specified below, and to send one copy of the published work to Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., on or before the date of publication, and if at any time a cheap edition or reprint be contemplated to secure further permission from Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., and, in the event that a book club with a membership of more than 10,000 distributes the volume above described as a monthly selection or as a dividend or as a premium, to pay to Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., in addition to the fee set forth below, a sum that bears the same proportion to half the sum paid by such book club as the above material bears to the entire contents of said volume.

Signature of Applicant.....

Date..... Address.....

Fee for reproduction Five Dollars ($5.00) Form of credit From GENERATION OF VIPERS, copyright, 1942, by Philip Wylie, and reprinted by permission of FARRAR & RINEHART, INC., Publishers.

Permission granted for United States and Canada only on above terms.....

Date.....

This application, in duplicate, to be mailed to FARRAR & RINEHART, Inc.
232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

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Date..... Address.....

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Permission granted for United States and Canada only on above terms.....

Date.....

Permission to Reprint

February 12, 1945

Mr. Frederick L. Allen, Editor
Harpers Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

We are very much interested in obtaining reprints of Dr. Will A. Alexander's article "Our Conflicting Racial Policies" which appeared in the January issue of Harpers. If reprints are available we should like to purchase as many as 5,000.

If you do not have reprints will you give us permission to reproduce the article? We want to distribute it to members and friends of the Southern Regional Council.

As you may know, the Southern Regional Council is a non-profit organization which is working for the improvement of social, economic, and racial conditions in the South. It absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which devoted twenty-five years to the improvement of interracial attitudes. Dr. Alexander, who was for many years Director of the Commission, is a member of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(12)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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1945 FEB 14 PM 10 25

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GUY B JOHNSON=

WESLEY MEMORIAL BLDG

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA=

YOU HAVE PERMISSION TO REPRINT INTERRACIAL ARTICLE=

BARRY BISHOP DALLAS NEWS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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QA43

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GUY B JOHNSON EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE TU ATLA=

=RE YOUR WIRE YOU MAY HAVE PERMISSION REPRINT STOKES COLUMNS ON GOV ARNALL AND RACIAL INTOLERANCE=

:LAURENCE RUTMAN UNITED FEATURE SYNDICATE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Permissions & Serials

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

May 8, 1945

Managing Editor,
The Christian Century
407 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois

May we have permission to reprint Mrs. Nichols' article on The Abbeville Case in our monthly paper THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER? Please wire collect.

GUY B. JOHNSON, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PAID

Charge to:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(19)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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QA14

MAY 9 AM 11 23

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GUY B JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
TU ATLA=

PERMISSION GRANTED PROVIDED USUAL CREDITS ARE GIVEN=
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Permission to quote

August 3, 1945

Mr. Henry La Cossitt
Crowell-Collier Publishing Company
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. La Cossitt:

We were delighted to read the splendid article by Governor Ellis Arnall on "Revolution Down South" which was published in Collier's for July 21.

We should like to know whether it would be possible to get permission to reprint 10,000 or more copies of this article. The reprints would not be sold but would be distributed free by the Southern Regional Council.

This Council is a non-profit Southwide organization which is interested in the improvement of economic, political, and racial conditions in the South. We publish educational pamphlets and from time to time we distribute reprints of timely articles about the South.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Permission to Quote

September 10, 1945

Miss Joan Penn
Executive Committee of
Religious Education and Publication
Eight North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Miss Penn:

Your letter of September 7 addressed to Mr. Eleazer has come to my attention. Mr. Eleazer is now working with the Methodist Board of Education, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee.

Although we have no objection to your using the poems to which you refer in your letter, I doubt whether we have the authority to grant such permission. I think it best that you clear this matter with the original publishers of the poems who hold the copyrights.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

EDWARD D. GRANT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JOHN L. FAIRLY, D. D., EDITOR IN CHIEF

6746-(71)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION

The Presbyterian Church in the United States

★

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING · EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET
RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF
YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK
C. ELLIS NELSON, DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1945
Southern Regional Council

September 7, 1945

Mr. Robert B. Eleazer
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

We should like your permission to use the poems "Mother to Son" by Langston Hughes; "And What I Shall I Say" by Joseph Cotter, Jr. and "A Litany of Atlanta" by W. E. B. DuBois in our Young People's Program magazine Presbyterian YOUTH. We should be grateful to you for permission to reprint these poems and will be glad to use any line of credit that you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Penn

jp

UNITED RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
ADVANCE
"Follow Me"

September 30, 1946

Mrs. Dorothy K. Eicks
Christian Board of Publication
2700 Pine Boulevard
St. Louis 3, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Eicks:

Your letter of September 24 addressed to the Conference on Education and Race Relations has come to our attention. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliated agencies, the Conference on Education and Race Relations and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, were absorbed by the Southern Regional Council at its charter meeting in February, 1944.

The Council has continued the distribution of the pamphlet, Singers In the Dawn, from which the poem "Live", by Frank Horne, is taken. We are very glad to give you our permission to quote the poem, but we suggest that in order to be on the safe side you write to the original publisners of the poem. We do not know who holds the original copyright, but the poem appears in an anthology of Negro poetry entitled The Book of American Negro Poetry, published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Copyright dates of the book are 1922 and 1931. We suggest that you write to Harcourt, Brace and Company for permission to quote the poem.

We are enclosing a copy of the poem in its entirety. It appears in The Book of American Negro Poetry in a series of poems generally entitled "More Letters Found Near a Suicide."

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

OREON E. SCOTT, *President* W. A. SHULLENBERGER, *Vice-President* HAMPTON ADAMS, *Secretary* C. D. PANTLE, *Treasurer*

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R. A. LONG, *Founder*

C. D. PANTLE, General Manager
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2700 Pine Boulevard

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DOROTHY K. EICKS
FRANCES M. LEHMBERG

PUBLICATIONS
BETHANY UNIFORM LESSONS
BETHANY GRADED LESSONS
BETHANY CHURCH SCHOOL GUIDE
CHRISTIAN YOUTH FELLOWSHIP
LEADERSHIP TRAINING TEXTS
VACATION CHURCH SCHOOL MANUALS
HEARTHSTONE
FRONT RANK
HIGHWAY
JUNIOR WORLD
STORYLAND

St. Louis 3, Mo.,

September 24, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

Conference on Education and
Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

One of our writers for the BETHANY CHURCH SCHOOL GUIDE, a monthly publication for superintendents and teachers quotes "Live," by Franke Horne. The poem is from Singers in the Dawn, compiled by Robert B. Eleazar and reads as follows:

As I have taught you
To run, Boy--
It's a short dash;
Dig your starting holes
Deep and firm;
Lurch out of them
Into the straightaway
With all the power
That is in you;
Look straight ahead
To the finish line;
Think only of the goal
Run straight;
Run high;
Run hard;
Save nothing--
And finish
With an ecstatic burst
That carries you
Hurtling

Through the tape
To victory.

May we have your kind permission to use these lines in the manner indicated?

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy K. Eicks

DKE...bb

November 18, 1946

Mrs. Marjorie Bond
P.O. Box 147
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Marjorie Bond:

Please forgive me for not giving you a prompt reply to your letter of November 7. It arrived just as we were in the midst of preparations for our annual meeting. Last week we had four solid days of meetings and you may be sure it was a great relief when they were all over.

Please feel free to use our charts, drawings, photographs, etc., in anyway that you wish. They are not restricted. Of course, if there is any credit line it would be OK with us if you mention the Southern Regional Council or New South. Your new book sounds very interesting and we are looking forward to seeing it.

Greetings and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

November 7, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

The Press is preparing for publication a book called NORTH CAROLINA TODAY, by S. H. Hobbs, Jr. and Marjorie N. Bond, which we hope will be used in the public schools of the state. It's a study of our resources, agriculture, industries, etc., with a look around and a look ahead.

The question of illustrations is now being settled--photographs, maps, and charts. It's about the charts that I'm writing to you.

We like the clear and graphic presentation of statistics in your pamphlet, "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," and we wonder if the use of these drawings is restricted. Or may we adapt and steal them to suit our purposes? I don't know yet how many we'd like to use or modify, but it would help us a lot to know whether we could use them if we wanted to. Will you let me know?

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Bond

(Mrs) Marjorie Bond
P. O. Box 147

November 29, 1946

Mr. Gould Beech
c/o Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Ala

Dear Mr. Beech:

In answer to your telegram received today, I am sorry that I cannot let you have the original photos from Machines in the Cotton Fields, as they are the property of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. We obtained permission from them to use the photographs in the pamphlets.

It is O.K. with us for you to quote any parts of the material you wish. Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

RAY WARWICK
Director Public Relations

Enc.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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1946 NOV 29 AM 2 18

NE

GUY JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA=

AUBREY WRITING ARTICLE FOR NY TIMES ON MECHANIZATION OF COTTON. CAN YOU SEND ORIGINAL PHOTOS OF FIELD HANDS PICKING, THREE MULES PLOWING FROM MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS TOGETHER WITH COPY OF PAMPHLET AND PERMISSION TO QUOTE=

GOULD BEECH..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

GOULD BEECH
EDITOR

December 10, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1946
Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thanks for your prompt attention to our recent series of requests for help. I wired the B.A.E. and we have received the pictures.

I am still looking forward to seeing you if ever we should be in the same place at the same time.

You guessed right about the reference to the men and machines pamphlet from one of our readers.

Sincerely,

Gould Beech

Gould Beech

Permission to quote

December 17, 1946

Mrs. Grace M. Meade
Editorial Assistant
Division of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Meade:

Thank you for your letter of December 12 asking permission to reprint two poems from "Singers in the Dawn".

We are very glad to give you our permission, but we suggest that in order to be on the safe side you write to the original publishers of the poems. We are not sure who holds the original copyright on "Incident", by Countee Cullen, but it appears in a book of poems by Cullen entitled Color. This book was published in 1925 by Harper & Brothers, New York. As you probably know, James Weldon Johnson's "Lift Every Voice and Sing" is the National Negro Hymn. The Joseph W. Stern Company, New York, holds a 1900 copyright on this poem, and the Edward B. Marks Music Company, New York, has a 1920 copyright. We suggest that you write to these companies for permission to reprint the poems.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Division of Social Education and Action

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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Editorial Assistant

PEnnypacker 5-6722

850 WITHERSPOON BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNSYLVANIA

M A. 8343

December 12, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Editor
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are enclosing herewith a copy of the December issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, monthly magazine issued by this division, which reaches approximately 11,000 ministers and interested lay persons throughout the country.

It has been our custom to devote some space in our February issues especially to interracial and intercultural relationships. With this in mind, we are writing to ask your permission to reprint in our 1947 February magazine two poems which appeared in "Singers in the Dawn," compiled by Robert B. Eleazer. The poems we are interested in at this time are "Incident," by Countee Cullen, and James Weldon Johnson's "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

We approach you in this connection as we note that you are the present distributors of "Singers in the Dawn." If we may have your permission to reprint, we shall of course give the usual credit line. Word from you at your earliest convenience would be greatly appreciated. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience in replying.

Sincerely,

Grace M. Meade

Grace M. Meade
Editorial Assistant

GMM:NKV

enc-2

December 17, 1946

Mr. Wayland F. Vaughan
Boston University
688 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Vaughan:

Your letter of December 13 addressed to Mr. Robert E. Eleazer, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, has come to our attention.

The Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in February, 1944. Mr. Eleazer is no longer with us, but has a position with the Methodist Board of Education, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Council has continued the distribution of the pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors, having revised it in May, 1945. We are very glad to give you permission to quote from the pamphlet in your text on Social Psychology. Under separate cover we are sending you a revised copy of the booklet.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
688 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASSACHUSETTS

December 13, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1946

Com. mdse - Coop

Dear Mr. Eleazar:

I would like your permission to quote in my text on Social Psychology from your brochure, "Understanding Our Neighbors". It is the best plan of its kind I have seen.

I would appreciate it if you could give me your answer soon.

Sincerely yours,

Wayland F. Vaughan

Wayland F. Vaughan

WFV/bk

Permission to reprint

August 7, '47

The Association Forum
New York City

Gentlemen,

Some weeks ago you were kind enough to grant us permission to reprint a recent article by Kendall Weisiger, entitled "Getting Along Together".

I am sending you, separately, ten copiesof the pamphlet as reprinted.

More could be had from us. If you have any suggestions as to suitable circulation, we would be glad to get copiesout to people whom you think should have them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

MRS. T. C. STOCKTON
PRESIDENT
3557 MYNDERS
MEMPHIS (11), TENN.

The Board of Foreign Missions

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

MISS HELEN DEAL
TREASURER
117 EIGHTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE (3), TENN.

CABLE ADDRESS
MISSCOM, NASHVILLE
TELEPHONE 6-6235

September 8, 1947

Editor, The New South,
63 Auburn Avenue. N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

I have read with much interest the article entitled "A Southerner Looks at the South", by Hodding Carter, which appeared in the August, 1946, issue of The New South.

I believe this a most timely treatment of the subject and would like very much to reprint the article in the November issue of The Missionary Messenger, monthly publication of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. I would like for our readers to have the benefit of the author's viewpoint in this matter.

If you are in position to grant the desired permission, I shall be grateful; if not, I shall appreciate your advising me the proper person to contact relative to the matter.

to publish

Sincerely yours,

Arleigh G. Matlock

Arleigh G. Matlock, Editor,
The Missionary Messenger.

AM/hd

September 9, 1947

Rev. Arleigh Matlock
Editor, The Missionary Messenger
117 Eighth Ave., South
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Matlock:

This is in answer to your letter of September 8.

The article entitled "A Southerner Looks at the South," by Hodding Carter, which appeared in the August, 1946, issue of New South, was reprinted from the New York Times Magazine of July 7, 1946. We secured permission for reprint from the author.

I am sure that either Mr. Carter or The New York Times will be happy to grant you permission to publish the article in The Missionary Messenger. Mr. Carter's address is Delta Times-Democrat, Greenville, Miss.

If I can be of any further service in the future, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director Public Relations

Permission to quote

December 8, 1947

Mr. Eugene S. Ogrodowski, Editor
Front Rank
2700 Pine Boulevard
St. Louis 3, Missouri

Dear Mr. Ogrodowski:

In reply to your letter of December 5, we shall be happy to have you reprint "How Negro Police Worked Out in One Southern City" in Front Rank.

I am sorry to say that we do not have pictures which might be used to illustrate the article. The Norfolk, Va., Journal and Guide, however, published several pictures with an article on Negro police in their issue of March 30, 1946. If they have the cuts on file, I feel sure they will gladly furnish you mats.

We would appreciate a copy of the issue of Front Rank in which the New South article is used.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

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2700 Pine Boulevard
St. Louis 3, Mo.

December 5, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We would appreciate your permission to reprint your article on "How Negro Police Worked Out In One Southern City" which appeared in the Ocotober, 1947 issue of New South.

We would use the article in Front Rank, church school publication of the Disciples of Christ, possibly on Race Relation Sunday or during Brotherhood Week. Would it be possible to have pictures to illustrate the article? Or did you have any taken? If not, whom may I contact to secure pictures?

Awaiting your favor, I remain

Most cordially yours,
Eugene S. Ogrodowski
Editor, Front Rank

ESO:VH

Pictures —
Journal + Guide
Norfolk. Va.
Mar 30, 1946

Newspaper headlines

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

A WORLD SERVICE AGENCY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
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BETTY ANN TAYLOR
SPECIAL ASSISTANT IN
CRUSADE INFORMATION

THE CRUSADE FOR CHRIST
IN
METHODIST CHURCH SCHOOLS
1944 1948

WANT THEM GET THEM
KEEP THEM TEACH THEM
WIN THEM

METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

January 21, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The enclosed survey of newspaper headlines has gone to about 500 daily papers, chiefly in the South and Middle West. So far we have had only favorable reactions. It occurs to me that you might be able to place some of them to advantage. If so, we shall be glad to send you, without charge, as many copies as you may need.

Cordially yours,

R B Eleazer

RBE:D

R. B. Eleazer

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1947
Southern Regional

"INDICTING A WHOLE PEOPLE"

Burke Didn't Know How, But the Headline Writers Do.

R. B. Eleazer

"I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people," said Statesman Edmund Burke, in a famous plea for conciliation with the American colonies.

There is such a method, however, and many American newspapers are demonstrating it in their handling of crime news involving Negroes. The fact that this is done without thought of injustice, merely as a matter of custom and convenience, makes its results no less serious.

-Simple, but Effective-

The method is simple - merely that of featuring race in the headlines of practically every story involving Negro crime or misdemeanor. Seeing these headlines daily, month after month, the public inevitably gets the impression that color and crime are closely related, if not synonymous. Thus is the whole race indicted, and in the minds of the superficial, convicted.

As illustrative of this practice I think specifically of one daily which I know very well. This paper certainly is not hostile to Negroes. I would say, on the other hand, that it is essentially friendly, desirous of being fair and helpful. Yet a review of its headlines throughout a recent month (May, 1947) reveals the unvarying pattern described above.

-An Unvarying Pattern-

In the thirty-one days of the month this paper ran 133 stories of crimes, misdemeanors and court actions involving white people, and in not one of the 133 did the headlines mention the race of the culprit or

suspect. In general this was just as it should be. But note this contract:

During the same month the paper carried 39 crime stories involving colored people. In 34 of the 39 the headlines featured the word "Negro" or "Negroes", while in three others the racial identity of the subject was clearly indicated, though not expressly stated. Reproduction of the two groups of headlines in parallel columns is tempting, but would run to too great length. A few typical illustrations must suffice.

-Typical Contrasts-

Here, for example, are headlines of six stories involving the charge of robbery at the hands of white bandits:

May 6, "Pair Bound Over in Robbery Case".

May 7, "Three Youths Held in Robbery Case".

May 13, "Two Draw Terms in Robbery Cases".

May 16, "Young Bandits Rob Store Owner".

May 24, "Samaritan Robbed By Hitchhikers".

May 31, "Men Questioned in Robberies".

Note that to the headline reader the suspects in all these cases were just people - "youth," "men," "bandits."

Not so in the two parallel reports involving Negroes. Here the headlines leave no uncertainty. "Lone Negro Youth Robs Woman," says one; "Negro Held in Robbery," the other.

Similarly on May 25 we find "Two Youths Held in Theft Cases," (they were white), set over against "Praying Negro Confesses Thefts."

Three arrests fo reckless driving were reported during the month, (May 6, 25 and 28). Two of the accused were white, the third colored. The headlines ran true to pattern: "Jailed on Driving Count" and "Man Arrested for Drunken Driving," but "Negro Arrested After Accident."

-More of the Same-

Here are typical headlines in homicide stories in which the suspects were white:

May 10, "Youth Guilty of Killing Brother."

May 10, "Great Grandmother Indicted for Murder."

May 15, "Soldier Admits Strangle Killing."

May 15, "Holdup Man Slays Victim."

May 19, "Youth Admits Slaying."

May 30, "Father Kills Three."

Just people again, you see, not members of any particular race.

Now note the following in which the suspects were colored. Observe again how race dominates the picture:

May 3, "Negroes Face Trial on Murder Count."

May 16, "Wife Hires Negro to Slay Husband."

May 16, "Negro Sentenced for Killing Wife."

May 20, "Ten Years Given in Negro Slaying."

May 21, "Negro Bound Over on Murder Charge."

May 21, "Negro Questioned in Atlanta Killing."

-Social Dynamite-

The greatest injustice, however, is in the handling of stories of criminal assault. Because of the heinousness of this crime the public is peculiarly sensitive to it and easily aroused to resentment and even violence. Such charges, (not infrequently erroneous), have provoked many lynchings and more than one race riot. There is need, therefore, that such stories be handled with great care.

During May the paper carried sixteen stories of criminal assault involving white men. In these stories the headlines identify the attackers or suspects only as "man", "soldier", "would-be-attacker", "youthful slayer", and the like - never once as belonging to this

race or that.

Note again the contrast. During the month the paper carried four similar charges against Negroes (of which one was repudiated next day and two more were later dropped for lack of evidence). Here are the headlines, conspicuously advertising each case as a racial offense:

May 16: "Girl Assaulted; Gun-Wielding Negroes Escape".

May 25: "Expectant Mother Attacked by Negro".

May 26: "Negro Surrenders After Escape from Mob". (The Jackson, North Carolina Case).

May 26: "Mob Feared, Negro Whisked to State Prison". (This was South Carolina.)

And here is another significant contrast in the same connection:

The horrifying story of the 16th was spread on the front page, under double-column, double-deck headlines. Nobody could miss it. On the other hand, its repudiation next day as "just a hoax" was inconspicuously reported on an inside page, under a small-type, single-column head, where it is reasonably certain that comparatively few saw it.

Probably fewer still ever learned that the courts later dropped all charges against the two Carolina Negroes featured in the headlines of the 26th, leaving only one of the four accusations still standing up. Without doubt the original headlines closed all these cases for most readers, leaving the Negro branded as a menace and all Negroes under suspicion.

-A Hopeful Trend-

Recognizing the danger pointed out above, a number of the nation's greatest daily papers have recently discontinued use of racial tag in reporting crime. They see no gain, but a great deal of loss, in continuing the indictment of a whole people.

March 31, 1948

Miss Carrie M. Best, Managing Editor
The Clarion
599 South Washington Street
New Glasgow, Nova Scotia

Dear Miss Best:

You have our full and most cheerful permission to reprint anything whatever from "America's Tenth Man."

I enclose a booklet which will give you a summary of the Council's work.

You may be interested to know that we keep up a cousinly contact with the South African Race Relations Institute in Johannesburg.

I should like very much to see a copy of your publication.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Fleming pamphlet
GSM:eb

President:
A. E. Waddell, M.D., C.M.,
Atlantic Street, Halifax, N. S.

Managing Editor:
Carrie M. Best,
New Glasgow, N. S.

Associate Editor:
James Calbert Best,
New Glasgow, N. S.

Treasurer:
Lemuel B. Mills,
67 Pine Street, New Glasgow, N. S.

THE CLARION PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

The Clarion

FOR INTER-RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOODWILL

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1948
Regional Council

S.R.C.

New Glasgow, N. S.,
March 25, 1948

Dear Sir:

May I have your permission to quote from "American Jewish Man" in our next issue of The Clarion (We shall state our source and be very happy to carry free advertisements of your fine work from time to time.

Sincerely.
Lemuel M. Best.
599 So. Washington St
New Glasgow. N. S.

police, Negro

New Orleans, The Press in (April, 1948)

The Managing Editor of the Times-Picayune is George Healy. Pleasant interview with him April 13. He had been asked a year ago to serve on Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, but had turned it down. He kindly took me to the room full of editorial writers for the Times-Picayune, and I talked briefly with a Mr. McCall, who seemed to me pretty backward but who slowly got the idea.

The New Orleans Item has as its Managing Editor one Clayton Fritchie. Various people told me that Fritchie was a pretty good liberal. He was busy and I talked with his assistant, William A. Korns. Korns has been in New Orleans a couple of years only. He feels a certain timidity as a non-Southerner. The paper is a little careful on race matters. He himself, however, thinks that it is now time to push for Negro police. He saw the point on civil rights and said he would write something along the lines I suggested.

~~Wh misc~~

Newspapers

10 East 138 Street, Apt 7-B
New York 35, New York
August 23, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Fleming

Dear Mr. Mitchell;

This clip was sent me by a friend in Washington, interested in the Southern Regional Council work---it had been published in several other of the Scripps-Howard papers, I am told. I thought you might like to see it. The syndicate editor is responsible for the inference that the Council is a "Negro organization" although on several occasions, I have advised them correctly. Your co-operation in the past has been greatly appreciated and I hope it will continue in the future.

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

ALVIN E. WHITE.

encl

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Negro Police

Green Copy

September 7, 1949

Mr. W. E. Headley
Chief of Police
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Headley:

By a lucky chance, we are compiling now our data on the use of Negro policemen for the forthcoming issue of New South. Enclosed is a set of our latest figures. As you will see, for those cities indicated by an asterisk we have verification as of August from the chief of police. For the others, the figure was verified as of September, 1948.

I am also enclosing, as a matter of interest, some comments sent in by chiefs of police in response to our latest questionnaire.

The editorial from the Atlanta Journal, reporting the success of Negro policemen in Atlanta, should also be of interest.

If we can help further, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encls

Black
Clearance Under Stir

W. E. HEADLEY
CHIEF OF POLICE

City of Miami, Florida

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 3, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the copy of "New South" enclosed in your letter of August 29th. I am unable to make any statement on the accuracy of the Groveland account since it occurred over 200 miles from my jurisdiction.

I am preparing an article on the utilization of Negro Police. I have a copy of the October, 1947, edition of the "New South" giving the number of Negro Police in southern cities, but would like more recent figures. I would appreciate any assistance you can give me. If you have any unusual material concerning successes and failures in other cities that you can make available to me, I would also be grateful for such data. I have a deadline to meet and would appreciate an early reply.

If we can ever be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me personally.

Sincerely,

W. E. Headley
Chief of Police

WEH:cwp

Newspapers — Treatment of Race

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

October 10, 1949

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell and
Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George and Harold:

You will recall that I have maintained that if we can ever arrange for a climate of public opinion in which individuals respect law and order instead of resorting to punitive methods themselves, then we will have made some progress towards making it possible for members of minority groups to live here as normal American citizens.

This morning's Atlanta Constitution contained three stories which illustrate pretty much what I mean. The first story which was the lead story on page 1, is the story of the shooting of one white man by another. Nevertheless, the details of the story will show you that instead of the slayer appealing to police officials who were present at the time of the shooting, he chose to avenge an affront entirely by himself. This sort of thinking pervades too many of our citizens and results in perhaps a greater percentage of individuals in the South being ready to answer the call of mob violence than in any other section of the country.

The second story I think deserves publicity and hard hitting against the deputy sheriff in Lanett, Ala. who deputized Klansmen. It also illustrates how much violence is part of the daily life of this area. You will note at the end of this story that when they finally caught the Negro, he came out of his home with his hands up begging not to shoot him. The article then concludes with complete sophistry that the deputies had great difficulty in overpowering him and therefore had to manhandle him considerably.

The third case involving a Negro who was killed during the course of an arrest, presents another phase of this same problem. Although lynchings have been reduced where they are now exceedingly rare events, legal lynchings which might have been implied as in this case, seem to be on the increase. I find it hard to believe that so many Negroes have to be killed by police officials during the course of an arrest.

Don't you agree that this is something that we should talk about further?

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ff

cc: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION October 10, 1949

ROCKDALE KILLING OF US WORKER
JAILES EX-SENATOR

CONYERS - Former State Sen. R. Pat Campbell, of Covington, yesterday was jailed in Rockdale Country Jail in connection with the fatal shooting of a 21-year-old Government employee at a roadside restaurant in Rockdale County.

The victim, Eugene Edwards, of Covington, died about 20 minutes after he was shot through the head. Sheriff W. L. McCart, of Rockdale County who refused to discuss the shooting said Campbell was being held in the country jail. "He's here," Sheriff McCart said.

The Sheriff, however, declined to disclose what charges, if any had been placed against the former Senator.

Virgil Edwards, brother of the slain man, late yesterday said he had sworn out a murder warrant against Campbell. A. M. Bennett, Conyers Justice of Peace, acknowledge the warrant had been ussed by him. Sheriff McCart declined to say whether it had been served. Some witnesses said Sheriff McCart was sitting in his car only a few feet from where the shooting took place. It also was reported Campbell talked to the Sheriff just prior to the shooting.

The shooting, at about 12:45 A.M. yesterday, climazed an arugment between Campbell and Edwards following a highway tangle, it was reported. According to reports, Campbell, driving a 1949 Ford, was heading toward Covington from Athens when a machine driven by Edwards passed him. The Campbell car then passed Edwars' vehicle and the two automobiles were involved in a minor collision, reports said.

Tom Haye, Associate Editor of the Conyers News, the only newsman to talk to Campbell since his arrest, quoted him as saying Edwards and Bill Womak, of Almon Community had tried to force him off the highway several times and finally forced Campbell to stop. Campbell said the men got out of the car they occupied and came back to his car and cursed him, his wife, and son. Haye said Campbell issued the following statements.

"They finally drove off, and I thought it best to pass them. They cut into me and sideswiped my car, but I got by," Campbell's statement continued. "I then notified the Newton County officers in Covington and planned to follow them up the highway. I missed them and saw Sheriff McCart's car parked at Mom's Place." (A restaurant located about six miles south of Conyers near the Newton County line.) "I stopped there and told him about it. I started to re-enter my car and go home when these men attacked me and my son. I do not know why they did so, but I had time to get my gun out of the glove compartment of my car, I struck at Edwards and the gun went off. "I still do not know what their intentions were. I did only what I had to do. I expect complete vindication by the court when a l the facts are investigated," Campbell's statement concluded.

Womak said he was struck over the head with a blunt instrument. He

COPY

suffered painful bruises and lacerations. It was reported Womak had sworn out a warrant against Campbell charging him with assault with intent to murder.

Mrs. O. A. Paris, identified as owner and operator of Mom's Place, said Sheriff McCart and two unidentified deputy sheriffs were sitting in the sherriff's car only a few feet from where the shooting took place. Mrs. Paris said also that Campbell had spoken to the Sheriff only a few minutes before the shooting.

According to Mrs. Paris, almost a score of persons witnessed the shooting.

A young man whose identity was not made known immediately but who is employed at Mom's Place said he observed Campbell walk to the filling station, which fronts the restaurant, with a pistol in his hand.

Cambell, a prominent businessman, owns the Campbell Lumber Company in Covington. He first entered the General Assembly as a Representative in 1939. A lawyer, he attended Covington Public Schools and was graduated from Emory University. He began his law practice in Newton County in 1932.

Edwards was associated with the United States Department of Agriculture as a field representative.

Funeral services for Mr. Edwards will be conducted at 2p.m. today at Bogart Baptist Church, with the Rev. C. M. Driskell officiating. Burial will be in Bogart Cemetery.

In addition to his brother, Virgil, Mr. Edwards is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. J. Edwards, and a sister, Miss Joan Edwards, all of Covington.

* * * *

COPY

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION OCT. 10, 1949.

2 KILLED, ANOTHER SHOT IN WAYNE GUN BATTLE

JESUP -- A Negro was shot to death Saturday night in a running gun battle with officers after he shot and wounded a Negro and killed a white man.

A posse had been searching for the Negro, Bishop Sam Johnson, since early Saturday afternoon after the wounding of Fred Vail, a Negro, at a turpentine still near Screven, 12 miles from here.

Homer McBee, 37, telephone operator of Screven, who was not a member of the posse, was shot and killed as he approached the Negro about 10 o'clock Saturday night.

Sheriff George D. O'Quinn said McBee and Leslie Kelley had been fishing from a bridge when they saw the Negro and started following him. Kelley said he and McBee knew officers were looking for the Negro and started following him. The Negro began shooting as soon as he saw them, Kelley said.

O'Quinn and Capt. C. C. Underwood, of the Waycross State Highway Patrol Station, gave the following account of the Negro's death:

Johnson, itinerant preacher, fortune teller and herb doctor, engaged in a dispute with Vail at the turpentine still. Vail was shot in the arm.

A Jesup policeman was called. When he arrived several Negro workers pointed to Johnson as the assailant. Johnson pulled a revolver, threatened to kill the officer and fled.

Bloodhounds were put on his trail. The dogs located the Negro but he started shooting at his pursuers. Additional officers, including five cars of highway patrolmen, were summoned last night.

Kelley came into town and notified officers of the shooting of McBee. The posse found Johnson crouched in a field of high grass, about 75 feet from McBee's body.

Several members of the posse fired at the Negro, with a gun in his hand, was spotted by a flashlight.

****

COPY

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION OCT. 10, 1949

KLANSMEN HELP POLICE NAB SUSPECT

LANETT, Ala. -- A deputized Ku Klux Klansman, five of his followers and a policeman captured a Negro wanted for killing a bailiff early yeaterday.

The Negro, Joe Nathan McCoy, was rushed by Chambers County Sheriff J. M. Abney to Kilby Prison for safekeeping.

Sheriff Abney said McCoy was wanted for the shooting Saturday of Bailiff Howard Groover, of Lafayette, Ala.

Richard Zieger, organizer at large for an unidentified Klan, was deputized by Lanett Police Lt. Jack Rearden shortly after the shooting and gave this account of the capture:

"As soon as I had been deputized, I summoned to my aid five dependable Klansmen. We trailed several leads on the Negro all day until one of them led into Lafayette about dark Saturday.

"In Lafayette we were joined by a member of the police force and set out for the home of McCoy's brother.

"We surrounded the home," Zeiger continued, "and waited until about four o'clock Sunday morning before we saw him dashing from the rear door. I fired at him and he stopped, threw up his hands and began begging us not to kill him.
"We had difficulty in overpowering him, and had to manhandle him considerably. We drove him to Lafayette and turned him over to Sheriff Abney."

Sheriff Abney said the shooting of Groover developed while the Bailiff was evicting a Negro from a home near McCoys'.

* * * * *

COPY

Program

Step up our health.

Sanitation Program
(W.P.A.) (or in coopts w. State Health People).
(See alquer on this).

Limited Counties at first.

F.S.A. special authorities
sanitation grants
health.
AAA coopts.
Joint control accounts for grant procedure. Solution's office.
part of an overall plan of spurs. 100% repayment not involved.
draw one check, take notes for loan part
See what water facilities has done.

Social Social Security

U.S.E.S.

Public Health Service
& by States

Bureau of Public Roads.
& State Highway Departments

Congressman.

X Ten -
Several states

Forest Services
?

Flood Control Commission
Army Engineers
Reports on Hydroelectric.

Vocational Ag.

N.Y.A.

W.P.A.

C.C.C.

N.E.C.
State Relief Agencies
W. Va
Va.
N.C.
Tenn, almost very
none in Ky.
State School Systems

AAA

all in Wash Region
(except Maryland).

S.C.S.

Atlanta

Va.
N.C.
S.C.
Ga
Ala.
} Atlanta

Ky
Tenn.
} Dayton Ohio

W. Va.
Md
} Harrisburg?

BAE - Washington
State Land Use Planning Specialist.
(none in Ky).

FSA.

NC
Va.
Ky
W. Va.
Tenn
} Raleigh — TVA

Md } Wash.

Ga
SC
Ala
} Montgomery

Southern Appalachian Program
Planning Committee

The Xtion Director
State BAE man (land use plng Appalach
State Coordinator of 5 CS.
State FSA Director
FS
Voc Ed People
State Executive officer of AAA
~~Chairman~~ former member of the State Planning Boards.

Let the State ~~Program~~ present or Land Use Planning Comm. send 3 delegates, a govt man & a farmer.

{Annual meeting of Prog school people (Ed) Di Committee in on this
Use the Di agencies to ~~come~~ work w. county committees & Co Supts of Schools.}

March 24, 1964

Mr. James King
Chamber of Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

At the request of Cecil Alexander, I am enclosing a list of those firms with offices, plants, or regional headquarters, in the Atlanta area, which have joined the Plans for Progress Program.

I am also enclosing the names of individuals who were contacted at these respective firms, by the writer who prepared our Plans for Progress Report last year.

We are happy to be of service, and trust this information will be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure
List of Firms, as above

Mr. E. J. Newton
Regional Manager
Chrystler Corp.
2930 Forest Hills Dr., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Paul T. Lagrone
Vice-President
Westinghouse Electric Corp.
1299 Northside Drive, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Gaynor Collester
Public Relations Director
General Electric Co.
1860 Peachtree Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harrig
Regional Manager
American Machine & Foundry Co.
3224 Peachtree Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. James Hunt
Collins Radio Co.
2804 Dodson Drive,
East Point, Ga.

Mr. Vern Kring
Branch Mgr.
Continental Motors Corp.
1252 Oakleigh Dr.
East Point, Ga.

Mr. L. W. Jenkins
Industrial Relations Manager
Ford Motor Co.
340 S. Central Avenue
Hapeville, Ga.

Mr. Charles E. Baugh, Mgr.
The Garrett Corp.
3272 Peachtree Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. L. J. Schuler
Electronics Br. Mgr.
General Dynamics Corp.
750 Ponce de Leon Pl. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. James L. Tolley
Public Relations Director
General Motors Corp.
134 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. R. H. Donaldson
Regional Personnel Mgr.
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
2755 Piedmont Road. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. W. E. Hamilton
District Manager- Paper
Rhodes-Haverty Building
Herculel Powder Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Charles C. Workman, Jr.
District Manager
International Business Machines Corp.
1439 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Maxwell Zierath
District Manager
International Harvester Co.
580 Whitehall Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Robert W. Gregory
District Manager
Kaiser Industrial Corp.
1375 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lee Rogers,
Public Relations Director
Lockheed-Georgia Corp.
Marietta, Georgia

Mr. George D. Guler
Regional Manager
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co.
500 Plaster Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Stewart R. Swiff
District Sales Manager
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Fulton National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. John E. Ramsey
Area Manager
Philco Corp.
Fulton Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Elmer D. Eades
Southern Regional Manager
Radio Corp. of America
1121 Rhodes-Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Catherine Hamilton
Office Manager
Raytheon Co.
3110 Maple Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Rogdon Currie
Regional Manager
Thompson-Ramo-Wooldridge, Inc.
3272 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. W. F. Gannon
Manager - Distributing House
Western Electric Co.
820 Forest Road
Atlanta, Georgia

March 26, 1964

Mr. James H. Burg
Administrative Coordinator
President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Burg:

I am very grateful to you for sending me an up-to-date list of the firms that have joined the Plans for Progress program. It was very helpful here on the local level, since by my count roughly thirty firms with Atlanta offices have joined the program since our report appeared last year. Moreover, it will be helpful to us in the future to have an accurate list of participating firms.

If we can be of any assistance to you at any time, please let us know.

Sincerely yours

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

March 24, 1964

Mr. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

In accordance with your request today, I am sending you a copy of the Plans for Progress brochure, together with a list of the companies that joined the Program since the brochure was printed and a list of companies whose Plans are now in process.

Sincerely,

James H. Burg
Administrative Coordinator

Enclosures

Plans for Progress Office
1815 H Street, NW., Room 506
Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: (202) 961-5555

Birmingham Police

BIRMINGHAM AFFAIR

March 8, 1951

Notes on long-distance telephone conversation with Mrs. L. S. Evins. (N.B.: I came in during the conversation, so don't have notes on the first few minutes.)

Mrs. Evins had gone with two or three other women to see the Captain of Detectives. ...

We asked him a number of questions. He said that the man assigned to the job was not there, but would be there the next day. I couldn't go back. After that, I couldn't get the women together again.

We went down to talk to Mr. Conner. He said they were doing everything they knew and that the case was not closed. He thought that the first bombings were done by white people, but the last two by Negroes. He said he would swear under oath that he didn't know who did the bombings. He mentioned one white man who lives in the community as "being mixed up in it"; I know the man myself and know that he could not be. Mr. Connor said they brought another man they suspected into court, but the judge dismissed the case for lack of evidence. Mr. Connor said investigators had been out of town on 15 leads, but had not been able to run any of them down.

Mrs. Cowan says the police do know who has been doing the bombings.

We talked to the FBI man. He said the only thing the FBI could investigate was whether the Negroes have a right to build where they want to. In the light of Supreme Court decisions, he said they do. The FBI has done nothing on the most recent of the bombings.

Mr. Connor said if the police find who did the bombings, they will be prosecutied to the limit.

Mr. Buchanan (Baptist minister) suggested that a group of women be formed to work on zoning. A committee has already been tried, which met with Negro and white leaders, but the Negroes don't want the land which the whites are willing for them to have; they want to expand toward Birmingham Southern College.

Re the committee which Mrs. Evins had formed: Mrs. Cowan, who works with the Girl Scouts cannot be active because she says if/the Community Chest will cut her off; Mrs. Perry (?) had quit; Mrs. /she is/ Julian Adler is out of town for long periods.

Mrs. Evins said she had planned to do some telephoning today on the matter.

REPORT OF FIELD TRIP TO BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
FEB. 14, 1951

PURPOSE OF TRIP - To find what has been done about the bombing of Negro houses and the killing of Negroes by the police.

This was my second trip on this same errand, and as I did on the first time, I phoned Mrs. L. S. Evins, Preside nt of the Birmingham Council of Church Women and asked her to call a meeting of people interested and who could give us information. Mrs. Evins is a very courageous woman and is quite a leader in the city. She can get a group together with very little notice.

On the morning of the 14th, I had Mrs. R. M. Howell to come to the hotel and have breakfast with me. From her I knew I could get some inside information that I needed to know.

I then had a thirty minutes conversation with Mrs. Evins and she gave me these facts ;-

The Council of Church Women at their meeting just after my first trip, had a serious discussion over what was happening in the city and they called on Mr. Conner, city commissioner (who by the way is a member of Mrs. Evins' church - Mrs. Evins , in the conversation said, "He listens to me better now that he used to") and the City Council to push the investigation of the bombings as they were not satisfied with the efforts being made.

The Council of Church Women also wrote to Dr. Buchanan (pastor of First Baptist Church) president of the Ministerial Association and urged the Ministerial Association to join them in forcing a vigorous investigation.

Dr. Buchanan had replied that he had gone to the police station and read the records on the bombings and he was convinced that they had been done by outside people - Communist, he was sure , therefore the Ministerial Association would take no action.

Dr. Buchanan did suggest that a group of women be formed to work on zoning.

Mrs. Evins stated that the Coordinating Council of the Community Chest had set up a committee on race relatio ns , but that she and others who had always worked on these problems were not put on the committee - and she added "The Community Chest group are kind of funny".

THE MEETING — We met at 10 o'clock in the Y. W. C. A.

Present were - Mrs. R. C. Bryant, Mrs. J. C. Inglis,
Rev. W. Prince Vaughn - Rev. J. H. Coleman
Robert L. Coar, Rev. J. L. Ware
Mrs. A. W. Plum Pres. J. King Chandler III - Payne College
Mrs. Julian Adler Miss Roberta Morgan
A. B. White Mrs. M. H. Sterne
Mrs. Jordan Cowin Mrs. L. S. Evins-

All the men were Negroes - and 3 of the women. They were members of many of the organizations in the city and you realized they could be a force in pushing action .

Mrs. Evins told them of the purpose of the meeting - most of them knew me and knew the Southern Regional Council.
She then told them what the Council of Church Women had done and the lack of response

Mrs. Evins asked if others had anything to report.

Mr. Coar reported for the Defense League . He stated his league had appealed to every source it knew - to the mayor, the council, Mr. Conner, the Governor , the FBI and had met with no success - Receiving no replies in some instances.

A general discussion followed - as it suddenly dawned on the white people present, at least that they had just accepted Dr. Buchanan's statement that it was " outside people who had done the bombing, therefore nothing was left for them to do"- Mrs. Evins said, "My goodness, if it is outside people, it is all the more reason we must do something".-- and the group was again stirred and sought ways of action. (When I left them the first trip, I thought they would do something , this time I was too encouraged even if they did seem concerned)

General discussion followed- The Negroes definitely say the police know when the bombing is going to be . One of them stated , she was in her kitchen when she heard the explosion just a block or so away , and by the time she reached her front door, the street was blocked by the police. She stated they had to know it was going to happen or else they would have been so nearly on the spot.

A man stated that he ran out to his garage and got in his car to hurry a few blocks away to bombing and in the few minutes time lapsed, it seemed as if all the police in the city were on the scene.

THEN DISCUSSION ON THE POLICE KILLING - took sometime. Two Negroes had been killed by the police within the few days before this and I was told "one of them is not even buried yet. It happened so recently".

I suggested they get for me three items - The date of each killing, the name of the Negro killed sand the name of the policeman who killed. This to be printed as a circular and distributed over the city. Mr. Coar promised to get these facts.
Mr. Coar stated that the coroners jury always rendered a verdic of " justifiable homicide" - and 'they might just as well have mimeographed sheets ready to pull out of a drawer as every incident would receive the same verdict . ".

(I had made this suggestion before and it was enthusiasticilly received but no one really followed it up.)

The Negroes seemed to so hopeful because we had had this meeting - and over and over again, Mrs. Evins kept giving apologies for those who wanted to be present but the city was certainly full of meetings on that day.

Mrs. Evins asked Mrs. Morgan of the Coordinating Council what had been done through her organization. Mrs. Morgan said nothing so far - but they (The Chest committee) were forming a Race Relations Committee and she would have to wait until this was done .

With one accord, they told her this was not merely a question of race , it was housing, family welfare , etc . and did not belong with just one committee but should be put before her fuhl council.
(Mrs. Morgam seemed troubled or dazed - I doubt if she is finding herself very free to do anything)

IT WAS DECIDED - that each would take these up with their own organizations -

Mrs. Evins with the church groups, Mrs. Sterne with the University Women and the Jewish Council of Women, Mrs. Cowin with the Business & Professional Women, Mrs. Plum with the Council of Negro Women, the ministers witheir groups , etc. that a concerted effort be made to forse the city government to push the investigation.

They decided to go to the city files and read the record on the bombings.

The meeting closed and thanks were sent to the Southern Regional Council for help given and a request that the Council would keep on working with the group/

THE NEWSPAPERS - My interview with the editors was mist gratifying. They were so cordial and appreciative of the Southern Regional Council.

The Newspapers have done the best job of any group that has been working on it. Good editorials have been carried and good coverage to the stories of the bombings.

As to the suggestion that they print the list of the police killing - they were very enthusiastic about the plan as I was told some of the killing were justifiable.

By way of comment I might say that there is little help from the churches- yet they could be the force that the concert of the cityy so great an investigation would just have to be. The Newspaper men taked to me about this. They have some hope in two new Methodist ministers in the city , The Congregational minister has been of help at all times, but his congregation is small. The paper men regretted the loss of Mr. Marmion from the city.

(Mr. Coar told me , Mr. Buchanan, if he would just do it, could corral the churches to enter a campaign of clean-up of the police force and could force Mr. Connor to get busy about these troubles.)

Well, I left rather disturbed. I had had a sense of being in the midst of a group that would like to do something, but did not know how - and also a feeling that they were not free to work.

There is a force in the city that has its grip on every phase of life - the jobs, the institutions, the government .

This report is made on March 8 - delayed because I promised I would not make it until the group that met at 10 o'clock had time to do some further things.

Today I called Mrs. Evins again and over the phone got the attached story from her - This waxtaken down by Beth Rogers as she listened over another phone. (I think it justifies my foreboding that little would be done - and my feeling that except for Mrs. Evins and the Negroes in the group no one was free to do anything

Dorothy Tilly

March 22, 1951

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
American Missionary Association
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weaver:

You will recall your letter of some weeks ago about the bombings in Birmingham.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of this office, had been in Birmingham a day or two last fall. Just after her trip, the Birmingham Council of Church Women had met and discussed very seriously the various difficulties in the city. A committee from the group had then called on Mr. Conner, who is Police Commissioner. Mr. Conner is a member of the same church as one of the leading committee members. The committee had asked, through Mr. Conner, that the City Council push an investigation of the bombings, and stated that they, the church women, were not satisfied with the efforts thus far made.

At the same time the church women had also written to Dr. Buchanan, pastor of the First Baptist Church and president of the Ministerial Association, urging that the Association join them in forcing an investigation. Dr. Buchanan had replied that he had made a special trip to the police station and read the records on the bombings, that he was convinced that they had been done by outside people -- probably Communists -- and on this account the Ministerial Association would take no action. He suggested, however, that a committee of church women be set up to work on problems of zoning.

At about the same time the Coordinating Council of the Community Chest had set up a committee on race relations.

Immediately after the latest bombing, the Southern Regional Council arranged for the Chairman of the Alabama Division of the Council to spend a day in Birmingham and make inquiries. He reported that the principal hope for any action appeared to lie with the FBI rather than with the local police force, and various persons have subse-

quently requested the Department of Justice in Washington to consider most carefully every civil liberties aspect of the bombings, with a view to the detection and prosecution of the guilty parties.

As a consequence of your letter, Mrs. Tilly went over to Birmingham February 14. Her sources there had arranged a meeting for ten o'clock that morning at the YWCA. Some fourteen persons were present, all in their private capacities, but nearly all of them have links to helpful organizations in the city. Six or seven of those present were Negro.

At the meeting, the early efforts of the Council of Church Women were reviewed. A member of the local Negro defense league stated that his group had appealed to every source it knew -- the mayor, the Governor, the police, the FBI -- and had met with no success.

In the ensuing discussion, the point came out quite strongly that if, as alleged, the bombings were done by outsiders, there was all the more reason to do something about them.

The Negro persons present were of the opinion that the police had known pretty well when each bombing was going to take place. One woman stated, for instance, that she was in her kitchen when she heard an explosion a block away, and by the time she reached her front door the street was blocked by the police. In her opinion, the police would have had to know when the bombing was going to happen in order for them to be in such numbers so near the spot.

Discussion then turned to the police killings of Negro citizens. Two Negroes had been killed by the police a few days before, and Mrs. Tilly was told that "one of them is not even buried yet, it happened so recently." Mrs. Tilly suggested that persons present obtain the date of each killing, the name of the Negro killed, and the name of the policeman doing the killing, and that this list be printed as a circular and distributed over the city. One of those present promised to obtain these facts and supply them. It was stated that the coroner's jury in these killings uniformly returned a verdict of justifiable homicide. Mrs. Tilly states that she has unfortunately to record that she made the same recommendation when she was in Birmingham in the fall, and that it had been enthusiastically received but not followed up.

It was suggested that the new race relations committee, now being established through efforts of members of the Coordinating Council of the Community Chest should concern itself about the bombings. It was suggested that the Council need not wait for the race relations committee, as the questions involved were not merely those of race, but of housing, family welfare, administration of justice, etc., and so should come before the whole Coordinating Council for action rather than just before a committee.

Those present undertook to take up the subject of the bombings and police violence, each through his own organization -- namely, the Council of Church Women, the Association of University Women, the Council of Jewish Women, the Business and Professional Women's Association, the

Council of Negro Women, and others.

They further undertook to go as individuals to the city files and read the record on the bombings.

The meeting closed with expressions of thanks to the Southern Regional Council for help given and with the request that the Council continue working with the various groups.

Mrs. Tilly then talked at length with people on the two leading newspapers in the city. She was readily convinced that the papers had done a good job in carrying the stories of the bombings, and that their editorials had been strong and good. She suggested that the papers print the list of police killings, but met with little response, the argument being that some of the killings were justifiable.

Mrs. Tilly reports that there is general belief in the city that the ministers do considerably less in situations of this kind than might rightfully be expected of them. There was a feeling that the church people of the city, given leadership, could put through a clean-up of the police force.

Mrs. Tilly came back feeling rather disturbed and depressed by the strength of the influences at work in Birmingham to constrain individual freedom.

On March 8, Mrs. Tilly talked by telephone to her leading associate in Birmingham for subsequent news. This lady had, since the meeting, visited the police station and read some of the large amount of material there on file about the bombings, but, finding the volume of material too great for her to read it all, she had gone back with two or three other women to see and question the Captain of Detectives. The man assigned to the most recent bombing had not been available that day, and it was not possible to collect the committee members for a subsequent visit. Some questions were, however, put to the Captain of Detectives.

The women had then talked to the Police Commissioner. He is reported as having said that the city police were doing everything they knew and that the case was not closed. It was his opinion that some of the earlier bombings had been done by white people, but that the last two had been done by Negroes. He was willing to swear under oath, he stated, that he did not know who did the bombings. Two persons were discussed as having been mixed up in the matter, but committee members felt that one had had no connection with the bombings; the other suspect had been brought into court, but the judge had dismissed the case for lack of evidence. The Police Commissioner stated that the investigators had been out of town on fifteen leads, but had been unable to run any of them down.

These representations from Mr. Conner did not lessen the feeling among informed Negro persons that the police knew who had been doing the bombings.

The committee talked to a representative of the FBI, who stated that

his powers of inquiry were limited to the question of whether Negroes have a right to build where they want to. In the light of Supreme Court decisions, he is reported as saying, they do. But the FBI had done nothing on the more recent bombings.

The Police Commissioner had stated that if the police found who did the bombings the guilty parties would be prosecuted to the limit.

Some further inquiry had been made on zoning matters, but it had become apparent that Negro citizens did not wish to move into the area which whites were willing for them to have.

Various members of the committee which had undertaken these inquiries had dropped away on this excuse or that.

Mrs. Tilly's associate -- a valorous woman -- expected to continue telephoning about and trying to get further action.

I am sure this report gives cold comfort as to action to be taken in Birmingham, but it is a pretty good sample of the situation in the city. And it is evidence that the few people who combine in this matter both conscience and courage have undertaken to do what they can.

Mrs. Tilly's expense for this last trip to Birmingham was $ I am reluctant to take you upon your kind willingness to foot the bill, but our Council is so much in need that I have to.

We remain anxious to be of service to you and to Birmingham.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Lee

April 16, 1951

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
American Missionary Association
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weaver:

I have pondered a good deal about your suggestion that a copy of my letter to you of March 22 about the Birmingham matters should be sent on to Mrs. Johnson in Birmingham. Mrs. Tilly did not go over to Birmingham under seals of secrecy, but nevertheless she was talked to by friends and associates there in confidence, and I think for the protection of everyone's future usefulness in such situations, the quality of the confidential ought to be respected.

I do most strongly feel that it would be helpful to get the St. Louis Post-Dispatch to do a write-up about the police violence and the bombings in Birmingham. I know a number of people who have tried to get the story known nationally.

I am still of the opinion that one of the best things to do would be to get some responsible Birmingham group to print a list of the police killings. It is immaterial that "some of them were justified." It is the array of them that convicts the police department.

One of the roots of the trouble in Birmingham is that the Negro vote is by fraudulent devices held to a tiny number. If the city had thirty or forty thousand Negro voters, I think the police department would behave. And a lot of other needful things would be done. Some very able people have worked on that problem, but it has not yet been cracked.

May I take this occasion to thank you for the check for $25.12 which so generously covered Mrs. Tilly's expenses.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Sgt ocing

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

287 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

April 9, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very grateful to you for your trouble in writing me in some detail regarding work done by the church women in Atlanta to obtain better housing. I am following up with Miss Esther Stamatz in regard to the bulletin of the National Council of Church Women.

In reference to the Birmingham situation I also am inclined to believe that the allegation that the bombings were done by Communists is an alibi. Also there is the serious matter of the shooting of Negro persons being placed under arrest. I do not know what further persons on the outside could do unless there is some way to bring the FBI more actively into the situation. Do you think that everything has been done in this direction that can be done? Do you feel after Mrs. Tilly's latest investigation that it would be at all wise to endeavor to get the St. Louis Post-Dispatch to send a writer to Birmingham and make an expose?

May I share a copy of your letter with Mrs. R. C. Johnson in Birmingham? She is a member of our A.M.A. Divisional Committee and also a prominent member of the colored Congregational Church.

I know that you will advise us of any new developments or further recommendations. With appreciation and personal good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Galen Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

Birmingham police

July 9, 1951

Mr. Emory O. Jackson
Birmingham World
P. O. Box 1968
Birmingham 1, Alabama

Dear Emory:

Thank you a lot for the news about the killing of Mr. Patterson.

It has been suggested that maybe the Alabama Division could help on getting the record known. Some of our people in Montgomery intend to talk to you about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

This becomes the 5th Negro to be killed by Birmingham police during 1951. For the state, including Birmingham the number if 8.

From January 1, 1948 thru July 5, 1951 there have been 28 Negro citizens killed by Birmingham police. For the state, including Birmingham, the number is 52.

~~But one of the 28 Negro~~
Only one policeman has stood trial before a jury ~~for any of the~~ for the 28 deaths.

The Birmingham News
July 5, 1951

Capt. Walker reports:—

Negro is accidentally killed by policeman after knifing attack

A Negro man was killed early yesterday when a policeman struck him with his gun, which accidentally fired, Capt. B. F. Walker reported today.

Capt. Walker identified the dead man as Tom Patterson.

He said Patterson was killed about 2:35 a.m. yesterday by Officer R. F. Watson after the Negro had attacked him with a knife.

The captain's report, kept secret until today, said Watson and his wife and another couple were driving west on Eighth Avenue, North, early yesterday morning when they saw a Negro man and woman fighting at 24th Street.

* * *

OFFICER WATSON parked the car and told the Negro man, Patterson, to turn the woman loose and drop the knife he had in his hand. The report said that after Watson showed Patterson his badge and told him he was a policeman, Patterson cursed him, threatened to kill him and made a "swipe at the officer with the open knife."

The report continued that Patterson made another attempt to stab the officer and Watson struck the Negro on the side of his head with his revolver. The gun accidentally fired and Patterson was shot over the left eye.

Patterson was carried to Hillman Hospital and died at 8:57 a.m. yesterday.

* * *

MARIE PATTERSON, the dead Negro's wife and the person with whom he was said to have been fighting, also was carried to Hillman Hospital.

The report said she was treated for a badly bruised or broken jaw. There was swelling on the left side of her face and just below the left eye.

The report states that Marie Patterson and four other witnesses had given statements to police partially confirming Officer Watson's account of the affair.

Walker said police have a statement from the owner of a Negro club that the Pattersons had been drinking heavily and had had an argument shortly before Officer Watson encountered them.

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1951
RESEARCH

July 5, 1951

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed you will find a preliminary report on "Police Negro Killing No. 5 for Birmingham in 1951".

There is said to be a boy whose only name we know him by at the moment "Robert" who can be contacted through Mrs. Helen Burton, 824 North 25th Street, who allegedly is an eye-witness.

Miss Marie Davis, listed in the story as the victim's wife, is also a witness. She is said to have been so severely beaten by police that she required hospital treatment.

The victim's mother, Mrs. Ethel Mae Lewis and the step-father, Roderick Lewis, live at 1405 Ocean Street.

The victim has two brothers, Arthur Lee Patterson, 21 and Willie Patterson, 23. Smith & Gaston Undertakers picked up the body.

An attendant in the hospital told me that the victim was shot 4 times through the left forehead. It was also said that certain high city officials went to the hospital and tried to block an autopsy which the mother is said to have ordered later despite their objections.

Tom Patterson, Jr was born October 25, 1924 at 1405 Goose Street. He served two years and seven months ~~[illegible]~~ in World War II of which 36 months were overseas duty.

Mr. Patterson is said to have been ~~[illegible]~~ well ~~[illegible]~~ covered by insurance which pay double indemity for accidental deaths.

Coroner Joe Hildebrand has ruled the death accidental.

A person who is well versed in ~~[illegible]~~ firearms told me ~~[illegible]~~ that the type of gun used by police has a good safety latch on it.

This "accidental death by shooting" is suspicious. It should be reported to the Department of Justice with the urge that it be investigated thoroughly.

The Rev. R.L. Alford, president of the Birmingham NAACP ~~[illegible]~~ Branch said that he would investigate this death.

This is only a preliminary report but it should be sufficient to get something going.

Yours truly

~~[illegible]~~ D. Jackson, Secretary

Birmingham Branch NAACP

Birmingham World
312 North 17th Street
P. O. Box 1968
Birmingham 1, Alabama

BIRMINGHAM
JUL 5
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1951
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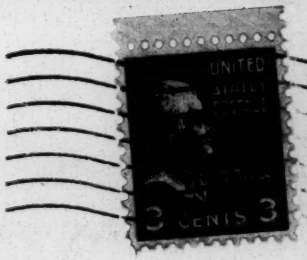

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

W, misc.

January 11, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Dept.
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

That was very kind of you to write.

We like our Statement too and are glad we and the Board and the membership could all go along on it. Here are some more copies.

I will be in New York next week and will try to see you. Scratch your head and see where you can find us some dollars, please.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

Birmingham
Bombing
Violence

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 9, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I was much pleased to see a splendid article in the December 14 New York Times reporting the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. In quoting several paragraphs from the statement issued from that meeting I was particularly impressed by the forthright renunciation of segregation in principle. I will be looking eagerly for the full statement which I presume will be published shortly in New South. More power to you and your officers as you carry through the significant program which you have outlined.

With cordial personal good wishes for 1952, I am

Sincerely yours,

Galen Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

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Jam

P.O. Box 50 Tehran Iran

SRC Police

September 20, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston 4, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Childs:

That was awfully good of you to get Mr. Harris's approval so promptly. Our police issue of New South will be much strengthened as a result.

Thanks, too, for the clippings on the Myrtle Beach episode. They are particularly useful, since we are thinking of running a resume of what is known of the affair in an early New South. I am sending Mr. Frances Taylor a copy of the SRC account of the Groveland disorders, today.

CSM

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city this week, but I will pass on your invitation to him as soon as he returns. I know he will appreciate it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston 4, South Carolina

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

Sept. 18

Dear Mr. Fleming,

We are very much pleased that the Council would like to use our report. I talked to Mr. Harris over the 'phone this morning and was authorized to tell you to reprint any or all of it.

While I was in the mountains saved some clippings about the recent

Klan outrage in Horry county. They might be complete your files.

I believe it would be a good idea to send to Mr. Frances Taylor, News & Courier, Meeting St. Charleston a copy of the SRC leaflet that came out after the Groveland (Lakeland?) Florida, Klan incident one a year ago. Mr. Taylor, a reporter who will long be with us, may through his experiences in Conway have become more receptive and open-minded. As I recall, the Groveland account pointed out very

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston 4, South Carolina

clearly the broad implications of well-organized, well-financed lawlessness. Through pure ignorance and excessive conservatism, I believe Mr. Taylor would not write up the Conway negro police for us a couple of years ago, but it maybe that he could now absorb a little "background".

Tell Dr. Mitchell we are looking forward to his visit this fall. The children and all concerned would

like it awfully if he would stop with us. The invitation is genuine if indirect. I intended to write & send the clippings when I got his letter in the mountains.

Yours truly

Margaretta Challes

VIA AIRMAIL

February 16, 1951

Mr. L. E. LeFlore
P. O. Box 1091
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. LeFlore:

Mrs. Huff has asked me to send you the material on Negro policemen which you requested by telephone yesterday.

Enclosed is an annotated, up-to-date list of the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities. This list includes the number of states, the number of cities, and the total number of Negroes employed.

I have enclosed several issues of NEW SOUTH which contain information on the subject, as well as our annual reports on the employment of Negro policemen. In the October 1947 issue, you will find an article on the successful use of Negro policemen in Greensboro, N.C., and a poll of opinions from various cities on their employment. You will also be particularly interested in the article in the September 1950 issue on "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen".

These various issues of NEW SOUTH will give you a striking picture of the rapid growth of this practice throughout the South. It is interesting to compare the figures SRC found in its first survey in 1945 -- 9 states, 29 cities, 131 Negro policemen, 3 Negro policewomen -- with the totals on the up-to-date list I have sent you.

In addition, we are enclosing a good many comments which should be helpful to you in persuading Mobile's city officials. If there is anything else we can do to help , please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

Negro Police Jackson Miss

March 28, 1951

Mr. A. E. Cox
Providence Cooperative Farm
Route 1
Cruger, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Cox:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city for the remainder of this week, so I hasten to send you our material on Negro policemen.

Enclosed are copies of New South which include a story on the practice as it worked out in Greensboro, North Carolina, comments by police chiefs, and statistics on the widespread employment of Negro policemen in the South.

We have found that the practice has brought helpful results wherever it has been tried. If this printed material leaves some important question unanswered, let us know, and we will try to get the information you need.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er
Encls.

COOPERATIVE FARMS, Inc.

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR, PRESIDENT
SAM H. FRANKLIN, JR., VICE-PRESIDENT AND RESIDENT DIRECTOR
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EMORY W. LUCCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
ARTHUR RAPER
JOHN RUST

March 25, 1951

PROVIDENCE COOPERATIVE FARM
CRUGER, ROUTE 1, MISSISSIPPI

DELTA COOPERATIVE FARM
ROCHDALE, MISSISSIPPI

EASTERN OFFICE:
ROOM 1101, 52 VANDERBILT AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You are familiar, I am sure, with the effort being put forth by a group of citizens in Jackson, Mississippi, to secure the employment of Negroes on the city police force. It is my understanding that the Mayor is having considerable difficulty in gaining sufficient support for the move.

I have a good friend in Jackson who would be in the position to use his influence in this matter. In fact, he has been approached and has agreed to assist. Like a lot of other people he is going into the matter rather cautiously and wants full information on the subject before he moves. In talking with him yesterday, I promised to write you for any material and information that might be of value to him in throwing his support behind the move.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could send me information on the results of the plan in other cities of the South.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

A. E. Cox

RECEIVED
MAR 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

AFTER 5 DAYS, RETURN TO

[redacted]

THE PROVIDENCE COOPERATIVE FARM

ROUTE 1, CRUGER, MISSISSIPPI

AIR MAIL

Mr. George
Southern Re
63 Auburn A
Atlanta 3, (

Police, Negro

April 11, 1951

Mr. Lucius L. Jones
Birmingham World
312 North 17th Street
P.O. Box 1968
Birmingham 1, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

Enclosed are several issues of our publication, New South, which contain information on Negro police, as well as our annual tabulations on their employment.

The Council's first survey in 1945, showed only 9 states, 29 cities, 131 Negro policemen, and three Negro policewomen - a striking contrast with the figures obtained in the 1950 survey.

In the October 1947 issue, you will find an article on the successful use of Negro policemen in Greensboro, N.C., and a poll of opinions from various cities on their employment. Your will be particularly interested in the article in the September 1950 issue on "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen".

The enclosed copies of local editorial comment may also be heloful in persuading Birmingham's city officials.

We wish you a great deal of success and hope you will let us know if we can be of further help.

Cordially and sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:c
encls.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 10, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Birmingham WORLD, semi-weekly newspaper owned and operated by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta, Georgia, is ready to launch a campaign for Negro Police for the City of Birmingham.

Will you be so kind and considerate as to send me all pamphlets and other literature you have on Negro Police and efforts to get them appointed to duty in the various Southern communities?

Thank you in advance for any consideration given and it will help us if you rush this material promptly since we intend starting the csmpaign with the next issue of the Birmingham WORLD.

Most sincerely,

Lucius L. Jones

Lucius L. Jones, Promotional Director
Scott Newspaper Syndicate

312 N. 17th St.
P.O. Box 1968
Birmingham 1, Ala

RECEIVED
APR 11 1951
RECORDS
Southern Regional Council

July 6, 1951

Mr. P. B. Young
Publisher
Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am sorry you did not get the material on Negro policemen. Here is a copy of our letter which Emory Via of this office mailed on June 22, and fresh copies of its enclosures.

We are about ready now to ask for the 1951 information, but have not yet circularized the police chiefs. We know from our clippings and from other sources that Memphis now has at least sixteen uniformed Negro policemen, and in February of this year newspapers reported that the Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, had presented a plan for engaging four Negro policemen, who would be selected and trained from among those to be listed by Negro citizens.

Guilford County, N. C., has a Negro deputy sheriff, and so also have two counties in South Carolina and one in Oklahoma.

It is safe to say that all thirteen of the Southern States now use some Negro policemen, and that the total number of Negroes who are members of police forces in the South is in excess of 430.

We would like to see the matter of deputy sheriffs spread, too.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

P. B. YOUNG, PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 53686

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY

THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD

NORFOLK 1, VA

July 2, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL, INCORPORATED
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell: I acknowledge yours dated June 22, but beg to say that you omitted to reply to our request for the latest statistics which you have on Negro policemen in southern cities. If you will refer to my letter which accompanied my check you will note the request.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

June 22, '51

Mr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young,

That was mighty kind of you to send in your check, and we are grateful for it and for your friendship.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

June 22,1951

P. B. Young, Publisher
Journal and Guide
711-723 East Onley Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I have been asked to send you the material on Negro police which you requested in your letter of June 19.

Enclosed is our New South for September, 1950, which is our most recent complete listing. You may be interested in the article "How Charleston Got Negro Police" in the September, 1950, issue and in the articles on Negro police in the October, 1947, issue.

We feel that the tabulations for 1947 and 1950 make very interesting comparisons.

There have been moves in cities not listed to get Negro police, and the employment policies of at least one city would indicate it will soon have Negro police, but this information has not been compiled as yet.

Please call on us if there is anything further we can do to be of service.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Research Assistant

Encl.

P. B. YOUNG, PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 53686

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO., INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA

June 19, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Answering your letter dated June 15, I wish to state that since the middle of 1948 I have not been very active outside of my own business. First, I had to relinquish practically all of my board memberships on the advice of my physician. During the past year my health has been better, but I have deemed it wise to conserve my health. Publishing a newspaper during these times is a very strenuous business and requires a lot of time and thought.

I am in full sympathy and accord with the work of the Southern Regional Council, however, and enclose herewith my check for $10 to apply on membership.

K.S.

Emory

I am very anxious to get some data on the number of Negro policemen now employed in Southern cities. I believe the council compiled this information sometime ago. If you can send me this break-down by cities, I should be very grateful.+

Thanking you, and in anticipation of your reply and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely

P. B. YOUNG
Publisher

PBY/ems
Enclosure

P.S. + If you can supply the information as of Dec 31, 1950 that will suffice. PBY

Police (Negro)

July 24, 1951

T. C. Jervay, Owner-Editor
Wilmington Journal
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jervay:

Enclosed is our New South for October, 1950. It contains our latest published figures on Negro police in the South.

From press reports we are informed that:

1. Memphis, Tenn. has 16 uniformed Negro policemen.
2. Guilford County, North Carolina has a Negro deputy sheriff.
3. The Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, has proposed a plan for hiring four Negro police.
4. Oklahoma County, Oklahoma, has two Negro deputy sheriffs.
5. Two South Carolina counties have Negro deputy sheriffs.

As yet we have not circularized the police chiefs for 1951, but this is the information that we have to date. We are enclosing New South for October, 1947, so that you may have some comparative figures and the earlier articles on Negro police in the South.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Research Assistant

"An Apostle of Inter-racial Goodwill"

WILMINGTON JOURNAL

T. C. JERVAY, Owner-Editor

P. O. Box 1393 Wilmington, N. C.

Dial 5502

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1951
Southern Regional Council

July 21, 1951

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Sirs:

Kindly furnish us with information on the number of Negro police in the South, etc. Especially are we interested in the cities in our State which have them employed.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Sincerely yours,

T. C. Jervay

Southeastern North Carolina Negroes Spend Millions of Dollars Annually.
Are You Getting Your Share?

August 1, 1951

Mr. Bertram Smith
51-D Baker Village
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Smith:

In answer to your request for information on the employment of Negro police in the South we are sending you two issues of New South which reported progress in this field. You will find it of interest to compare the 1947 and the 1950 figures.

Our more current records show that Memphis now has at least sixteen Negro police; the mayor of Jackson, Mississippi has presented a detailed program for the hiring and training of Negroes for police work; Guilford County, N.C. has a Negro deputy sheriff as do two counties in South Carolina and one in Oklahoma.

Reports also show that three towns in North Carolina - Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Greenville - which we have not previously listed, now have Negro police.

We trust that this information may be of use to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Research Assistant

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

51-D Baker Village
Columbus, Georgia
July 30, 1951

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have been told that your "Bureau of Research and Education" has recently compiled a booklet on the employment of Negro police that contains much helpful information upon this subject. As a student of Business at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, I am extremely desirous of presenting the results of your investigations to the class. In fact my final thesis is to be on the "Hiring of Negro Policemen in Columbus".

I should, therefore, very much appreciate your sending me a copy of your booklet and such additional information you may wish to give me.

Very truly yours,

Bertram Smith

Bertram Smith

.... To Check for Negro Police – 1951

Check Large Ala. cities

✓Baton Rouge, La. ("none has ~~taken~~ (Reply) civil S. Ex. yet")

✓Lynchburg, Va.

✓Ocala, Fla. (had 1 in 1947) (Reply)

✓Sarasota, Fla. (had ?# in 1947) (Reply)

~~Augusta, Ga. (1950 Quest. stated "possibility in future, but date unknown at this time".)~~

✓Hartsville, S.C. – 1 Uniformed (per Caroline Gillespie)

Mobile, Ala. NAACP requested N police

✓Rocky Mount, N.C.

✓Wilson, N.C. (Reply)

✓Greenville, N.C. (Reply)

✓Jackson, Miss. Ala. Citizen 2-24-51 says 4 to be hired, plan presented by mayor

✓Fort Worth, Texas (None – "do not anticipate hiring any in near future") Reply

[Knoxville, Tenn (additions)] Chatt. Times 7-22-49 noted 4 to be added

✓Summerton, S.C. (Reply)

✓Newberry, S.C. (Reply)

✓Vicksburg, Miss (Reply)

AUG 14 1951

✓ = questionnaire sent

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING,
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY,
IN CHARGE WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AUG 15 1951

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HF:ec

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greenville, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . May 1951. (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments None

Date 8-16-51

Signed William D. Berry

Position Asst. Chief of Police

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 17
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Wilson, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen		
This city has used Negro policemen since	1950 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments

Date August 15, 1951 Signed A. A. Prewette

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Summerton S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	
This city has used Negro policemen since	0 (Year)	

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments No Negro Police

Date

Signed H. C. Carrigan

Position Mayor

Harold C. Fleming
Director of ~~Information~~

HFsec

Summerton does not have a colored policeman.

H. C. Carrigan,
mayor

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1977
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF SARASOTA, FLA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has NOT used Negro policemen since	1946 (Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	? (Date)	

Comments Due to the low Crime rate among our Negro Population the city Council during 1946 decided that Negro Police positions should be abolished.

Date 8-16-51 Signed R N Wilson

Position

R. N. Wilson
Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Baton Rouge, La.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	0	0
	(Year)	
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	(Date)	

Comments Never employed Negro officers.

Date Aug 16 '51 Signed Fred C Parker Jr

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Vicksburg Miss -

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	None	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-16-1951 - Signed Albert R. Allen -

Position Chief of Police -

CITY OF Newberry SC

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0
This city has used Negro policemen since	0 (Year)	0
or		
This city will hire Negro policemen on	0 (Date)	

Comments The city of Newberry S.C. has never used any Negro Policemen Your records are showing an error

Date 8-21-51

Signed C. L. Dowl

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fort Worth, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen		
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . _____ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . _____ (Date)

Comments We do not have any negro policemen or policewomen and do not anticipate hiring any in the near future. Sorry for the delay in answering.

Date Sept. 12, 1951

Signed Roland C. Haverton

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF OCALA, FLORIDA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1 x	
Number of Negro policewomen	none	

This city has used Negro policemen since . . . . . November 1,1949 (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on . . . . . (Date)

Comments work has been very satisfactory

Date August 17,1951

Signed J. H. Kimsey

Position Chief of Police

Atl. Journal (10-25-51)

Regional Officer Training Course Urged by Cook

By AUBREY MORRIS
Journal Staff Writer

SAVANNAH, Oct. 25—Attorney General Eugene Cook, in an address before the Georgia Peace Officers' Association here Thursday, proposed a three-point program to "add to the proficiency of all our law enforcement officers."

He urged the establishment of an educational program on a regional basis that would make available to all officers a brief, annual educational course on crime detection and police methods.

He cited the need for an effective program to increase the economic security of the officers individually, and to make available adequate public funds for administration of the duties of their office.

He advocated "adequate provisions for facilities to co-ordinate law-enforcement work on the state level, provided such co-ordination originates with the chiefs of police and sheriffs."

* * *

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said the average peace officer is expected to "know all the laws and to detect, apprehend and investigate the crime, regardless of the risk of life and the security of his home." Mr. Average Citizen expects the individual peace officer to be a combination of a "better-than-average soldier, doctor, lawyer, priest, social worker, psychiatrist, politician, salesman and business executive," Mr. Cook said.

"It is true that if such a creature were possible of attainment he would possess the exact qualifications for an ideal peace officer. But it is wishful thinking to expect to even approach such when we have no educational program nor a decent method of compensation, and no system of co-ordinating police work."

In a report on the peace officers' annuity and benefit fund, John Ham, secretary, told delegates that membership in the fund had increased from 710 members a year ago to a present membership of 2,254. On Oct. 23, 1950, the fund had on deposit in banks $27,449.56, he added, whereas today the fund has on deposit $267,637.81. A year ago only 301 courts were participating in the fund and today there are 1,009 courts participating, he said.

* * *

AT AN EARLIER session of the two-day convention Lt. Gov. Marvin Griffin told delegates that "the lack of organized crime" in Georgia is a credit to the state's peace officers.

Mr. Griffin pointed out that the Kefauver committee and other investigations have failed to turn up any "big-time" crime in the state. But he urged the delegates to be on the alert for menacing crime syndicates "that are trying to take root" in new ground and he enjoined them to continue waging war on local lawbreakers.

ARE YOU TIRED
BEING OVERCHA
BY PLUMB

THE

SRC: So. Pol. Inst

November 1, 1961

Col. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

Enclosed is a copy of a recent story from the Atlanta Journal which I thought might be of interest to you.

As you will see, Attorney General Cook, in his rather grandiose suggestion, does not seem to be aware of the practical approach already being made by the Institute. It occurred to me that you might want to acquaint him with your pro ram, either directly, through Chief Jenkins, or in some other way. We could supply him with appropriate information, of course, but I thought it might be preferable for any approach to come purely through police channels.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

Same letter to:
Rev. Kenneth C. Phifer
Presbyterian Meeting House
P. O. Box 682
Alexandria, Va.

November 19, 1951

Mr. C. J. DeValt
Secretary, Negro Chamber of Commerce
703 N. DeVillier St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Dear Mr. DeValt:

We thought that perhaps the enclosed news story "Dixie Chiefs Laud Negro Policemen" might be of some use in your campaign to secure Negro policemen in Pensacola, if it has not already come to your attention.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Encl.

Oct. 18, 1951

Mr. C. J. DeValt
Secretary, Negro Chamber of Commerce
703 N. DeVillier St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Dear Mr. DeValt:

In answer to your request for information on the employment of Negro police officers we are sending you two copies of our bulletin NEW SOUTH. I believe you will find both the report on the services of Negro policemen in the October, 1947 issue and the article "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen" in the September, 1950 issue helpful in your campaign.

The enclosed sheet indicates progress in hiring Negro policemen which has been made since the listing appearing in the September, 1950 NEW SOUTH.

If we can be of any further help, please contact us. We would of course appreciate your letting us know what success you have in your efforts to secure Negro policemen in Pensacola.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

NEGRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PENSACOLA

~~423 N. BEAUMONT ST.~~
703 N. DeVillier Street
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

OFFICERS
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HARRY GREEN, FIFTH VICE PRES.
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DAVIS CADY, ASS'T. SEC'Y.
N. W. WILLIAMS, TREASURER

October 16, 1951

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AUBREY A. ROBINSON

Oct 47
Sept 48
Sept 49
Sept Oct '50
Aug-Sep '51

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are campaigning for Negro police under the City Civil Service Board in our city. Please furnish us with any and all material at hand relative to the activity of Negro officers ie. the number in various cities, the progress made, the manner in which they have conducted themselves and the communities reaction.

Whatever information available will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

C. J. DaValt, Secretary

CJD:jwc

Nov. 1951

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

~~October 4, 1950~~

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

You will be interested in this most recent tabulation of Southern towns and cities employing Negro policemen. It is based, insofar as possible, on firsthand correspondence with chiefs of police themselves. We are grateful for the cooperation of these officials in keeping an accurate record of this growing practice. The Southern Regional Council will welcome corrections or additions to its figures.

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2 (1 part time)		
*Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2 (radiopatrol car		
*Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	39	1	
Sanford, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
*West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		7
Atlanta, Ga.	12 (2 radiopatrol cars)		~~6~~ (school)
Macon, Ga.	2		
*Savannah, Ga.	10	4 (2 deputy sheriffs)	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	21 (1 is lt., 3 sgt.)	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.		2 (Juv. dept.)	
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Anoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
*Carrboro, N. C.	1 (part-time)		
*Chapel Hill, N. C.	1 (part-time)		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N.C.	7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (school)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Winston Salem, N. C.	7		
Muscogee, Okla.	2		
*Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	9 (8 patrol, 1 traffic)	5	1
Charleston, S. C.	4		
*Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
*Darlington, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
*Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
*Memphis, Tenn.	~~14~~ 16		
Nashville, Tenn.	7		
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
*Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Orange, Tex.	2		
*Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	7	1 (Juv. Officer)	
Norfolk, Va.	3	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS:	13	76	363	43	17

* Information based on newspaper account or report from SRC member; not confirmed by Chief of Police in 1950.

additions

Augusta, Ga.	6		Press 10-2-50
Guilford County (Greensboro) NC		1 (deputy)	Press 12-10-50
Wilson, NC	2		Police chief 8-16-51
Ocala, Fla.	1		Police chief 8-17-51
Greenville, NC	1		Ast. Pol. chief 8-16-51
Columbus Ga.	4		Press
Talladega, Ala.	2		Police chief 2-8-61

1951 Totals

STATES: 13 CITIES: 82 UNIFORM: 381 PLAINCLOTHES: 44 WOMEN: 18

January 18, 1952

Mrs. Nathan C. Starr
945 Lakeview Drive
Winter Park, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Staff:

Since the listing of Negro policemen in the Sept.-Oct. issue of NEW SOUTH, 1950, Memphis, Tenn. has added two uniformed Negro policemen and Atlanta, Georgia has added one Negro policewoman. The following towns have begun using Negro Police:

Guilford County, N. C.	1 Plainclothes (Deputy Sheriff, 1st Negro deputy in N. C.)
Wilson, N. C.	2 Uniformed Policemen
Greenville, N. C.	1 " "
Ocala, Fla.	1 " "
Columbus, Ga.	4 " "
Talladega, Ala.	2 " "

This brings the total number of Negro police in the South to 443: 381 uniformed police; 44 plainsclothesmen and 18 policewomen. There are 82 different cities in 13 states employing Negro police in the South.

I am enclosing a copy of the news story in the MIAMI HERALD which was mentioned in the Nov. 1951 NEW SOUTH.

Hoping that this information will be useful in your panel discussion,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Encl.

Jan. 1952
945 Lakeview Dr.
Winter Park

Dear Dr. Mitchell -

In my letter of Jan. 12, did I ask you if you had any more up to date reports on Negro Police than those in The New South of Oct. '47, Sept.-Oct '50, + Nov. '51? I have these, + expect to use them on Jan. 25 at our "Panel Discussion" on Negro Police, before The W.P. Council of Church Women. I would be grateful for any other data I should have - That is my part on the panel.

Nina H. Starr
(Mrs. Nathan C.)

"Thanks" in 2-6-52 ack

Jan. 25 '52 945 Lakeview Dr.
Winter Park, Fla.

Dear Miss Holden

Thank you for your letter with the new information. You do not seem to have Orlando. Two Negro policemen completed their 1 year probation period this month + are now full fledged police.

Very sincerely
Nina Howell Starr.

The acting chief gave me this information in his office in Orlando.

Police, negro

January 24, 1952

Miss Roberta Morgan
309 N. 23rd St.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Miss Morgan:

Many thanks for your phone call this morning.

I send you:

A. Two sets of our printments on Negro police
B. A copy of the preliminary mimeod edition of our forthcoming manual on race and law enforcement. Will be in print in a week, and I will send you several.

Observe that the story in August-September, '51 New South, "Past Year Shows Negro Police Gains," brings down to date the 1950 table of Southern cities with Negro policemen. Since that issue of New South we have heard of two further cities with Negro policemen: Morganton, North Carolina, and Talladega, Alabama. But I don't know how many in each of these two cities. I think Talladega is only on Saturday. At any rate, the total of cities known to us is now 83.

Observe further that the October, 1947, issue of New South contains some good accounts of experience with Negro policemen.

My suggestion of three cities where the stories could be pretty well picked up would be Nashville, Atlanta, and for a North Carolina city, either Greensboro or Charlotte or Durham. Miami is a better place on it, but it isn't like most Southern cities anyway.

As to a secretary for the Interracial Committee. Fisk University operates a Race Relations Institute. The head man is Mr. Herman H. Long. He is an able and resourceful person, pretty apt to know somebody suitable. The comparable man at Atlanta University is Professor Mozell Hill, and I have asked him to give me a name or two for you. He has one fellow in mind. It might be worth exploring with President Bell at Miles College to see whether he has somebody there in economics or sociology who could do it. Were I in your place, I would try also at Talladega. The president is

A. D. Beittel, as you know. If you could find a Talladega graduate who could accomodate himself to the need in the Birmingham community, he ought to be satisfying all around.

At Tuskegee I would myself address my inquiries to Lewis W. Jones, at the Rural Life Council. He is a knowledgeable fellow.

Suggestion on combing through your school system: You would be particularly well off if you found somebody who understands the vocational school program. There's a Negro college at Tuscaloosa. They might know somebody. A Negro friend of mine at Tuscaloosa publishes the Negro weekly there. He is Frank P. Thomas. He travels a lot in the State and might know somebody from outside the city who would be suitable.

I send you along some leaflets on the Council. Each has a membership blank over towards the back. We will be extremely grateful if more of those who are active in the Birmingham Interracial Committee join the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC - Police Manual

January 28, 1952

Professor Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dear Louis:

I am all appreciation for the care you took in analyzing the police pamphlet. I remember again how mountainous are the stacks of "incoming" on your desk.

The pamphlet has been at the printer's a couple of weeks, in much the form in which I sent the draft up to you--the second draft, that is. It ought to be back in two or three days now.

Getting it into print has lost us the chance on working in what we can to meet your comments, but we are printing only a smallish edition (8,000), and we will hope that there will be call for a revised edition later on.

We are making a special effort to get the official social action people in each of the religious denominations in the South to take it up and press their local churches to interest themselves in improving police service.

I hope to see you at the next meeting of the NAIRO Board in February.

With warm appreciation,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 24, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sorry that because of an unexpected absence from the country, I have been so much delayed in answering your letter of December 17 and commenting on the new form of your Race and Law Enforcement guide. My comments probably come too late to be of any use to you, but I send them along for what they may be worth.

I still find it hard to discover to whom this document is addressed. Is it to law enforcement officials or to citizens? Unless it is addressed to the most educated and enlightened citizens, especially of the South, I do not think it will go over because the language is too sophisticated and the document makes difficult reading.

I take it that you confine yourself to the problem of the police, and the pamphlet seems to deal primarily with the police in urban communities. It does not deal with the sheriffs, the jailers, and the other personnel in the law enforcement agencies who are particularly prone to start or be involved in trouble.

When you come to suggestions, there isn't much you can now say except what you do say in the end of the document. I do remember your figures on Negro police in one of your monthly publications and I think to include them in the pamphlet would be very useful and impressive, especially in paragraphs 65 to 82. The only figures you give are in paragraph 80. Among the suggestions that I would include is decent pay for police officers, because without it I don't see how you can attract good personnel. Without it you certainly cannot expect training.

I think it is certainly useful for people to survey the state of their police problems, but if they are asked to do so I think special emphasis should be upon cases of the breakdown of law and justice; get citizens to analyze how these breakdowns happened so as to take measures to prevent their repetition.

I think a feasible recommendation would be that some southern communities send their policemen to institutions where they can get some training. Perhaps attention could be called to the Louisville Police Institute and other centers, such as ours here where we occasionally try to give special training programs.

I think one recommendation certainly would be that unless the mayor or the city council or the top city officials are committed to a genuine program of equal justice for all, the police force will not conform to any high standards. I think the more we emphasize equal rights and opportunities for all citizens and the less we make an issue of the factor of race by itself, the more likely we are to succeed.

Incidentally, in the survey that people are asked to make, they should be asked to discover the pressure being put upon the officials, including the police officials, by special-interest groups which undermine morale and make adequate law enforcement difficult. Also, I think it would be of some interest for people to discover how much news their newspapers and their radios give and what others outside the community have said about the community in respect to inadequate law enforcement or unequal justice.

I think the most important questions you face with such a pamphlet are:

1. To delineate the problem you wish to tackle as precisely as you can. As I see it, the problem here is how to prevent interracial violence and how to assure law enforcement and equality before the law in the South where the racial issue looms large. On this point I would say that the police are merely one arm of the community; the sheriffs, and especially the deputy sheriffs, the judges and the prosecutors, the jurors, the politicians, the newspapers and the civic agencies are also directly involved. This needs to be clearly pointed out. It should also be pointed out that the nation as a whole and the Negroes particularly, as can be demonstrated by newspaper reports and articles, feel that not everything is being done to prevent violence and to assure equality under the law. This has a bad effect upon the South and upon the nation. It affects the whites as well as the Negroes. A quotation from the President's Committee on Civil Rights, or perhaps a document that would be more congenial to the South, would be in point here as a source from which to quote. Perhaps a section of the speech that you published in your December issue of the New South, given by Mr. Harry A. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, would be appropriate.

2. We want to be sure whom we are addressing. If we want to arouse citizen interest in this problem, then let us frankly address the citizens. If we are talking to the law enforcement officials, and especially to the police, we may be sure that this document will not be read unless it is part of a program instituted by police departments as an integral aspect of police indoctrination and training.

3. We want to be sure that we are persuasively effective by bringing the document down to the language which those who are to read it will understand, and that the facts and arguments used are concisely and effectively put.

4. We want to involve people by giving them a program about which they can do something. There are several things they can do besides making a self-survey. They can look at their record of violence and inequality and define some objectives as to how to improve it in the future. They can create a general atmosphere in the community which will be more conducive to achieving desirable ends. They can intervene in specific situations. They can engage in long-run programs of improvement. Unless we have some specific goals clearly outlined that people can pursue and specific activities in which they can engage, the pamphlet will miss its target.

5. We can point to places and instances where important progress has been achieved and how it was done, to show people that what is being advocated is not impossible of achievement and to serve as a guide as to what they themselves can do.

I think this is a better statement than the first one I saw, but I am still worried about what it will accomplish.

Sincerely,

Louis

Louis Wirth

February 5, 1952

Professor T. Stanton Dietrich
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mr. Dietrich:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of the 28th with the newspaper clippings. We are so glad to add Tallahassee to the list of places that behave.

Here is the police pamphlet I talked with you about.

Anything you can do to get committees of local people in Florida towns to take it along on visits to the chief or the sheriff will be all to the good.

Sells for fifteen cents apiece.

You were all as kind to me as could be, and I am still grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

AH

The Florida State University
Tallahassee

T. Stanton Dietrich
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

28 January 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have time only for a brief note. We all enjoyed your visit and I have heard a number of very complimentary comments about your talks to our students. You may recall I mentioned the fun Mr. Boynton and I have had now for three years observing what we call demonstrations of Rein's E. S. P.

The week after you were here the enclosed clipping appeared in our local newspaper, and the radio account of the news story was replete with what must have been excerpts from S. R. C. material.

I hope we can meet again in Atlanta--I don't know the exact dates, but our Southern Sociological Meetings probably will be held in your fair city the latter part of March or early in April.

Good luck to you.

Best wishes from all of us--the children enjoyed your visit as much as we did.

Sincerely,

Tommy Dietrich
NM

Dictated but not read.

~~SRC — Staff Memos~~
Police, Negro

MEMO TO HCF Feb. 27, 1952

From Beiman's article on Nashville
I gleaned various items:

1. They have 14 Negro police women.

2. Nashville has one Negro member of the 7-man Auditorium Commission.

3. The present mayor of Nashville appointed a Negro to the city school board.

4. Davidson County has 4 Negro deputy sheriffs.

GSM

Ham, misc

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 27, 1952

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Grace:

Here are the three stories on Negro police carried in the Birmingham News. You will find yourself helpfully quoted in the one for Monday, February 18.

If you will send them back, I will see to it that Mr. Milton gets a look at them. They quote from him also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Many thanks. Very interesting.
G. T. H.

RECEIVED
FEB 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

Police, Negro

The CITIZENS TRUST Company

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

March 12, 1952

RECEIVED
Southern

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
Southern Regional Coun

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am returning herewith the clippings from the Birmingham News which you sent me in your letter of March 6th.

I was very happy to have a talk with the author when he was in Atlanta. Of course he did not say all the things I tried to emphasize and in some instances he deliberately twisted my words. I will be satisfied, however, if together we can assist in fostering better programs in Birmingham and the state of Alabama.

Thank you for letting me have a look at the articles.

Very truly yours,

L. D. Milton
President

LDM:n
Encls.-3

Police, Negro

March 6, 1952

Mr. L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Co.
212 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Milton:

Here are the three stories on Negro police carried in the Birmingham News. You will find yourself helpfully quoted in the one for Monday, February 18.

If you will send them back, we will keep them permanently here in our files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 18, 1952

Miss Mary Alice Hunt
Daily Democrat
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mary Alice,

Here is the stuff on Negro police.

The Birmingham News ran a series of articles on Negro police not long ago. One was a general article on what places used them; the Feb. 16 one was on the use of Negro police in Nashville; the Feb. 18 on use in Atlanta.

We got a note from the chief of police today asking if we had any material on race and law enforcement--you haven't already started waving the blue book around have you?

Send us a clip if you run a story. Also don't forget you said you would watch the papers for our stories.

Went to see "Mister Roberts" with Betty last night. She was real sorry she missed you and Lois. Tell Lois to let us know when shell be back.

Come back soon.

Love,

April 29, 1952

Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
909 Maypole Ave.
Norfolk 2, Va.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to send you what information we have on the use of policewomen.

We do not have any tabulations on the number of white policewomen, but the enclosed Sept.-Oct., 1950 NEW SOUTH and the supplementary list show the towns using Negro policewomen.

Both white and Negro policewomen are generally assigned to special duties: traffic guards at school crossings, juvenile work, prison matrons. Probably more are used as guards at school crossings than any other one assignment.

In Atlanta the school policewomen work on a part time basis, two and ahalf hours a day, Monday through Friday of each week during the school year. There are now seven Negro policewomen and about thirty-five white policewomen. The enclosed copy of a news item on the hiring of school police will give you an idea of the qualifications Atlanta required.

Richmond, Va. employs a Negro policewoman as a juvenile worker as of 1949.

Hoping that this information will be of help,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

encl

From the Atlanta Journal, Jan. 15, 1950

CHIEF PREFERS MOTHERS FOR SCHOOL POLICE

40 Special Officers, Including 5 Negroes, to Guard Crossings

Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins Saturday announced that tentative application forms have been designed for hiring 40 Atlanta policewomen to direct traffic on streets near city schools.

The forms were drawn up by the chief in cooperation with Miss Ida Jarrell, superintendent of Atlanta public schools.

They will be distributed to the various schools after a final meeting of approval is held with Miss Jarrell, possibly next week.

The tentative forms state that:

Mothers with children enrolled in elementary schools are preferred.

The applicant must live in the immediate community of the school crossing to be worked.

Appointments do not entitle the apointee to civil service or pension rights, nor compensation, except for days worked.

The apointee will not be vested with power to arrest.

Cheif Jenkins said that five of the policewomen will be Negroes--assigned to Negro schools.

The 35 white policewomen, he added, will not be sufficient to cover all of the schools. Full-time policemen will still be necessary at some of the stations. ...

April 30, 1952

Rev. Bruce W. LeFebre, Rector
Church of the Holy Innocents
Chestnut St.
Henderson, N. C.

Dear Rev. LeFebre:

Thank you for your letter of April 29.

The following material has been mailed to you under separate cover: a dozen copies of the booklet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, a dozen copies of a NEW SOUTH issue containing a list of Southern towns employing Negro police, and several issues of another NEW SOUTH with indications of the satisfactory service of Negro police in different towns.

The enclosed typewritten list ofNegro police shows additions since the printed list in NEW SOUTH. The article reporting praise for Negro police at the International Police Chiefs' convention might be of some help.

We are glad to learn that there is interest in securing Negro police in Henderson.

Thank you very much for your generous check. We are happy to have you as one of our members.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

The Church of the Holy Innocents
Chestnut Street
Henderson, North Carolina

THE REV. BRUCE WILLIAM LEFEBRE, RECTOR

RECEIVED
APR 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

29 April, 1952

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Recently I read that you have available a booklet describing the results in cities where Negro policemen have been employed. I would very much appreciate your sending me twelve (12) copies of this information at your earliest possible convenience.

The City Council of Henderson considered a proposal to hire Negro police officers about two years ago, and now the proposal has been reintroduced. I very much want to see this measure passed and I want to put some definite information in the hands of each of the Councilmen.

A committee of the City Council is now undertaking a thorough study of the Police Department with an eye toward sweeping reform. Part of the program advanced by one member of the committee is the hiring of two Negroes on the force. This matter will come up for action in the very near future, so I would appreciate your sending me the necessary information as soon as possible.

I enclose a check to cover the cost of the material I have requested, and to cover the cost of a membership for me for one year.

Very truly yours,

Bruce W. LeFebre

10.00

K.S.

May 8, 1952

Mr. A. R. Hardesty
Asst. Regional Director & Chairman
CIO Committee on Human Rights
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Hardesty:

We are sending under separate cover several pamphlets with information on Negro police in the South.

"How Charleston Got Negro Policemen" and "How Negro Police Worked out in One Southern City" give detailed accounts of the experiences of two Southern towns in in hiring and working with Negro police. Another article reporting reactions of different police chiefs will also be of interest.

The enclosed typewritten list of towns employing Negro police will bring the 1950 listing up to date.

A news story showing praise for Negro police at the fall convention of the International Association of Police Chiefs is also enclosed.

Hoping that our information will be helpful,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

Congress of Industrial Organizations

CIO

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VIctor 3696

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

May 5, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Region Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I understand your organization has made a survey of law enforcement practice in all southern cities.

I would like very much to have this information if it is available. I would like particularly to know to what extent Negroes are employed on police forces; what their restrictions are; the opposition to the establishment of such practice; difficulties the Negroes have had in carrying out their duties; and the gains, if any, which have been made in this field.

Yours very truly,

A. R. Hardesty

A. R. Hardesty
Asst. Regional Director &
Chairman, CIO Committee on
Human Rights

ARH:nlg

May 28, 1952

Mrs. Roger Boyle
Box 1183 Univ. Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

Negro police were added to the Atlanta force for the first time in March, 1948. Eight officers were hired; there are now twelve. Negro policewomen were first used in 1950.

The hiring of Negro police in Atlanta was the culmination of a lengthy campaign on the part of Negro citizens and interested interracial organizations. Around 1945 and 1946 when the Negro vote had increased to a considerable size the demand began to get a hearing. Negro police were finally secured in 1948 after influential civic groups such as the Chamber of Commerce supported the idea. There were public hearings; the newspapers gave support; Mayor William B. Hartsfield supported it as the civic clubs began to push it.

As for the percent of crimes in the Negro community "before" and "after." We do not have any exact recent figures to give you. At the end of the first year of service the Atlanta Journal noted that in the first quarter of 1948, when there were no Negro police, Atlanta had 24 criminal homicides of Negroes by Negroes. In the first quarter of 1949, with Negro police on duty, there were 12 criminal homicides of Negroes by Negroes.

Mayor Hartsfield made the following statement in July, 1949: "These men (Negro police) have done excellent service for Atlanta in the few months they have been on our force. Even our severest critics now agree they have been the cause of a material reduction of crime of all kinds in the Negro sections of our city."

This year Mayor Hartsfield told a Birmingham News reporter that the hiring of Negro police had made the streets safer for Negroes

and had made the Negro sections of Atlanta "more livable for decent Negroes." He also stated that "...we would not now be without them."

Thank you for sending the clippings and the reproduction of your talk.

Harold sends his regards.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

May 30, 1952

Miss Mary Alice Hunt
212 Lipona Road
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear M. A.,

You are true blue. We have the police clips deposited in the files, along with an official confirmation from the new chief.

As usual I have a few little requests.

(1) Where did you get the list of Negro voters you sent?

(2) Next time you see Art and Hettie ask them if they have any newspaper (or otherwise) connections in Pensacola who would be interested in bringing attention to the matter of Negro police. We corresponded with a Mr. C. J. DeValt, Secretary of the Negro Chamber of Commerce, Pensacola, last fall. At the time the Negro Chamber was working on the matter. We have heard no more.

(3) Is anybody from the Flambeau bunch of our day down on the Panama City paper--again on the idea of getting them interested in rousing the newspaper to take XXXXXXX some initiative in pushing Negro police. (I have a vague recollection that they got someone else from FSU after Harry left.)

(4) Do you or Mike or LeMoyne Cash know anybody on the paper at Winter Park? One of our members there has sent for information on Negro police and is apparently working on getting them.

In all cases we would send the same information sent you.

Am taking off for home next week. Hope to get up to Jax for a day--if so will call your mother.

Got a long letter from Betty Berg this week--she brought me up to date on about a half dozen recent marriages. Incidently, Betty Wilkison is getting wedded June 28 to some guy who does PR work here.

Sincerely,

August 20, 1952

Mr. O. H. Horton
2112 1st Ave. No.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mr. Horton:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the office this week, but we are sending several issues of our magazine NEW SOUTH under separate cover that contain information on Negro police.

The enclosed list is a supplement to the list of cities employing Negro police in the September, 1950 NEW SOUTH (one we have sent).

We have just sent out questionnaires as part of our annual survey on Negro police. When the new list, based on this survey, is available in printed form we will send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

Sent 10-10-52
at

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1952
RESEARCH
Southern Regional Council

Birmingham, Alabama

August 18, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Last week I spent two days in Atlanta getting what information was available on negro police officers.

Just before leaving Atlanta I was fortunate enough to meet Mr. George Goodwin of the Central Atlanta Improvement Association, who suggested that you could furnish complete data on the subject of negro police officers. I'm sorry I did not have time to call on you before leaving.

If you have such information in such form that it could be mailed, I would greatly appreciate your sending it along.

This is a pretty big subject, and deserves careful study. For that reason, my associates and I desire all the pertinent data we can get, looking to a thorough and as nearly an accurate evaluation as is possible.

Yours very truly

O. H. Horton

O. H. Horton
2112 1st Ave., No.

OHH/jl

October 1, 1952

Mr. Frank A. Quinn, Associate Director
National Conference of Christians & Jews
815 Central Tower
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Quinn:

Mr. Fleming has asked me to answer your recent inquiry concerning our publications in the field of race and law enforcement.

To date "Race and Law Enforcement" is our only pamphlet entirely devoted to law and minority groups. We are sending you under separate cover, however, several issues of SRC's monthly bulletin NEW SOUTH which contain articles on Negro police. Our next issue, which we can send you, will include a list of Southern cities employing Negro police as of August, 1952.

The New Orleans Police Department recently published a booklet entitled "Human Relations and Effective Police Action" available from Mr. Joseph L. Scheuering, Supt. of Police, City of New Orleans.

The Milwaukee Police Department has also published and distributed a police training guide in Human Relations which we are sending with the copies of NEW SOUTH.

You are no doubt familiar with the "Guide to Race Relations for Peace Officers" published by Edmund G. Brown, Attorney General, Department of Justice, State of California.

Hoping our materials will be useful,

Sincerely,

Sent police list
10-10-52

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

American Brotherhood

815 CENTRAL TOWER • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-7742

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September 22, 1952

New South,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Dear Sir:

I have in my hand a copy of "Race and Law Enforcement" which I have found very informative. I am very interested in this particular field and feel that soon our organization may be able to do something in this area in our Bay Area community.

I would appreciate any further information and materials which your publication may have available on the subject of the law and minority groups.

Sincerely yours,

Frank A. Quinn

Frank A. Quinn
Associate Director

Dec. 5, 1952

Mr. C. B. Chissell
Hopkins House Association
1312 Princess St.
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Mr. Chissell:

Mr. Fleming asked me to take care of your request for material on Negro police.

The following items are being sent to you under separate cover:
(1) several copies of the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement;"
(2) several copies of our latest printed list of Negro police;
(3) two back copies of New South containing articles on Negro police.

Since the publication of the 1952 Negro police list in September the following additions have been made:

Macon, Ga.	4 policewomen
Memphis, Tenn.	3 policewomen
Portsmouth, Va.	1 uniformed police (making total of 2)
Kinston, N. C.	2 uniformed police
Beaufort, S. C.	2 uniformed police
Nansemond County, (Suffolk), Va.	1 plainsclothesman

These additions bring the total employment of Negro police to:

Uniformed police	471
Plainclothes	60
Policewomen	50
All police	581

Negro police are employed in 13 states, 96 cities and 6 counties in the South at present.

If we can supply further information, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

The Hopkins House Association
1312 PRINCESS STREET
ALEXANDRIA • VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE ALEXANDRIA 2850

December 3, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1952

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask if you have any leaflets on "Negro Police in the South? I seem to recall reading such a leaflet in New South at some time.

Our Interracial Committee is interested in getting our city to employ Negro Police. They are employed in a number of Virginia cities. any material you have on this matter will be appreciated.

Yours truly,
C. B. Chissell
C. B. Chissell
Executive Secretary

Police, negro

February 11, 1953

Rev. J. Echols Lowery
Warren Street Methodist Church
306 N. Warren St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Mr. Lowery:

I got home with a somewhat confused penciled note to send five copies of our latest table of Negro policemen in Southern cities to Mr. LeFlore and to send either to him or to you (I am unclear which) a package of general materials about the Council, useful in the recruiting program to get under way in the Mobile area. Can you unravel the matter and either keep or send on to Mr. LeFlore the police material and/or the other?

I enjoyed the ride home last evening with Mr. Richardson, who spoke most praisingly of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Negro Ala

February 17, 1953

Dean A. R. Meade
Athens College
Athens, Ala.

Dear Dean Meade:

Many thanks indeed for sending me the clipping about Connor.

We have made up the enclosed news release for the chairman of the Alabama Division and sent it to him. I talked to him by phone, and he said he would try to get it out. He is an able man whom you would enjoy knowing, if you don't already.

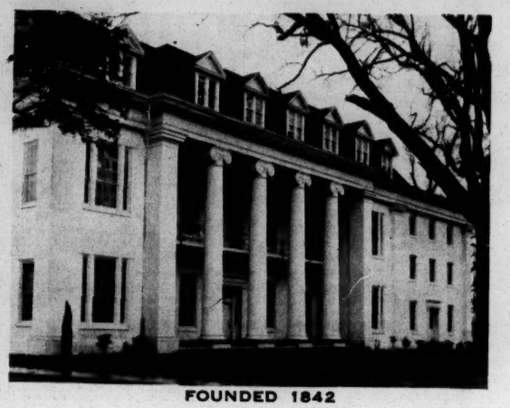
Quite right that Connor should not have the last word. They tell me there is some hope that they can get rid of him pretty soon.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.



FOUNDED 1842

Athens College

Athens, Alabama

DEAN-REGISTRAR OFFICE

February 11, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 13
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Birmingham Post Herald carries a story this morning that the Head of the Police Department is very vigorous in his denounciation of Negro Police. He says he has made a survey of fifteen other southern cities and has found that Negroes have not helped the Police Department.

I wish you would send him some information, although it probably wouldn't do any good. Perhaps it would be best to send the information to your unit of the Southern Regional Council in Birmingham. The man's name is Eugene Connor, and he is Police Commissioner of the City of Birmingham. I enclose the clipping giving most of his statements.

Sincerely yours,

A R Mead

A. R. Mead, Dean
of Instruction

ARM:may

Police - Negro

February 17, 1953

Rev. Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Ala.

Dear Mr. Whitsett:

Here, stapled to this letter, is the original news story from the Birmingham POST-HERALD of February 11. To save time, I don't copy out Dean Meade's letter to us, which merely said that it kind of ought to be answered in some way.

I don't know how much of this longish release the papers will take, but you might call them in and try it on them.

I send also, for your convenience, the latest facts on Southern cities employing Negro policemen.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Do please, infallibly, return the original clipping about Connor. It ought to sit in the files here.

GSM:ec
Encls.

Rev. Dan C. Whitsett of Sylacauga, chairman of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, today took issue with a recent news quote from Birmingham in which Commissioner Eugene Connor of that city was reported to have said at a Junior Chamber of Commerce talk February 11 that he had made as thorough a check on Negro police as any man in this country and had yet to find that any city that had put them on had improved its department at all.

Mr. Connor was further quoted by the Birmingham POST-HERALD of February 11: "As long as I am police commissioner, unless some city can show me that putting on Negro police would make a better police department, I'll never put them on here." The original story from Birmingham had continued that Police Commissioner Connor, from a personal survey he had made in fifteen other Southern cities, had found that police departments were not helped by adding Negro officers.

The Rev. Mr. Whitsett said that the Southern Regional Council had for years been interested in the matter of Negro policemen and had collected and published the facts on the rapid growth in the use of Negro policemen by Southern cities and counties. He said that in 1945, Council figures revealed a total of only 134 Negro police officers were employed in the 29 cities in nine Southern States which used these officers. By 1950, seventy-seven cities employed a total of 420 Negro police officers, and some cities in all thirteen of the Southern States were using them. The Council figures for February, 1953, list 98 Southern Cities and seven counties using a total of 589 Negro police officers. Of these 589, 478 are in uniform, 61 are plainclothesmen, and fifty are policewomen.

Whitsett further quoted from replies voluntarily made, mostly by police chiefs, to inquiries sent out by the Council's Atlanta office for information as to the number of Negro policemen employed. The questionnaire had carried a space

for comments. None of the many scores of completed questionnaires had shown any unfavorable comment, and a large number of the police chiefs had voluntarily put in some word of praise. Sample quotations from the police chiefs were given. For instance, the chief at San Antonio wrote in August, 1950: "This department is fortunate in having very fine colored Police Officers. The duties performed by all of them have proven very satisfactory. We do not hesitate in recommending Colored Police Officers for any department having colored citizens in their city!"

Dallas: "Proven satisfactory." Raleigh: "Very satisfactory. We have had two policemen for several years. Seven months ago we put on the two others." Greensboro, N. C.: "The colored officers are an asset to our Department. They are used in districts populated solely by negroes and they receive cooperation from the white officers and citizens."

Gulfport, Mississippi: "The Mayor and I met with a colored civic group, explained what was most desirable for an appointee, and left the selection to that body, who did a remarkable job. These men were trained along with the white personnel in special one and two week courses and have done a most satisfactory job."

Savannah, Georgia: "It is the experience of this Department that the negro Officers are doing and have done an excellent job of Law Enforcement as well as Race and Public Relations."

Newport News, Virginia: "Very satisfactory." Lubbock, Texas: "We use Negro Policemen in two shifts—from 2 P.M. to 10 P.M. and 10 P.M. to 4 A.M. These men ride two to a car and work in the Negro Section of town only. We have found our trouble in Negro section has decreased a great deal since we are using Negro officers and we are very pleased with the experiment."

Chattanooga, Tennessee: "They are used only among the Colored Race and are doing a very good job." Spartanburg, S. C.: "These men work in Colored Section. Have done a very good job." Daytona Beach, Florida: "The employing of colored police personnel in the Daytona Beach Police Department has proven most satisfactory, as records reveal that by selective employment, they are able to obtain certain information and produce more efficiency in general, with proper suprevision."

St. Petersburg: "Since our hiring of colored officers, it is a proven fact that our crime has been cut down in the colored section considerably, as well as complaints. We will hire more colored officers when our budget will permit." Columbis, Georgia: "To date their work has been satisfactory, all remarks by the public and officers alike have been complimentary."

Macon, Georgia: "Have found use of Negro Police officers very satisfactory. Hired 2 in June 1948 and on May 15, 1952 hired 2 more." Augusta, Georgia: "Our colored policemen are assigned exclusively in colored sections and their work has been satisfactory up to the present time. There has been no outstanding incidents one way or the other since this program was instituted." Indianola, Mississippi: "Been satisfactory so far."

These reports have been received from police chiefs at various times in 1950 and 1952.

Mr. Whitsett pointed also to a number of significant newspaper accounts in the Southern press in recent years. For example, the Charleston NEWS AND COURIER on September 28, 1952, quoted the mayor Wm McG Morrison as follows: "I think they're doing a fine job and are carrying out their duties in a manner that is a credit to the police department. I think the employment of the Negro policemen on the Charleston police force is a progressive step in police organization and that it has

already proven satisfactory." The police chief in Charleston was similarly quoted in the same account as having said that the Negro policemen "are rendering a valuable service to us."

Mr. Whitsett pointed also to a newspaper account in the MIAMI HERALD for November 2, 1951, stating that police chiefs from all over the South had agreed, at the annual convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, which had then just been held in Miami, that the Negro officers on their forces had "eliminated many old race hates and reduced crime among Negroes by as much as fifty per cent in some instances."

The Council's files also contain from the Birmingham POST of February 18, 1952, an interview by a Birmingham reporter with Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta on this subject. Mayor Hartsfield said: "It made the streets safer for their own people. Points raised as objections to Negro police have failed to develop. But there must be a desire to cooperate at the top level in the Police Department and the city administration to make it work, so that the Negro officers will know the administration is behind them."

Mr. Whitsett said he did not care to let Commissioner Connor's "personal survey" of this matter stand as the final word in the controversy. "The use of Negro police officials,"said the Rev. Mr. Whitsett, "has grown so steadily that it stands to reason the practice has proved satisfactory to Southern police departments in general." He added that he greatly hoped that the City of Birmingham,and other Alabama cities also, would begin to take wider advantage of the opportunities offered by the employment of Negro police in the reduction of crime and racial unrest.

The Southern Regional Council is composed of leading Southern citizens of both races. It advocates the fulfillment of the ideal of equal opportunity for all the people of the South. Other officers of the Alabama Division of the Council are Dr. W. A. Bell, Miles College, Birminaham, vice-chairman; Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, Montgomery, secretary; and Mr. J. T. Brooks, Alabama State College, Montgomery, treasurer.

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Ue - Negro

April 30, 1953

Mr. W. I. Pittman, President
Jefferson County Coordinating Council
309 N. 23rd St.
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dear Mr. Pittman:

Warm congratulations on the report on the matter of Negro police for Birmingham. I know something of how touchy a matter that has been, and it seems to me the pamphlet approaches the question in a most helpful spirit.

We frequently here get calls from other Southern cities for information about how the use of Negro police has worked out. Could you send us fifteen or twenty copies of the report--not for us, but for other people who from time to time will write in? If there is a charge, we will try to meet it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

W. I. PITTMAN
PRESIDENT

ROBERTA MORGAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces

309 N. 23RD ST. BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA PHONE 3-0277

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The enclosed pamphlet was prepared after several months of research by the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces. It deals with the employment of Negro police, a subject in which we believe the citizens of Birmingham have a keen interest.

In the body of the pamphlet is a detailed analysis of our methods of investigation and our findings. In general, we assembled information from three different sources.

First, we prepared a questionnaire concerning specific aspects of the employment of Negro policemen. We sent the questionnaire to fifteen citizens -- ministers, physicians, employers, bankers, labor leaders, public officials -- in each of thirty large Southern cities which employ Negroes on the police force. Our questions and the replies are included in the pamphlet.

Second, we sent a staff-member to Memphis to interview a cross-section of private citizens as well as law enforcement officials as to their opinion of the effectiveness of Negro police.

Third, we wanted to get an idea of how Birmingham responded to the plan of having Negro policemen, and so we interviewed citizens here and asked for their opinion which we have included in the pamphlet.

We now seek advice and expression of opinion from other leaders of our community.

We hope you will read this pamphlet and send us your comments.

W. I. Pittman,
President

Fine
a dea

via air mail June 25, 1963

Mr. John De J. Pemberton
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue'
New York 10, New York

Dear Jack:

Enclosed are two copies of the manuscript Dan Pollitt has submitted. This is just as Dan sent it in; we have done no editing at all, as yet.

As I told you over the telephone, and as Mel can fill you in on, this came out of a meeting in Mel's office last February where we talked about devising some kind of approach to the bar in order to alert it to its responsibilities for the defense of unpopular clients. More or less, we were talking in the context of southern civil rights cases, but not exclusively. Dan was asked to prepare a paper which would embody both an argument and an appeal. He was not able to work on it as soon as he had originally thought he could.

There are several ways possibly of using this.

(1) Mel had suggested the possibility of persuading the American Bar Association or, more likely, its Bill of Rights Committee, to sponsor a publication which would be based on, or drawn from, or reproduced from Pollitt's paper, which we would donate for that purpose.

(2) Alternatively, we discussed recruiting a special committee of southern lawyers to publish the paper in its name. We have SRC members such as Joe Haas, Jack Nelson, Z. A. Looby, and McNeil Smith who could be, along with other ACLU and SRC friends, the nucleus of such a group. I feel sure we could get the consent of an adequate number of practicing attorneys and law professors to make a very respectable groups of sponsors.

(3) There might be some possibility of using this through the liaison committee which came out of the White House lawyers conference. You all would know better than I about this.

(4) This could possibly be a joint publicationa of SRC and ACLU.

(5) SRC might publish it alone. This would be an appropriate place for me to emphasize that, although I think Dan's manuscript is good, it probably should have, in any use that may be given to it, some editing and sharpening.

(6) Dan might publish it himself as an article in some magazine or journal. I believe he has an interest in doing so unless someone believes a more strategic use can be made of it. He also mentioned to me that Joe Rauh might join him in co-authorship.

Will be most interested in your ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Daniel Pollitt

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American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

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July 19, 1963

SB
VT
advice please

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have discussed with both Larry and Mel your letter forwarding a copy of the manuscript of Dan Pollitt's "Right to Counsel for the Unpopular Client". Unhappily, I feel that its excellence still leaves us saddled with the problem of how best to employ it.

My present preference is for a scheme that does least justice to Dan. That would be to submit it to a populariser to provide the basis for an article by him in a mass circulation magazine. I have in mind, for instance, Albert Q. Maisel, in Reader's Digest, or Leo Rosten in Look. I would assume that the populariser would want to be able to publish first, and that this idea would involve asking Dan to withhold publication until it could be published (as rewritten) in the popular form first.

My idea is, simply, that we have to reach the lawyers whom we're trying to reach through a forum that enjoys the respect of their clients and lay citizens of their communities. We have, in effect, to assure them that these people will understand.

My second idea, which I assume could ultimately be done anyway if the first one were employed, would be to adopt your proposal of a joint publication by Southern Regional Council and ACLU. It seems to me that we might be able to find funds, between us, for distribution of the publication in quantity to lawyers who would make it available in their ~~reading~~ reception rooms (as lawyers in my home state now do with bar association public relation pamphlets). Again, the emphasis would be upon reaching the lawyer's clients and here, in much more thoroughly documented form than in the popular magazine, we would be supplying the lawyer with ammunition to use when he anticipates being criticized.

It is a very exciting article. I hope our use of it can be worthy of the excellence of its research. All good wishes,

Very sincerely,

Jack

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP:dcv

Washington Office — 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.; Lawrence Speiser, *Director*; Julie N. Barrows, *Executive Assistant*

With organized affiliates in twenty-seven states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 300 cities of 48 states

cc: Mr. Daniel H. Pollitt, Mr. Wulf, Mr. Speiser

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Rec'd 9/12/63

September 10, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SB-ff
MJ file

Dear Les:

Here's a progress report from Harper's Magazine on the Dan Pollit article.

I'll be in touch with you as soon as Mrs. Bermel reports back to me.

Cordially yours,

Alan

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:rcb

C
O
P
Y

HARPER'S MAGAZINE

49 East 33d Street
New York 16, N.Y.

September 6, 1963

Dear Mr. Reitman:

An interim note before I leave on a week's vacation to tell you that several of us have already read Professor Pollit's manuscript and that there is strong interest in it here. We should have definite word for you by the time I return.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ Joyce Bermel

Joyce Bermel
Editor

Mr. Alan Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

COPY for Mr. Dunbar

September 23, 1963

Dear Mr. Pollit:

Mr. Alan Reitman of the Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council were kind enough to show us your article on unpopular causes and the law in the hopes that we might want to publish it. All of us here who have read it feel that this could make an excellent Harper's article, if you are willing to revise somewhat for our general audience. In order to make the article clearer and more dramatic for our readers, we feel it would need:

1. A more unifying lead. As it stands, the article splits in two. The first half is about the lack of lawyers for unpopular causes, the second about the reactionary practices of the Bar. It would help if you could lead off with a lively anecdote which suggests your central theme.

2. Fewer examples and quotations. In its present form the article is somewhat long and scholarly for us. Perhaps you could refer only briefly to the past difficulties of the McCarthy era and focus on the newer problems in the South.

3. The elimination of footnotes, and the incorporation of dates, places, etc. when they are relevant--into the body of the text.

4. A clearer identification of the "Bar," to make clear to the layman that there are local, county and national organizations. Also, it is necessary to distinguish between the organized Bar and the Bar as a whole (individual lawyers who may not belong to the state, county or national group). If, as I understand, the organized Bar numbers among its members only about 40% of the nation's lawyers, how do you account for its strong influence? It might also be useful to have some indication of who--or what kind of men --run the associations.

5. The first of your recommendations (p. 22) seems to us too general and idealistic. Since the Bar has never encouraged fiery liberals or offbeat characters before, what is to make it start now? Perhaps there is no genuine hope for change within the organization and you can only talk in terms of a few specific actions which have been or should be taken.

6. Your recommendation for action within the university seems an excellent one. Since radical change is unlikely from within the Bar, and since "outside" movements are always open to suspicion, perhaps it is from law schools and faculties that responsible opposition to anti-civil-liberties activities must come. Have they been doing as much as they should? Could you expand on this? For one thing, this would keep your conclusions from being addressed almost wholly to the Bar Associations rather than to the legal profession generally.

We hope very much that you will want to make these changes. While I cannot offer you a definite commitment, we do want to publish the article if the revision turns out as we hope.

Mr. Reitman did mention that you intend to publish this original version in the Duke University Law Review. Can you work out the timing so that Harper's could publish first, or at least simultaneously?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Joyce Bermel
Editor

Professor Dan Pollit
University of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

JB:cc

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

September 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

What is your reaction to the September 23rd letter from "Harpers"? I would like to have an article published by them. How would this work out with you and the A. C. L. U.? I would assume that Duke would no longer be interested unless the article is substantially modified in length and in substance, which apparently is what "Harpers" has in mind.

I don't have a copy of the piece, so I would appreciate it if you have a spare you could send me. Also, I am not exactly sure what it is that "Harpers" wants, and if you have the time I would very much appreciate an editing job of the sort suggested by "Harpers" from your capable hands.

Assuming "Harpers" takes a truncated version and Duke is no longer interested, would you and the A. C. L. U. be interested in making a pamphlet out of the original?

I would like any thoughts you have on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

DHP/am

cc: Mr. Allen Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

COPY

October 2, 1963

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I am returning the manuscript with a number of flyspecks on it. I am keeping a copy here similarly marked.

I think it would be wonderful to publish this in Harper's. I have read over Miss Bermel's letter to you, and her suggestions seem to me good and not too hard.

You will remember my two suggestions -- (1) that you incorporate some of the later developments of the ABA, the President's White House Conference of Lawyers, etc., and (2) that you work in more southern stuff along the lines of the notes that we recently sent to you.

I can't speak yet for ACLU, and we need to do some more thinking ourselves, but it might very well be value all around in bringing out a longer version in pamphlet form after the Harper's piece, assuming Harper's publishes. I am going up to New York and will talk about this with ACLU.

I'll be in touch with you next week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Manuscript)

cc: Mr. Alan Reitman, ACLU
Miss Joyce Bermal, Editor, Harper's

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

October 3, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Pollitt:

Many thanks for sending us the copy of your September 26 letter to Les Dunbar concerning the Harper's article on the difficulties of obtaining legal representation in the South. I know from my talks with Mrs. Bermel that Harper's is most interested in having this piece, if the revisions they suggest can be made. Even before I spoke with Mrs. Bermel, I felt from my own editorial point of view that the article would be more meaningful if there was more attention given to the immediate problem concerning the racial struggle. I do hope that you will make the changes suggested by Mrs. Bermel, and, for what help it might provide, Mal Wulf is going over your original draft and hopefully will offer some suggestions.

With respect to the question about publicity of the original manuscript, I think we ought to wait on this until we see how Harper's piece comes out. My guess is that the need now is to point up the difficulties of obtaining legal representation because of the racial issue, against the general background of the basic principle of the right to counsel and that the Harper's article would really meet this need. But I suggest we wait and see.

We are all excited about the possibility of having this article appear in such an outstanding publication as Harper's.

All our best wishes.

Cordially,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

cc: Melvin L. Wulf, Esq.
Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Copy

PW

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Thornton Wilder (Conn.)
Aubrey Williams (Ala.)
Morton A. Wright (N.C.)
Dean Benjamin Youngdahl (Mo.)

October 28, 1963

Prof. Daniel Pollitt
University of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I think the most useful suggestions I can make about additions to your right to counsel article are contained in the Gordon petition and Smith brief which are enclosed. The right of a Negro to effective assistance of counsel charged with rape of a white woman is raised in both. Such a client is indeed an unpopular client in Mississippi.

The petition for cert in Gordon was denied and I now have pending before the Mississippi Supreme Court a petition for leave to file coram nobis. I did not raise the ineffective assistance point again, but have relied heavily on the systematic exclusion point which I was able to strengthen considerably by visiting Lowndes County.

The Smith brief speaks for itself I think. I am arguing the case November 4th.

In addition to these two cases, which I hope you find not unrelated to the article, you have the information about Toby Simon in Miami and Smith and Waltzer in New Orleans. The charges against all three have now been dropped. The judge bringing the contempt charges against Simon gave up after a little publicity plus Simon's appearance in his court with a former

Florida Governor as his attorney. The Smith, et al. charges were thrown out last Friday at preliminary examination. All is not over, however. It turns out that the SCEF records which were seized could not be returned by the Louisiana officials because Eastland had subpoenaed them.

The Birmingham situation has some new stories too. Chuck Morgan has left and David Vann, an ally who was with one of the big firms (and who was instrumental in beginning the campaign that got Bull Connor out of office) has left his firm. I don't know whether he quit or was fired, but we could find out.

A last suggestion you may want to follow up has to do with Jess Brown, one of Mississippi's three Negro lawyers. Just a few months ago Judge Cox started contempt proceedings against him on the ground that a Jackson school desegregation suit, in which Jess was counsel, contained a plaintiff who had not agreed to be a plaintiff. Since Jess had a retainer from her, the charges were eventually dropped, but only after dragging on a while and putting Jess to some strain.

Let me know if I can be of concrete help to you in any way.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

November 14, 1963

COPY

Mr. Alan Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Alan:

As you can see from the enclosed to Joyce Bermel, I have finally finished the revision and am sending it down to Les Dunbar to be typed. He will send you a copy, and I hope you will look it over closely and give your comments to Miss Bermel.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

DHP/am

cc: Leslie Dunbar

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

November 14, 1963

Mr. Leslie C. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Here are some enclosures of letters to Miss Bermel and to Alan Reitman.

I am sending my draft under separate cover, and I hope you have time to look it over and make necessary changes before you type it up. Pat Watters made some very good suggestions earlier, and I think he might be able to make the article more interesting, if he has the time. My thought is that you do the editing, type it up, and send the original to Miss Bermel with copies to Reitman and me. I would really like two copies.

Sincerely,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

DHP/am

cc: Joyce Bermel
Alan Reitman

Encl. 2

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

November 14, 1963

Miss Joyce Bermel
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33d Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bermel:

Thank you for your letter of November 8 and for your continued interest in my article.

I have revised it rather thoroughly and am sending my draft today to Leslie Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council, for his perusal. He has agreed to type up copies and will send one on to you. I assume it will arrive at your desk sometime in the middle of next week.

Thank you again for your continuing interest.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

DHP/am

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

COPY

November 21, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I feel like it is all right to call you by your first name after all the reading, correspondence and phone call. The attached is self-explanatory.

I hope the manuscript is as it should be. Don't hesitate to holler at me or directly to Miss Bermel if it isn't. As I said on the phone, I think it is fine. The facts and argument are all there, unified, and uncomplicated. The magazine may want to tinker with it to make it sound like all other magazine articles. I hope they won't.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Enclosure

November 26, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

During the long, sad watch of television over the weekend, I heard one news report from Dallas to the effect that the president of the Bar Association there had stated that most lawyers were in agreement that Oswald should have had representation--but that no one would undertake it because of the public's ignorance of the principles involved.

It was such a perfect statement of what your piece was saying that I wanted to let you know about it in case you missed it. If Harper's should be interested in updating your piece with this, you would need of course to get the exact statement from the Dallas bar president--whose name I'm sorry I didn't write down.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

cc: Miss Joyce Bermel
Alan Reitman

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

December 2, 1963

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I think the suggestion in your letter of November 26 is a very fine one. The statement by the President of the Dallas Bar Association that no lawyer would dare represent Oswald would prove what we are talking about, In the article, it could come directly beneath the opening oath taken by lawyers upon admission to the bar.

I have looked through the local papers and have read all the issues of the New York Times, but have not been able to find the statement. Perhaps it was never recorded. Maybe Alan Reitman knows about it, as there was some little flurry when the President of the Dallas bar made some derogatory statements about the ACLU.

Thanks again for the fine suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

cc Miss Joyce Bermel
Alan Reitman

December 11, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
The University of North Carolina
School of Law
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I hope I have not had you on a wild goose chase after the statement from the president of the Dallas Bar. The letter from Mr. Reitman jogs my memory. The statement was in connection with the offer of aid by the Dallas Bar. The tv newsman quoted him as saying he was relieved that a local attorney wasn't requested by Oswald because it would be impossible (or maybe he said difficult) to find one willing to undertake it.

Of course this was a tv news broadcast in a hectic situation; the newsman could have misconstrued what the Dallas Bar president said. And of course the president may have said it but wouldn't want to acknowledge it. But I still think it would be worth it to ask <u>him</u>, the Dallas Bar president, what exactly he did say.

In any case, I still think Oswald's situation is worth using in the Harper's piece, including the positive aspects as suggested by Mr. Reitman. Ruby's situation is interesting too. He apparently had no trouble obtaining counsel.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

cc: Alan Reitman

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

December , 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
The University of North Carolina
School of Law
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I have your December 2 letter to Pat Watters concerning the statement by the President of the Dallas Bar Association that no lawyer would dare represent Oswald, and how it might fit into the proposed Harper's magazine article. I don't remember seeing the statement, but even more important, the president of the Dallas Bar Association did offer the services of the Association to Oswald in a personal conference with him on November 23. I am enclosing the text of our statement on the Oswald case, which summarizes whatever information we have concerning the Dallas Bar's involvement in the case.

With respect to the other comment that there was "some little flurry when the President of the Dallas Bar made some derogatory statements about the ACLU," I think this refers to the statement attributed to him following his Saturday conference with Oswald. He was quoted in the New York Times as saying that Oswald had requested the legal aid of John Abt, if that could not be secured then an attorney from the ACLU "since the ACLU believes in the same things I do."

Subsequently we learned from our Dallas Civil Liberties Union that the statement about the ACLU attributed to Oswald really was made in the context of a further comment by Oswald to the president of the Bar Association to the effect that if he could not secure Abt or an ACLU attorney then

he would like to have one from the Dallas Bar assuming the lawyer believed in the same things he did.

This, to our knowledge, explains the entire background of this unfortunate statement.

Since the Dallas Bar did step forward and promise Oswald legal assistance, it seems to me that this might be cited in the article as an example of the proper and courageous action that bar associations should encourage.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

enclosure
AR:mr

cc: Pat Watters

58

50-W

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

February 21, 1964

Joyce Bermel, Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33d Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Bermel:

I was very happy to receive your letter of February 17 with the revised manuscript. I think you have done an excellent job of interweaving the two drafts I sent you, and the payment of $300 is more than satisfactory.

I have made some notations on the enclosed manuscript, but I will repeat them all here with appropriate page references.

Page 1. The white student who had the difficulty in obtaining counsel in Mississippi was Robert Zellner.

Page 2. Zellner did write John Satterfield, who was then President of the American Bar Association, and Mr. Satterfield refused his services on the grounds that he did not have time. This was probably true, but he could always have made time. I suppose it is ok to use his name, but this is really up to Harper's. I don't think his name adds too much to the article, and there may be little or no reason for brining him into it in an unfavorable way.

Page 3, line 4. I don't think the local and national bar associations frequently make it is difficult as possible etc. I think they sometimes make it difficult and I suggest you substitute the word "sometimes" for the word "frequently".

Page 3, line 18. The Pittsburgh survey was reported in 1962 and made sometime in 1961 or 1960.

Page 4, line 3. To this point we have talked about Justice Douglas' comments on lawyers during McCarthyism, ~~[illegible]~~ and about the Pittsburgh survey. I suggest an addition to be inserted at this point which talks about the current problem in the south. The insert comes from the N.Y. Times of Feb. 18 at p. 20, col. 4 and is as follows:

> The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which includes 8 past presidents of the American Bar Association, reported at the 1964 Mid-Winter meeting of the ABA that in many Southern Communities Negroes cannot obtain counsel "because a white lawyer involved in civil rights litigation representing Negroes faces loss of clients, impairment of social status, public criticism and often threats of physical harm to himself and his family".

This is a pretty serious indictment by the most respected group of lawyers in America, and I think it is worth adding to the article.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

Page 5. In lieu of the James B. Donovan episode I suggest: "When Washington, D.C. civil liberties lawyer Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. sought to protect the rights of a Congressional Committee witness who refused to identify past associates who had long ago left the Communist Party, he was opposed in the Supreme Court by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Department of Justice and by the "amicus" brief of the American Bar Association". This is not as good as the Donovan story, but it is the best I can come up with.

Page 9. It is true (I am informed by several people) that there are only four Negro attorneys in Mississippi and that 1 of them will not involve himself in the racial struggle.

Page 10, line 6. Carl Braden is the person talked about.

Page 11. I think the paragraph which begins at line 18 is a little too strong and therefore will lose its effectiveness. I would suggest that the word "reactionary" in line 19 be deleted and somethor words--such as "zealous"--be substituted. In line 20, I think the words "frequently face" is an over-statement, and I suggest the substitution of the words "have faced".

Page 12, line 3. The case of James Gilliland is not "typical". It is most unusual because he was (he has since been shot by his wife) most unusual. I think it is "typical" of what can happen to a lawyer who defies community sentiment, but since not very many do; it is inaccurate to say it is typical. I suggest the modification I have noted on the manuscript, i.e. "typical of what can happen to a lawyer who defies community sentiment".

Page 12, line 19. I think this paragraph is a little too strong, and suggest that it be modified by inserting at the beginning: "Sporadic and isolated Bar Association "disbarment" proceedings...". I realize this destroys the impact of the writing, but perhaps it would be more useful in the long run. I don't know.

Page 13, line 12. I suggest you delete the words "who has the courage to" because it doesn't take much courage for a white lawyer to defend ~~in~~ a Negro in a non-racial or controversial case, and in most instances it is the white lawyer who defends the Negro charged with the ordinary violation of the criminal laws.

Page 14. It is still true that no bar association in the South has resolved or declared in favor of supporting the court.

Page 16, line 9. Ordinarily one does not talk about a law firm as a "company". I would suggest that it be changed to read "might bring injury to their <u>senior associates</u>", instead of "might bring injury to their company".

Page 18. As far as I know, the quoted provision is still in the Hawaii bar application form.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

Page 19. In the top paragraph, the pattern of the American Bar Association is discussed. I would like to see inserted the quote from Pennsylvania's Law Dean Jefferson Fordham to the effect that

> In the post-war years attention has been drawn so strongly to security matters that an exaggerated imbalance has been observable. During this time the national organization, on occasion, ranged itself with the Philistines....What the organized Bar needs is not its own witch-hunting department but units dedicated to the guardianship of human rights. A ceremonial interest in the Bill of Rights will not supply the need.

This is a very strong statement from a very eminent person, and if at all possible, I would like to see it back in the draft.

Page 23, line 3. At this point your rightly suggest that if possible I should work in illustrations of situations where right-wing groups have trouble in getting counsel. The only illustration I know of was reflected in a recent Supreme Court decision, Fields v. City of Fairfield, decided last December 17. Mr. Fields, the information director of the National States Right Party, scheduled a meeting in the City of Fairfield, Alabama, The City obtained an injunction against holding the meeting, and Fields was found guilty of violating the injunction. This is the state courts. He was represented in the United States Supreme Court by Melvin Wulf, of the New York ACLU, and supported in the Supreme Court by the NAACP amicus brief signed by Jack Greenberg. Presumably, the head of the National States Rights Party would not have accepted this aid had he been able to obtain counsel of his choice. The state court conviction was reversed.

Page 23, line 7 ff. This portion is written in the first person (the only part that is) and tells about my personal experiences. It makes me feel very uncomfortable and self-righteous, and I feel very strongly that this should be deleted. As a substitute, I suggest the paragraph on pages 23-24 of the second draft which tells of what the local bar associations did in Washington, D.C., in St. Louis, in Cleveland, in Philadelphia, etc. to meet the problem of obtaining counsel for the unpopular clients. This, to my mind, is far more effective than having me preach somewhat boastfully about my own activities.

Page 24, line 5. I have not noticed that the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law is "proving a strong source of support to the otherwise unprotected lawyer in many Southern communities"; but I see no objection to saying that this is so, as saying it might help it come true.

Page 25, line 12. The action of the California bar in protesting the questioning by HUAC did not, as stated, "put an end to this kind of questioning". Would that it had.

Pages 27-28. Here again is the "first person" writing. I don't feel quite so strongly about this one, as it merely says I help get attorneys. I would prefer not to have it, but I don't feel that it is important one way or the other. If it is kept, I suggest that on page 28, line 3, the word "frequently" to deleted.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

I have gone on at some length about the article, which may convey the impression that I am dissatisfied. This is not the case. I think you have done a fine job of compressing a lot of material into a very exciting piece of readable length.

I am returning the script, and would very much appreciate a copy for my files, as I was unable to have a copy made while I had possession of it.

Again, let me thank you for a very fine job.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

cc Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

Mrxvkv

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Dan:

I feel like it is all right to call you by your first name after all the reading, correspondence and phone calls. The attached is self-explanatory.

I hope the manuscript is as it should be. Don't hesitate to holler at me or directly to Miss Reitman if it isn't. As I said on the phone, I think it is fine. The facts and argument are all there, unified, and uncomplicated. The magazine may want to tinker with it to make it sound like all other magazine articles. I hope they won't.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

RIGHT TO COUNSEL FOR THE UNPOPULAR CLIENT
VS. THE HAZARD OF BEING UNDONE.

By DANIEL H. POLLITT

"I do solemnly swear: I will support the Constitution of United States....I will never reject from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed". The oath of admission to the bar recommended by the American Bar Association and adopted by a number of states.

Single Space

In 1650, John Lilburne was put to trial accused of treason for publishing three pamphlets critical of the Cromwell Parliament, and immediately asked that counsel be assigned him. He explained that because of the serious nature of the charges "no eminent experienced lawyer dare well meddle with my business, no, nor so much as bestow a visit upon me, but he runs a hazard of being undone".

~~Some 300 years later, the lawyer still sees a "hazard of being undone" if he volunteers defense for an unpopular client, and with some justification. The case of James Daniel Gilliland points up the problem.~~ is illustrative.

Gilliland, ~~a native of Warren County returned home~~ servied with distinction in World War 11, and returned to his home in Warren County, North Carolina ~~to practice law upon~~ when he received a law degree from Wake Forest College in 1948. A vigorous, gregarious and ambitious young man, he soon made a mark: commander of the local American Legion post, executive vice president of the Veterans of Foreign Wars,

This "hazard of being undone" followed the lawyer when he crossed the seas to the new colonies in America. In 1735 two defense attorneys in the trial of John Peter Zenger (the newspaper publisher accused of criminal libel) were disbarred for "having presumed" to sign and file a document questioning the legality of the Judges' Commission "notwithstanding they were forewarned by the Court of their displeasure if they should do it". John Adams, who with Josiah Quincy, undertook the defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre ~~on the eve of our Revolution~~, wrote that "it is impossible to realize the abuse heaped upon Mr. Quincy and myself....we heard our names execrated in the most opprobrious terms whenever we appeared in the streets of Boston".

Today, 300 years after John Lilburne and 175 years after the enactment of a written Constitution which guarantees to all that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall "have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense", there is still a "hazard of being undone" when the attorney volunteers defense of an unpopular client. ~~This is true today in southern racial cases~~. The case of James Daniel Gilliland, North Carolina attorney, is illustrative.

Gilliland served with distinction in World War 11, ~~and returned to his home in~~ (and returned to his home to practise law in Warren County. Warren ~~County when he~~ received a law degree from Wake Forest College in 1948,) A vigorous, gregarious and ambitious young man, he was soon ~~made a mark~~ commander of the local American Legion post, [redacted]an officer in the Veterans of Foreign Wars,

Even worse, he suggested that the Committee leave his clients alone and turn its attention to ~~school~~ officials who evaded or ignored the 1954 Supreme Court school segregation decision.

secretary of the Lions Club, master of the Masonic Lodge, elected solicitor ~~of the Recd~~ charged with the duty of prosecuting cases in the local Recorder's Court. Then came two set-backs ~~adverted~~ in quick succession. After the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the School Desegregation Cases, he was asked to explain its significance to the Lions Club. He did, telling them he favored it and felt it should be obeyed. Then, he represented 11 alleged Communists ~~subpoenaed~~ before a Charlotte, N.C. session of the the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The reaction in rural Warren County was immediate and explosive. Wthin a week, Gilliland was expelled from the Lions Club, from the country club, and asked to resign as solicitor. The local Veterans of Foreign Wars chapter elected another man as president in spite of the fact that Gilliland, as senior vice ~~president~~ commander, was in line for the post. Later that year, the State Bar Council brought disbarment proceedings, ~~against him~~ accusing him ~~Gilliland~~ of irregularities in two divorce suits he had handled. Many ~~Local residents said that it was his representation of Communists and~~ his views on racial matters ~~which~~ brought on his ~~trouble.~~ He was ordered disbarred by the State Bar Association, but was reinstated when, after appealing to the State Supreme Court, he received a jury trial and was acquitted. Many local residents agreed that it was Gilliland's statements on racial issues which brought on his troubles.

Louis Lusky, a Louisville, ~~Kentucky~~ lawyer and former clerk to a Supreme Court justice, ~~experienced a similar~~ had a similar, but less disastrous, ~~not so horrendous~~ experience.

At the request of the American Civil Liberties Union, and without fee, he undertook the defense of a white "integrationist" charged with violation of the Kentucky sedition law. ~~case which involved the sale of a house in a white neighborhood had overtones of both integration and communism.~~ He won the case--but lost a good part of his practice. "I don't mean to suggest that people here think I am disloyal. Their attitude is, rather, that I am peculiar and that it may be better to put their affairs in the hands of a more normal sort of person," he said. The ~~unsuccessful~~ prosecutor, who had made disparaging remarks about Mr. Lusky on several occasions during the trial, fared much better. The local Bar Association awared him a plaque for the "efficiency" of his office, and elected him unanimously as its president--the first time the office had been filled without opposition.

~~The white Southern lawyer sees a hazard in representing the negro civil rights defendant, and the Negro Southern lawyer is generally unavailable, non-existent or tremendously overburdened. There are only four Negro attorneys in the whole state of Mississippi, and only one in southeastern Georgia to undertake the reported 10 2,000 or more cases involving the arising out of the protest voting, bus, school and other protest demonstrations in and around Albany.~~

to handle the volume of cases there; and

attorney

available

employment

These two illustrations are not isolated.

~~The white Southern lawyer sees a hazard of being undone in representing the~~ Negro civil rights defendant, and the Negro Southern lawyer is generally non-existent or tremendously overburdened. There are four Negro attorneys in the whole state of Mississippi, ~~none in the Delta counties where most of the litigation occurs, and~~ and only three of them will handle civil rights cases. None of these lawyers live within 100 miles of the Delta counties where most of the civil rights arrests have occurred. In southwest Georgia, C.B. King, ~~is the only~~ a Negro attorney, is swamped with over 2,000 cases arising out of the voting, bus, employment and other protest~~s~~ demonstrations in Albany, Americus, and surrounding territory.

The small band of southern attorneys who undertake "racial" litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them. One such Negro attorney reports that he shudders whenever a judge ~~calls him~~ puts a "Mister" in front of his last name, for he then knows he is about to lose his case. But these courageous attorneys face more than discourtesies.

Negro attorney R. Jess Brown of Jackson, Mississippi represented five Negro plaintiffs in a suit to desegregate the schools of Leake County. Subsequently, one of the women ~~plaintiffs~~ litigants, brought a complaint that she had not authorized her name to be used in the law suit. The Mississippie judge started "contempt" proceedings

which were ultimately dropped when the lawyer was able to locate a written retainer agreement. the judge still ordered attorney Brown to pay court costs (which were considerable) within five days or be denied permission to practice before the court.

Tobias Simon, Miami attorney and general counsel of the Florida Civil Liberties Unions, also was charged with "contempt of court." When Tallahassee lawyers refused to represent the 200 or more jailed demonstrators in that city last spring, Simon went up from Miami to see what he could do. Trial for one young girl was set for a date in June, and Simon, who was tied up elsewhere on that date, tried unsuccessfully to get another attorney to represent her. When he couldn't, he called Judge Rudd for a postponement, a routine legal procedure. Judge Rudd refused, so a Legal Aid Society attorney was appointed in Simon's stead. The Judge, however, refused to allow the appointed attorney to proceed, and issued an order holding Simon in contempt. Former Florida Governor Fuller Warren agreed to represent Simon, and the judge dropped the charges.

Benjamin Smith and Bruce Waltzer, New Orleans lawyers active with the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union, were arrested on October 4 in a widely-publicized raid for allegedly violating the state's Subversive Activities Control Act. They were arrested

in the middle of a conference of civil rights attorneys at the Hilton Inn at the New Orleans airport, the first integrated lawyers meeting ever held in that city. ~~The meeting was called for the express purpose of~~ Although all charges against the two arrested lawyers were subsequently dropped, ~~the silent pressure of~~ such highly publicized raids cannot help but put silent pressure on other attorneys who might therefore ~~well~~ retreat into the safety of non-involvement, and thereby avoid the hazard of being involve.

The Brown incident in Mississippi, the Simon incident in Florida, the Smith and Waltzer incident in Louisiana, are but recent illustrations of the harrassment suffered by civil rights attorneys in the South.

A few years back, white Georgia attorney James Venable (who represents the Ku Klux Klan) was arrested in Monroe, Louisiana, for car theft when he arrived to defend a member of the ~~segregationist~~ Black Muslim organization. Charges were dropped when he agreed to leave town. (over) Clyde Kennard, the first Negro applicant to white Mississippi Southern University, was subsequently convicted of stealing five sacks of chicken feed on the basis of rather tenuous evidence. Medgar Evers, the NAACP leader murdered this year in Mississippi, was charged with contempt of court for exclaiming to the press that the sentence of seven years hard labor was a "mockery of justice". North Carolina attorney James Walker

A white Mississippi attorney who agreed to handle the appeal of a Negro rape defendant received disbarment charges (acceptance of a retainer from a 'subversive organization') when the Civil Rights Congress provided funds to pay the cost of appeal. The charges were dropped when the attorney withdrew from the case.

was charged with "assault" when he shook his finger at a voting registrar during an argument concerning the ~~what~~ way in which ~~the~~ a literacy test was being given to his client, and it took an appeal to the state supreme court to reverse the conviction by the local jury.

Virginia NAACP attorney S.W. Tucker faced ~~these~~ disbarment charges? attempting to assist the prosecution of a white defendant charged with raping a Negro woman.

His brother, also an NAACP attorney, Otto Tucker, ~~also~~ received disbarment charges for "unethical solicitation of employment". The basis of this charge was that while attorney Tucker was ~~retained by some Negros charged with assault. While~~ interviewing some retained Negro clients ~~them~~ in jail, he was informed that a white youth, one Buford Kibler, ~~on an assault charge~~, was a co-defendant. Tucker visited the white youth to round out the facts, and while they were conversing, Tucker asked ~~[illegible]~~ Kibler if he had a lawyer, ~~and was told that~~ Kibler said no, because he could not afford one. Tucker offered to represent the white youth if his parents approved. The white youth agreed and the parents gave initial approval. The Virginia State Bar found that this constituted "unethical solicitation of employment" and recommended that Tucker be disbarred. On appeal, Virginia's highest court ~~[illegible] the Court mitigated~~ reduced the punishment from disbarment to "official reprimand" because "the motive for soliciation was not so much personal gain, of which there was little hope, as a desire to serve his other clients efficiently".

These judge-inspired "contempt" charges, these Bar Association "disbarment" proceedings, these raids by state police, all have a proliferating impact upon one another and upon the public misunderstanding that the lawyer who undertakes the defense of the unpopular client is somehow "peculiar", that it is better to put their affairs in the hands of a more normal sort of person. The white southern lawyer acknowledges this hazard by backing out of the situation. The negro southern lawyer cannot take up the slack. He is either non-existent or tremendously over-burdened. In all of Mississippi, there are only four Negro attorneys (one who will not involve himself), and they all live more than 100 miles from the Delta counties where many civil rights arrests have occurred. In southwest Georgia, negro attorney C.B. King is swamped with more than 2,000 cases arising out of the voting, bus, employment and other protest demonstrations in Albany, Americus, and surrounding territory.

The consequence is that often the constitutionally guaranteed right to counsel goes by default. There is either no counsel, or inadequate counsel (because of the volume), Mack Lee Parker, accused of rape and later lynched from a Mississippi jail, was refused counsel by local white attorneys. When white lawyers do represent Negro

defendants in ordinary criminal matters, they rarely raise the issue when the constitutional rights of their clients run counter to the social mores of the region. In 1959 the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit announced that "As judges of a Circuit comprising six states in the deep South, we think it is our duty to take judicial notice that lawyers residing in many southern jurisdictions rarely, almost to the point of never, raise ~~of~~ the issue of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries". A large majority of southern state judges and lawyers polled by the Yale Law Journal agreed with the validity of this observation, although many practical reasons were advanced, e.g.: "If I accepted a Negro for jury duty and put him on with 11 white men I would prejudice the white men against me and my client".

in a suit testing the Virginia "barrotry law" which seemed designed to further harassing the civil rights attorney. Holding this statute unconstitutional,

The problem of providing counsel for the Southern Negro who insists upon his Constitutional right to escape a segregated education was brought to the Supreme Court ~~just~~ last year. The Court noted that "the militant Negro civil rights movement has engendered the intense resentment and opposition of the politically dominant white community" and that there is "an apparent dearth of lawyers who are willing to undertake such litigation". This has long been known to organizations intimately involved.

The American Civil Liberties Union reports that:

"We have devoted a large part of our time to seeking commitments from Southern attorneys to represent persons in the South who are involved in civil liberties matters....While there are some such courageous lawyers the overall effort has been notably unsuccessful".

CORE reports in similar vein:

"During the Jackson, Mississippi, sit-in litigation, CORE was unable to get any local white lawyers to represent the defendants and there were not enough local Negro attorneys available to handle the cases".

Lewlie W. Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta comments that "the accused in a murder trial is often better able than a sit-in demonstrator to obtain qualified local counsel". ~~A white SNIC (Students NonVolence Coordinating Committee) fieldworker was arrested during a voter registration drive in McComb,~~

~~The Students Non-Violence Coordinating Committee~~ (SNCC) reports of a white fieldworker arrested in a voting-registration drive in McComb, Mississippi who ~~wrote to~~ asked 40 white lawyers (including the then president of the American Bar Association) ~~for assistan~~ to handle his case. Each refused, many with comments that he ~~was doing~~ (and his ~~kind) were doing the state a disservice.~~

"Meanwhile," ~~writes~~ reports the New York Times, "Deep South states are spending hundreds of thousand of dollars every year to employ skilled lawyers to defend segregation."

This lopsided imbalance in legal assistance gives grave concern to the Department of Justice-"from a belief that the problem may discourage Negroes from pressing for their rights in voting, education and transportation." By way of contrast, Byron de La Beckwith appeared in court with not one but three defense attorneys to face the charge of killing Medgar Evers by shooting down the Mississippi NAACP leader ~~in the back~~ from ambush.

The ~~organized~~ bar associations have been derelict in failing to combat the attitude and atmosphere wherein the individual lawyer does run the hazard of being undone when he ~~goes it alone with the~~ defends the unpopular client. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision ending compulsory segregated public education there has b

been a far-ranging public debate which goes to the very fundamentals of judicial supremacy and judicial review. This debate has been one-sided--through default by the organized bar. The Ministerial alliances, the PTA groups, even labor unions have sought to defend the Supreme Court from its critics, but the organized bar has largely been silent.

over

Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, in lighter vein told a 1961 meeting of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association that:

"To this day, insofar as I can determine, not a single southern state bar association has gone on record with a resolution or declaration of court support which would have provided the people with an alternative to the peddlers of defiance...

While the bar associations in the South were silent, individual attorneys described glowingly by the segregationist press as "constitutional authorities" were publicly and slanderously denouncing the federal judiciary, assuring a troubled and indecisive public that the U.S. Supreme Court's school decision was not legal, did not have the force of law, and was Communist inspired....

Had the people been told by bar associations that court orders require compliance, we would, I believe, have escaped some of the trouble caused by the deliberate deceit of the people by political leaders."

(segregationists)

Attorney General Robert Kennedy publicly deplored the failure of lawyers ~~in the south (or north~~) to support the government's action to enforce the court order admitting James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. The organized bar stood mute when legal order was under attack.

Finally, in Birmingham, after a series of dynamitings and the massacre of young sunday school children, 53 Alabama attorneys released a joint statement. The crucial paragraph of the statement reads: "The law as announed in decisions of the courts is sometimes unpopular. In America the public has the right, protected by our courts, to criticize court decisions. Each of us has, on occasion, felt that a particular case should have been decided differently. But whether we agree or disagree with the result in any case, the Court's decision is the law and must be obeyed".

It took courage to sign this statement, innocuous as it appears to the eyes of the northern liberal. Birmingham lawyers who have spoken out on the racial issue have not fared well. They can minimally expect, in the words of one such attorney, "numerous crank telephone calls, ranging from the caller who simply hangs up to one who uses abusive or threatening language". Charles Morgan, Jr. perhaps the most outspoken white attorney in Birmingham, recently left that city. A friend reports that lawyer Morgan was partially motivated by threats of harm to his family, but he denies that this was the principal reason. David Vann, another young Birmingham attorney, severed his connections

with the largest law firm in ~~the~~ Alabama because he wished to participate in the resolution of racial issues in that city and recognized that "his activities might be disapproved by members of his firm and might harm his firm in some way". Vernon Patrick, a Harvard-educated Albamian, left the same firm at the same time "because of his desire to participate in activities and make statements that he believed might bring injury to that law firm". It bears repeating that this law firm is the largest and one of the most influential ~~law firms~~ in the state. It is also significant that the three Alabama members of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, formed at the White House Conference of Lawyers in June of 1963, are Paul Johnston, who is independently wealthy, Jerome Cooper, who principally represents labor unions, and Erskine Smith, a young lawyer of unusual ability and courage.

The average lawyer hesitates to participate in the controlversal issues of his time. He ~~thinks of~~ wonders what his other clients might think. He wonders about the social consequences to himself, his wife, his family. And he listens to the enemy within. This enemy speaks in a thousand voices, now whispering caution and then whining fear, now pleading in reasonable accents for practicality and self-interest, and then shouting direful predictions of disaster. But above all the voice says wait: wait

until your prestige is secure, your voice more powerful; wait for the right time, for the right case. But the right case at the right time seldom comes. And while the lawyer waits, ~~the right to counsel goes by default.~~ the voice of the demogogue is unanswered, the ~~right to counsel~~ unpopular client's right to counsel goes by default.

over.

The plight of the Southern civil rights litigants is only the most recent--and perhaps the most scandalous--large-scale example of a continuing and growing problem. The victim of McCarthyism a few years back fared no better.

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas ~~speaking~~ wrote ~~for the Yale Law Journal~~ a 1953 New York Times Magazine article on the "Black Silence of Fear" that strikes the lawyer contemplating the defense of a person accused of Communist activity or association:

> "Lawyers have talked to me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer ~~be~~ their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy."

Carl Shipley, a ~~prominent attorney in~~ high Republican Party official and prominent Washington, D.C. attorney gave candid support to Mr. Justice Douglas' observation:

> "I've had a number of people who've been fired from the government (on loyalty grounds) come in to me and ask me to take their cases. They

¶ The problem is not regional. How many northern liberal attorneys, especially those with an eye on political rewards, would represent a southern state seeking to maintain a segregated school system?

always say the accusations are lies....Some of them were terrible hardship cases. But I couldn't take them. They asked me to recommend other lawyers, but I wouldn't be caught dead sending them on to another lawyer--for fear he would think I think he's a Communist, or something. I know that's bad, but most lawyers feel the same way."

Mr. Shipley was not alone in refusing to represent those caught in the toils of that period. A true story is told of a highly publicized figure who was seeking an attorney to represent him in public hearings before the Senate Committee on Internal Security. An intermediary approached a large New York law firm and was told a junior member of the firm would take the case--for a $5,000 fee. "But that's outrageous" said the intermediary. "Not when you consider the dirt that might rub off on us" was the reply. The individual in question eventually found a lawyer whose "dirt compensation" was a little lower, but still at a figure beyond the reach of most persons subpoened to testify before Congressional committees.

Illustrations can be multiplied. ~~The "dirt" does rub off.~~ When James B. Donovan (of Cuban exchange fame) accepted the court appointment to represent Soviet spy Col. Rudolf Abel, "it wasn't long before vindictive personal attacks upon the lawyer and his family began". A Coronet Magazine article recites that "There was a steady stream of crank letters and threatening calls. Finally, Donovan ordered the phone cut off". Attacks came from within

over

The "dirt" does rub off. Judge John Bigelow, after his retirement from the New Jersey bench, agreed to represent a school teacher fired from her job for invoking the privilege of self-incrimination before a Congressional committee. For this reason his appointment as trustee to Rutgers University was [redacted] rejected by the New Jersey Senate, and [redacted] confirmed only after a storm of public protest.

the legal profession. He was greeted by one lawyer with the comment, not intended humorously: "Here comes the million-dollar Commie lawyer". At a meeting of the bar association, a fellow Catholic lawyer asked if his sense of guilt wasen't "overwhelming". His reward came when Chief Justice Warren told him from the Bench during Supreme Court argument that "I think I can say that in my time on this court no man has undertaken a more arduous, more self-sacrificing task".

If the lawyers themselves don't understand the necessity for a co-lawyers' acceptance of a court appointment to represent a Soviet spy, how can the lay public be blamed when it associates the lawyer with his client as part and parcel of the the same package? And this is the common misunderstanding. It is reported that Frank Costello, turned down by a score of lawyers who feared association with his racketeer reputation, and advised to seek the assistance of the noted Washington attorney Edward Bennett Williams, was reluctant because, as he put it, "Didn't Williams represent Senator McCarthy?".

These isolated case studies take on added interest from a survey of Pittsburgh lawyers. Fifty per cent of those who had represented unpopular clients reported adverse community publicity and presure from the press, from other members of the bar, from social contacts, and 20 per cent reported that their practices had suffered.

Adverse community reaction is understandable when the lawyer defends the unpopular client. An attorney can well represent a client charged with murder without defending the institution of murder. But how can a lawyer represent a student demonstrator charged with "trespass" without attacking the institution of segregation, a defendant charged with contempt of Congress without attacking the power of Congressional investigations, a defendant charged with sale of "Lady Chatterley's Lover" ~~or "Tropic of Cancer"~~ without challenging society's right to impose a literary censorship? In short, the attorney, if he is to be successful, must defend the client's cause as well as the client. And the uninformed lay public finds it difficult to distinguish between a lawyer's personal conviction and his professional obligation. It reasons that a lawyer who defends ~~the right of a Communist to political asylum~~ the right of free speech for Communists must himself be a Marxist, that the lawyer ~~who~~ in a "school prayer" or a "Bible reading" case must be an athiest. Why else would he attack the power of a school board to require the recitation of a simple prayer?

The attorney who undertakes the defense of an unpopular client may seek to insulate himself from his client's unpopular cause. He may refuse a fee, reasoning that refusal to accept "tainted" money will focus public attention on the important constitutional and social issues underlying the trial. Not too many lawyer can

afford this position, however, and all too often it backfires. The Kentucky lawyer who represented the unpopular Louisville "integrationist" defendant did so without charge, and he subsequently wrote that the community belief seems to be that a lawyer "who takes an unpopular case without demanding a fee must be motivated by sympathy with his client's substantive position....But when a lawyer takes an unpopular case for money, this inference is less likely to be drawn."

The lawyer, who seeks to insulate himself from his client's cause, may ~~call~~ describe it as "rubbish" or "abhorrent," and then proceed with all his might to defend the client's right to proselytize. He may disassociate himself from the alleged "obscene" movie on trial, say that he would not permit his own children to see it, but then attack the institution of censorship as a historical fallacy. There is some question whether this lawyer gives representation that is "adequate." Judge Medina, who subsequently presided at the first Smith Act trial of the top echelon Communist Party leaders, told a story of his younger years at the bar. He was assigned to represent an American Nazi ~~[illegible]~~ charged with treason during World War II. At the trial's end, the judge ~~praised~~ praised Medina for his fine work in representing the ~~[illegible]~~ defendant without pay and despite his personal feelings. "This was all very fine" wrote Judge Medina, ~~on a subsequent occasion~~, "but I had made up my mind that I would

not say a word to the jury about being assigned counsel, feeling that my client was entitled to the advantage of everything that went with the fact that I was his lawyer. I felt that it would be a stab in the back if I even mentioned the circumstances of my assignment...And yet here I was standing up there and receiving all this praise, while I could not help thinking that this was prejudicial to my client. And so I told Judge Goddard that I did not wish to seem ungracious but that I must respectfully except to his statement, adding that I thought he had no right to mention this fact to the jury....Both in the Supreme Court and in the Circuit Court of Appeals I urged as a basis for reversal the exception to which I have referred".

Unfortunately, there are not enough Medinas to supply the growing need of counsel for the unpopular defendant. A Pittsburgh lawyer, charged with "communism", had his "disbarment" case postponed for eight months until a fellow lawyer agreed to represent him. A Baltimore lawyer, charged with violation of the Smith Act, had to go to trial without counsel when his fellow lawyers refused his appeal for aid. And lawyers, above all others, appreciate Abraham Lincoln's comment that an attorney who represents himself has a fool for a client.

Start p. 17

What, meanwhile, have the ~~professio/Bar/Associations~~ local and national bar associations done in the face of this threat to the basic functioning of courts and aims of justice? What have organized groups of lawyers (without the public's excuse of ignorance) done to ~~assure~~ assure the right to counsel to combat the public misunderstanding that a lawyer is to be judged by the client he represents? What have the Bar associations done to encourage lawyers to have the hazard of being undone?

~~What have the bar associations done to assure that lawyers be unintimidated, fre to think, speak, and act as members of an Independent Bar?~~

Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in a supreme Court opinion said that the Bar Associations have ~~not~~ done little ~~much~~ to assure ~~ensure~~ that "lawyers be unintimidated--free to think speak, and act as members of an Independent Bar". He fears a self-imposed tendency "to force the Bar to become a group of thoroughly orthodox, time-serving, government-fearing individuals". He sees this tendency in a series of cases brought to the Supreme Court where the organized Bar associations sought to exclude or expel from the practice of law for a variety of reasons: because of long past and repudiated membership in the Communist Party (a New Mexico case); because of association with a person "generally considered to be a member of the Communist Party" (a Texas case); because the lawyer invoked his Constitutional right against self-incrimination (a New York case); because the lawyer spoke out at a public meeting against the

prosecutor's conduct in a Smith Act proceeding (an Hawaiian case); because the applicants for reasons of conscience refused to tell the Bar examining committee whether they were members of Communist, fascist, Republican or any other types of organizations (cases from Illinois and California), and because the applicants, for reasons of religious training, refused to swear ~~that~~ they would bear arms in the ~~unlikely~~ event of armed invasion (cases from Illinois and Washington).

~~Mr. Justice Black could also could have in mind~~ Similar is the practice in some southern states to ensure conformity by asking bar applicants about membership ~~and activities~~ and activities in interracial affairs; in the NAACP ~~activities and~~ the practice in some Northern and western states to ensure conformity ~~by asking about with questions~~ by asking bar applicants for an opinion on the use of the fifth amendment, about the "pinkish" character of the Americans for Democratic Action, and even about labor union activities; ~~Mr. Justice Black could have referred to~~ and the growing ~~trend~~ practice by the Bar Association groups to ~~require~~ require bar applicants to answer questions similar to the one in the Hawaii bar application form:

> "If you were to be listed as 'Communist' in the records of any federal investigative agency, what past actions or organizational affiliations of yours not already listed by you might be used by such investigative agency to support its conclusion?"

As pervasive, and perhaps ~~Equally, if not~~ more troublesome than the efforts of the Bar to ensure conformity within its own ranks, have been the efforts of the organization to ensure conformity throughout the nation. When in 1950 President Truman courageously vetoed the Internal Security Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights, the American Bar Association immediately demanded an overriding of the veto. The pattern has continued. On issue after issue requiring the delicate balance of individual rights against national security, the brief and prestige of the American Bar Association is inevitably found allied with the state against the individual. Pennsylvania Law Dean, Jefferson Fordham, commented ~~that to one bar association that in 1957 that~~ to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York in 1957 that:

> In the post-war years attention has been drawn so strongly to security matters that an exaggerated imbalance has been observable. During this time the national organization, on occasion, ranged itself with the Philistines....What the organized Bar needs is not its own witch-hunting department but units dedicated to the guardianship of human rights. A ceremonial interest in the Bill of Rights will not supply the need.

~~all too often, a "ceremonial interest" is all the crisis.~~

All too often a "ceremonial interest" is all that exists. A white student was arrested not too long ago in McComb, Mississippi, in connection with his Negro "voter registration" activities. He wrote to 40 white lawyers in the state (including the then president of the American Bar Association) to handle his case. Each refused, many with comments that he (and his kind) were doing the state a disservice.

The failure of the American Bar Association and its state affiliates to provide a moderating leadership against the 1950 excesses of McCarthyism and against the 1960 excesses of States-Rightism, coupled with an internal program weeking out the unorthodox, results in a situation where the individual practictioner fears to go it alone, and makes it virtually impossible for him in some areas to be effective when he undertakes the representation of the unpopular client. The consequence is a silent repeal of the Constitutional guarantee that the accused shall have the assistance of counsel.

The refusal of the American lawyer to take up the cudgels for the unpopular minority is a phenomenon without parallel in the English speaking world. Elsewhere, a barrister is likened to the cabman on the rank: it is his duty to place himself at the disposal of the first person who hails him. This permits a citizen to have his case presented in court however unpopular or unworthy he may be; it also protects the advocate, for the court and public knows the case he is arguing is not of his own choosing.

The general principle in England, and its origin, was discussed by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hartley Shawcross in a 1953 speech:

"I have recently heard it said, that certain members of the Bar in one of her Majesty's colonies refused to accept a brief to defend an African, accused of offenses of a quasi-political nature against public order. The suggestion is that these barristers made excuses and declined to act, their true reason being that they thought that their popularity or reputation might be detrimentally affected by appearing for the defense in such a case. For the prosecution they might appear, but not for the defense.

"If this report were true it would disclose a wholly deplorable departure from the great traditions of our law and one which, if substantiated, both the Attorney General and the Bar Council, would have to deal with in the severest possible way.

"Among laymen on both sides of politics there are some foolish and short-signted enough to think that a barrister may and should pick and choose the cases in which he is prepared to appear.

"It would be well if those people remembered how the present rule--that a barrister must accept a brief on behalf of any client who wishes to retain him--was finally established. It arose in 1792 over the prosecution of Tom Paine for publishing the second part of his Rights of Man. The great advocate, Erskine, who accepted the retainer to defend Paine, and was deprived of his office as Attorney General to the Prince of Wales for doing so, said--and said truly--in a famous speech: 'From the moment that any advocate can be permitted to say that he will or will not stand between the Crown and the subject arraigned in the Court where he daily sits to practice, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end.'"

Supreme Court

Not only in England, but in the former English colonies as well, no one lacks counsel because his cause is unpopular. Listen to the first-hand report of ~~Mr~~. Justice William O. Douglas, a few years back:

"Last year I visited Burma, torn by civil war for the last five years. I visited courts and talked with lawyers and judges....

"I saw Malaya under siege. Up in central Malaya at Ipoh, the capital of Perak, I saw criminal trials. The accused were desperate guerillas dedicated to the Communist cause. Yet the court assigned each one a lawyer for his defense. The Bar of Ipoh--some 30 in number--were doing ~~the~~ valiant work. Lawyers were assigned in rotation; and their defenses did credit to the highest tradition of the Bar....This was in the heart of jungle land were armed Communists worked night and day in guerilla warfare to destroy the government. But there was no hysteria, no atmosphere of passion, no photographers, no pressure of the press demanding convictions....

"These experiences brought, of course, a swelling pride in my heart at the glories of due process transplanted by the British in Asia. But what I saw has greater significance. Burma is winning her battle for Burmese hearts and minds, and Malaya is turning the tide against Communism by the use of more than military tactics. Due process, as well as bullets, helps win those wars against Communism."

~~We hail the~~

Here at home, we regale on Law Day and other formal ~~annual~~ occasions in the stories of the profession's great names-men like Malsherbes, who came from retirment to represent Louis XVl against the Revolutionary government of France and paid for it with his life; like Andrew Hamilton, who defended the radical newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger and thereby did much to establish freedom of the press; like John Adams, who defended the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre; like Charles Evans Hughes, who stood up for the Constitutional right of Socialists when the New York legislature sought to expell six members because of their party affiliation; like Wendell Wilkie, and Whitney North Seymour who defended communists ~~and nazis nazis in the events leading up~~ during the 1930s; like Harold Medina and Kenneth Royal who fought with might and main to defend nazis during the inflamatory period of World War 11; like Thurman Arnold, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Telford Taylor, James B. Donovan, Edward Bennett Williams and other contemporaries who can be counted on to step forward to make sure that everyone, no matter his station or crime, has a day in court, with competent counsel.

How can the spirit of these Law Day speeches be translated into an everyday

reality? A series of actions, ~~for the most part~~ some already ~~initiated~~ started, can in combination do much to achieve this goal.

First, the lawyer individually and through his professional organization ~~could and should~~ must participate in the dialogue on national, state, and local issues; ~~he should play a part in the affairs of the community in which he lives.~~ problems of segregated schools, housing, and jobs; relation of church and state; gerrymandering; literary; film; and — over

As a citizen, the lawyer is ~~uniquely qualified~~ qualified by education, professional training, experience and skills, to play a leading role in community life.

He, ~~above all others in the community,~~ can best explain the ~~meaning~~ significance of court decisions and legislative proposals. ~~and the reasons underlying the doctrine of judicial supremacy.~~ He is trained in negotiation, fact-finding and persuasion, and is the logical leader in local efforts to get racial strife off the streets and into a room where bi-racial committees can ~~problem~~ probe current problems in depth and with compasionate appreciation. He, above all others in the community, can best explain ~~the meaning of court decisions,~~ the reasons underlying the doctrine of judicial supremacy, and the constitutional significance of defiance of court decisions. He can ~~protect~~ defend the unpopular decisions by the local judiciary, and answer the inaccurate legal commentary by public officials. ~~He can defend the legal rights of the indigent and the client~~

political censorship;
capital punishment and penology; illegal "drag-net" arrests, wire-tapping, and other elements of procedural due process including the right to counsel for the indigent and the social outcast.

The lay person looks to the lawyer for comment and advice, and when his voice is stilled, the vacuum is often filled by the clamorous bias of the demagogue. The recent joint statement by the 53 attorneys in Birmingham urging compliance with the school-desegration decision, the recent proclamation by southern law professors explaining the need for judicial supremacy in all areas; the recent resolution by the American Bar Association condemning proposed constitutional amendments which would impair the Constitutional structure of judicial review are all useful precepts and, hopefully, a prologue. The creation of standing committees within each bar association to report on current issues within the special competence of the attorney would do much to increase this kind of activity.

Second, the bar associations at all levels should organize groups and panels of lawyers for the defense of the unpopular or indigent clients, as it did in Washington when government employees were unable to secure counsel in connection with charges under the Loyalty-Security program, as it did in St. Louis when witnesses subpoened by the House Committee on Un-American Activities were unable to secure counsel, as it did in Denver, in Cleveland, in Philadelphia, and in Connecticut when

Communists indicted under the Smith Act were unable to secure counsel as it did in Pittsburgh when lawyers faced with disbarment because of Communist charges were unable to secure counsel as it did in the 1930's when a National Lawyers Committee was formed to offer counsel to those who complained that the New Deal legislation infringed ~~his~~ constitutional rights; ~~as~~ the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (formed at the request of President Kennedy at a White House Conference of lawyers) is now ~~contemplating~~ acting to secure counsel for the integrationist movement ~~in the south~~. when the local bar is indifferent or otherwise unwilling to give representation. Operating behind the shield of a Bar Association committee, the individual lawyer is relatively immunized from public opproprium; the establishment of such a panel gives opportunity to educate the profession and the public on the rights and duties of a lawyer in representing any client who seeks legal aid.

Third, the legal organizations should rally to the defense of any lawyer attacked because of his representation of the unpopular client. In 1953 the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights issued a report ~~that~~ saying:

"Counsel of outstanding reputations...in several recent cases involving Communists or persons accused of being Communists, which they took out of a sense of public duty, have been subjected to severe personal vilification and abuse....The bar must throw its weight against such things."

There are at least two notable instances when this was done. When The Cleveland Bar Association undertook to provide representation for Communist Party officials standing trial, a senior official of the Department of Justice attacked the Association in a public address on the ground that it had been "duped". Within a week the President of the Bar Association had called on the Attorney General, and the Assistant Attorney General in question "denied" having made the statement. And during a California hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a witness was repeatedly asked if his attorney was a Communist. The Board of Governors of the State Bar of California immediately issued a statement condemning the proceedings of the Committee. Prompt reaction of this type to all slanderous attacks will impress upon the public that the "right to counsel" requires acceptance of the correlative rights of a lawyer to represent any client without having imputed to him his client's reputation, views, or character.

Fourth, the Bar Associations should encourage the individual lawyer to undertake the defense of the unpopular client by a suitable award to that attorney in each state, county and city, who, within the past year, has demonstrated a fearless respect for the spirit reflected by John Adams' defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. A national award, upon nomination by the state organizations, could be given at the annual American Bar Association meeting. The publicity attendant upon such presentations would give credit where credit is due, and further educate the public regarding the constitutional "right to counsel."

Fifth, the law schools should participate in this effort by strengthening the curriculums in criminal law, professional ethics, and legal history, by establishing legal aid and legal research bureaus where the student may enjoy the experience of the "practical" case in a setting which induces further public concern. ~~action; but most of all by precept and example, e.g.~~ by having the faculty take on an occasional trial or appeal on behalf of the unpopular client. Faculty members at the University of Virginia annually accept assignments to represent indigent defendants in cases which involve procedural due process, and they bring their students into the preliminary stages of legal research. Within the past several years, faculty members from Yale, Columbia and others have argued important constitutional issues

~~on behalf of clients who might otherwise have gone without counsel.~~

On the ~~occasion~~ 50th anniversary of the Harvard Legal Aid Bureau, Supreme Court justice William Brennan praised the work of such societies as teaching one important lesson: "that contributing one's legal services to an unpopular or unremunerative cause need not be dirty, or ~~nasty~~ nasty, or opporobrious...(and that)...many fascinating and challenging problems fall under the rubric of criminal law". ~~Recently, a~~ Within recent months, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, NYU, Georgetown, Howard and George Washington ~~Law School~~ University have formed chapters of a Law Student's Civil Rights Research Council. ~~At Columbia,~~ During the school months, the student members work on research projects--state apportionment problems at Columbia, miscengenation at Harvard, "insurrection" statutes at Yale, etc. and during the summer vacation, the student volunteers are assigned to local counsel--a group of Georgetown students, for example, helped prepared the legal papers in connection with the mass arrests of student demonstrators in Danville, Virginia. As yet there are no graduate fellowships in the area of civil rights. Pennsylvania and Northwestern have long had graduate fellowship programs in the area of criminal law and peneology; and at Georgetown the ~~fell~~ graduate fellows ~~are expected to and do~~ actively participate in the defense of criminal defendants.

Above all, however, the law schools can contribute to solving the problem of inadequate or no counsel for the unpopular client by precept and example; that is, by encouraging the faculty members to take an occasional trial or appeal on behalf of the unpopular client. Dean Ribble of Virginia regularly accepts the defense assignment of an indigent or unpopular case, and seeks student assistance in the preperation of the appellate brief. Yale professor Louis Pollak is often on the Supreme Court brief of the Negro appellant challenging state segregation laws. Columbia Professor Walter Gellhorn has argued the Supreme Court case of the convicted felon who feels that he has been denied some right available to others more fortunate in social, racial, or economic circumstances. Students learn by what the instructor does, as well as by what he says and where the professor leads, the student may sooner or later follow.

Sixth, and finally, when all is said and done, the fact remains that it is up to the individual lawyer to effectuate the Constitutional right to counsel. If he fails, the Constitution is a dead letter; if he undertakes the defense of all--"without consideration personal to himself"--the Constitution becomes a vital, living document. Every professional undertaking on behalf of the unpopular client is a leap into the

dark. No one can foretell what new evidence may turn up, what vagaries of chance may occur, what unlooked-for traits of character this or that major participant may exhibit under pressure. There is a hazard of being undone. But if the lawyer stays close by the campfire and never ventures forth, the circle of safety and freedom will diminish and contract. And ultimately one dark night the fire will go out. The highest wisdom is to dare, and the beacon when venturing forth is the comforting comment of the late Mr. Justice Cardozo that "There is more to membership in the Bar than a license to sign a brief or intone a prosy argument".

Printers' Estimates file

HIGGINS-McARTHUR Company

IS PLEASED TO QUOTE

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOR DISTINCTIVE PRINTING

May 14, 1963

DESCRIPTION:	QUANTITY	Price Per____	TOTAL PRICE
Booklet entitled "Token Integration in Public Schools" 6" x 9", 32 pp + cover	3,000		$ 1,195.00
	5,000		$ 1,455.00
	10,000		$ 2,065.00
	15,000		$ 2,565.00

SPECIFICATIONS:

PAPER STOCK — Cover: 50 lb. Beckett Cover
Inside: 60 lb. White Wove Offset

PRINTING — Letterpress

FINISHING — Flush trim
Saddle-stitch

ITEM:	Furnished by US	Furnished by YOU
ORIGINAL LAYOUT	X	
PHOTOGRAPHS		
FINISHED ART WORK	X	
TYPOGRAPHY	X	
REPRO PROOFS		
CAMERA READY COPY		
PLATES		

MEMORANDA:

BY: John Stuart McKenzie
John Stuart McKenzie

HIGGINS-McARTHUR COMPANY / Telephone JA 2-3306
302 HAYDEN STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA

June 11, 1963

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Herewith are the corrected page proofs on the Moreland study of "Tokenism." We recognize that the number of corrections and alterations have been unusually heavy. Possibly more excessive than you took into account in your price estimate. On the other hand, since we did not receive galleys of this publication, we were forced to make these corrections in the page proof. I hope you will take this into account when drawing up your final bill.

I do not suppose it is necessary to remind you about the 'union bug' but please do not forget to carry it on the back cover. Also, we need a title page for the publication, and as you know, we still need a cover design.

If at all possible, we would like to have this publication ready to go by the end of this month.

Thanks for all your help.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

CEdar 7-1684

QUOTATION

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

PRODUCERS OF FINE CREATIVE PRINTING AND LITHOGRAPHY

June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth St.
Attn: Mr. Staige Blackford
Atlanta, Georgia

We are pleased to submit the following proposal:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
5000		23½¢ each	$1175.00
7500		18 2/10 "	1365.00
10,000		15 3/4 "	1575.00

SPECIFICATIONS

SIZE	Page size 8½ x 11 - 32 pages self-cover
PAPER STOCK	Sub 60 white Springhill Offset
COMPOSITION	Williams to do
ART	
PASTE UP AND MECHANICAL ART	
ENGRAVINGS	
PROCESS AND COLORS	Printed in black ink
BINDING	Saddle stitched 11" side
PACKAGING	
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	All specifications identical to those on other quotation except that paper stock is different. See dummies.

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet.

ACCEPTED _____ 19____

BY _____

Respectfully Submitted,

Joe Mitchell

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

WILLIAMS ATLANTA

CEdar 7-1684

QUOTATION

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

PRODUCERS OF FINE CREATIVE PRINTING AND LITHOGRAPHY

June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 - Forsyth St.
Attn: Mr. Staige Blackford
Atlanta, Georgia

We are pleased to submit the following proposal:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
5000	Booklets "Economic Status"	25½¢ each	$1275.00
7500		20 6/10 "	1545.00
10,000		17½¢ "	1750.00

SPECIFICATIONS

SIZE	Page size 8½ x 11 - 32 pages self cover
PAPER STOCK	Sub 60 white Printone
COMPOSITION	Williams to do
ART	
PASTE UP AND MECHANICAL ART	
ENGRAVINGS	
PROCESS AND COLORS	Printed in black ink
BINDING	Saddle - stitched 11" side
PACKAGING	
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet.

ACCEPTED_____ 19____

BY_____

Respectfully Submitted,

Joe Mitchell

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

WILLIAMS ATLANTA

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

June 18, 1963

Quotation to

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Description Booklet "The Economic Status of the Negro in the Nation and the South"

Quantities 5,000 - 7,500 - 10,000

Size 8½ x 11

Paper and Materials 60# Primtone
70# Silkote

Art Work None

Engravings None

Composition Longino & Porter to set all type

Process and Colors Black (Letterpress)

Binding Self cover, Saddle stitch, Flush trim

Special Packing As requested

Delivery As requested (F O B Atlanta)

Prices

	5,000	7,500	10,000
60# Primtone-per page-	28.10	35.90	42.35
	899.20	1148.80	1355.20
70# Silkote-per page-	30.40	39.35	46.80
	972.80	1259.20	1497.60

Other Specifications

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Tommy Lee Walker

June 19, 1963

Mr. John S. McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear John:

Please mail 5000 copies, each, of the Coles and Moreland Reports to:

The Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

HIGGINS-McARTHUR Company

IS PLEASED TO QUOTE

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOR DISTINCTIVE PRINTING

June 20, 1963

DESCRIPTION:	QUANTITY	Price Per____	TOTAL PRICE
Booklet entitled "The Economic Status of the Negro in the Nation and the South" 8½" x 11", one color per specifications	5,000		$ 1,710.00
	7,500		$ 2,105.00
	10,000		$ 2,460.00

SPECIFICATIONS:

PAPER STOCK 60 lb. Printone

PRINTING Letterpress

FINISHING Flush trim, saddle-wire stitch

ITEM:	Furnished by US	Furnished by YOU
ORIGINAL LAYOUT		
PHOTOGRAPHS		
FINISHED ART WORK		
TYPOGRAPHY	X	
REPRO PROOFS		
CAMERA READY COPY		
PLATES		

MEMORANDA:

BY: John Stuart McKenzie
John Stuart McKenzie

HIGGINS-McARTHUR COMPANY / Telephone JA 2-3306
302 HAYDEN STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA

June 27, 1963

Mr. Sonny Paul
The Stein Printing Company
2161 Monroe Drive, N. E.
Atlanta 24, Georgia

Dear Sonny:

I very much appreciate your help and copperation in providing us with your firm's estimate of the cost of print the Henderson manuscript.

Regrettably, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we have decided to give this firm the order for publishing the manuscript.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means the last we will have, and certainly we will let you know when we have another for publication.

Again, thanks for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

QUOTATION

STEIN Craftsmen

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY • 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N. E. • P.O. BOX 13426 • ATLANTA 24, GEORGIA
TRINITY 5-0421

June 17, 1963
Stein's 39th Year

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Here is the information you requested, Mr. Blackford, for printing your book on "The Economic Status of the Negro".

Prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	8½ x 11.
PAGES:	24 pages.
PAPER:	60 lb. Warren's Printone.
INK:	Black.
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set all type.
ARTWORK:	None.
PRESSWORK:	Printed in black ink by letterpress.
BINDERY:	Fold, saddle stitch and trim to 8½ x 11.
DELIVERY:	10 working days from receipt of copy, plus necessary time for you to check proofs.
QUANTITY:	5,000 . . . . . $1,262.50
	7,500 . . . . . 1,489.82
	10,000 . . . . . 1,717.13

Thank you very much for the invitation to quote on this job, Mr. Blackford. You can be sure that if Stein is awarded this job it will be produced to your complete satisfaction.

If I can be of further service, please contact me.

ACCEPTED BY

_____

_____19____

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

ART WORK, DRAWINGS, type, plates (including lithographic plates), engravings, electrotypes, negatives, positives, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing. The printer assumes no obligation to hold plates, electrotypes or standing type after the completion of a job, unless specified in this proposal. The printer will charge at its current rates for all type and metal held standing at customer's order.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for extra work performed. Mortising and other work on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT — The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

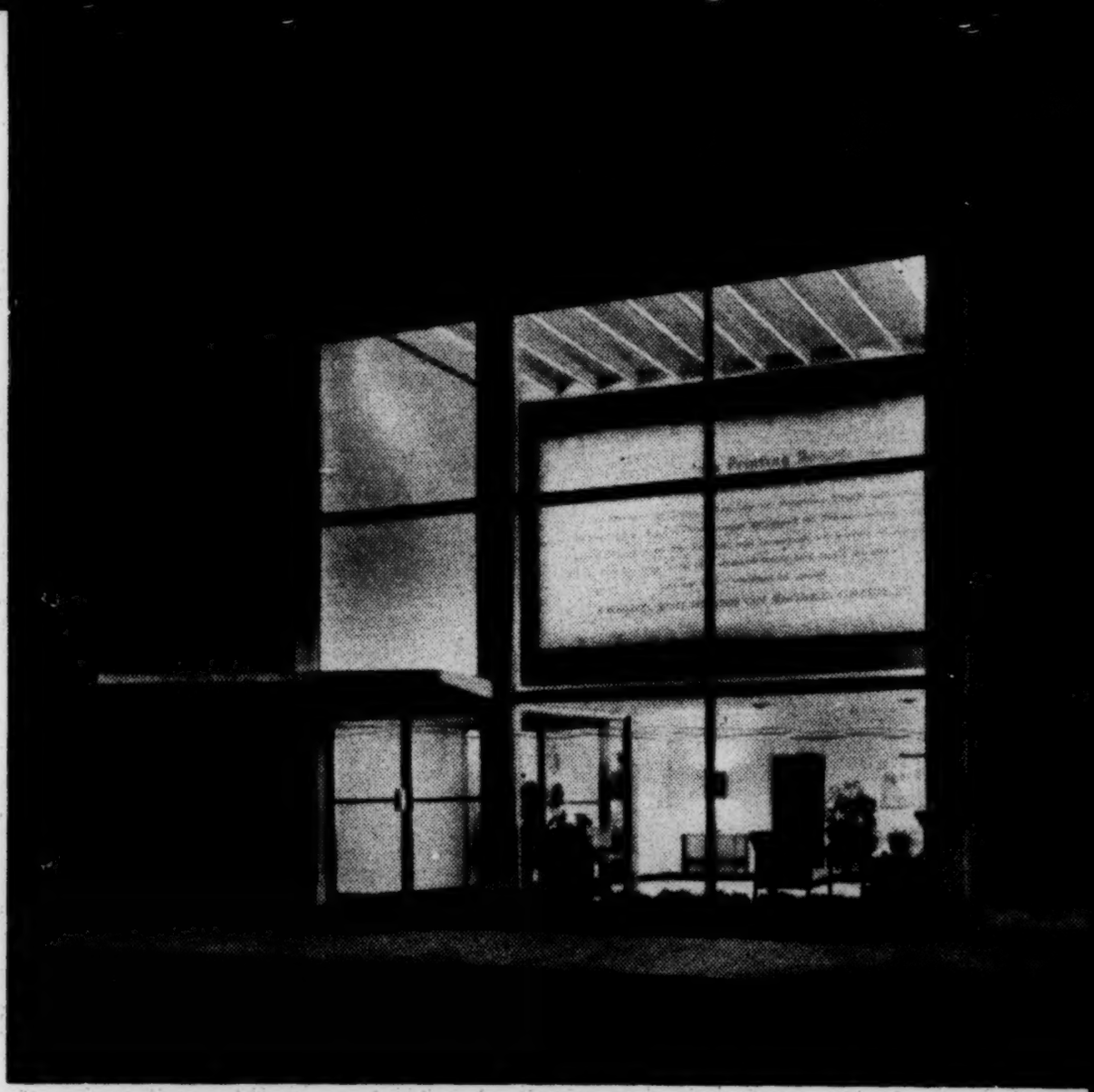
ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes, or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or defamatory, or constitutes an invasion of privacy or unfair competition or violates or infringes any copyright, pctent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES—All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.



The Stein Printing Company

2161 Monroe Drive, N.E. / Atlanta 24, Ga.

Telephone TRinity 5-0421

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHERS

June 27, 1963

Mr. Joe Mitchell
Williams Printing Company
345 Peachtree Hills Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Joe:

I very much appreciate your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate of the cost to print the Henderson manuscript.

Regrettably, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we have decided to give this firm the order for publishing the manuscript.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means the last we will have, and certainly we will let you know when another is ready for publication.

Again, thanks for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

June 27, 1963

Mr. Tommy Lee Walker
Longino and Porter, Inc.
3421 Stewart Avenue
Hapeville, Georgia

Dear Tommy:

I very much appreciate your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate of the cost to print the Henderson manuscript.

Regrettably, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we have decided to give this firm the order for publishing the manuscript.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means the last we will have, and certainly we will let you know when we have another for publication.

Again, thanks for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

June 27, 1963

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I very much appreciate your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate of the cost to print the Henderson manuscript.

Regrettably, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we whave decided to give this firm the order for publishing the manuscript.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means the last, and certainly we will let you know when we have another for publication.

Again, thanks for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.
3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631
PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

August 1, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

Just a line to let you know how much I appreciate your confidence in allowing me to print your booklet, "Charlotte Has Built Its Intergration Road".

I am looking forward to seeing you and working with you again. With warmest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Tommy

Tommy Lee Walker, Jr.

TLW/JR:ns

August 30, 1963

Mr. Ira B. Harkey, Jr.
P. O. Box 1147
Pascagoula, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Harkey:

Since Miss Long is in Washington this week, I have been asked to reply to your letter of August 21. Actually, we do not have one specific printereto handle our publications; instead, we use several here. Among them are:

Higgins-McArthur Company, 302 Hayden Street, N.W., Atlanta 13. This company currently has the contract for New South and has handled a good many other SRC publications, including our recent pamphlet The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study. I should point out, however, that their prices come high; the above-mentioned 32-page pamphlet cost $2,275.12 for 10,000 copies. But their service is generally good. The representative with whom we deal is John McKenzie.

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc., 226 Luckie Street, N.W., Atlanta. This company has also printed several recent SRC publications. I think that they are somewhat cheaper than Higgins-McArthur. They also provide excellent service. The representative with whom we deal is John Rogers.

Longino and Porter, Inc., 3421 Stewart Avenue, Hapeville, Georgia. This company recently completed a rush order for us and did a very good job of it at a reasonable price. The representative with whom we deal is Tommy Lee Walker.

There are several other printers you could write here, and I will be glad to give you their names if you so desire. But I don't think you can go wrong with any of the three mentioned above. I would suggest that you write them directly, outlining the approximate length and other specifications you have in mind

for printing Jim Silver's speech. Incidentally, I hope you will send us some copies when it is published. If I can be of further assistance, please don't hesitate to call on me.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:mm

NO, file

File

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 LUCKIE STREET, NW • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JAckson 5-8654

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGNERS

November 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
2,000	reprints of booklet "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South."	$443.00
4,000	as above	$646.25
6,000	as above	$778.25

SPECIFICATIONS Printed exactly as before with one minor type change.

We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

John Rogers

John Rogers
Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

VJ - fyi, note bid based on 32-page issue. Please let me know if you'd like Tommy Walker to do an estimate on 16 pages.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

March 13, 1964

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

I have enclosed an estimate on printing your monthly publication, "New South". I was not sure of the exact quantity or number of issues, so I figured 6,000 and 12,000 per month, 12 issues per year. I based each book on 32 body pages and cover. The price I quoted includes a two color cover redesigned each month by our art department.

As to our production, we would be able to furnish you with the finished booklets 18 days after receiving all copy.

If I have missed the specifications of printing this, where you cannot compare prices, I will be more than happy to refigure it as you request. If you have any questions, please call me.

I will appreciate you considering this and will look forward to seeing you soon.

With warmest personal regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

Tommy

T. L. Walker, Jr.

TLWJr/bjk

Enclosure

LP

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

March 13, 1964

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth Street Atlanta 3, Georgia
Description	"New South" 12 Issues Monthly
Quantities	6,000 and 12,000
Size	6 x 9 - 32 page plus cover.
Paper and Materials	Cover - 65 Lb. Parchtex - Body 70 Lb. Enamel.
Art Work	We design new cover each month.
Engravings	
Composition	Longino & Porter, Inc.
Process and Colors	Cover - Two color - Body - One color.
Binding	Saddle Stitch.
Special Packing	As requested
Delivery	
Prices	6,000 . . . . . .$994.00 per issue 12,000 . . . . . .1570.00 per issue
Other Specifications	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

_____ T. L. Walker, Jr. (B.J.K.)

_____ T. L. Walker, Jr.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

March 27, 1964

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth Street Atlanta 3, Georgia
Description	"New South" 12 Issues - monthly.
Quantities	6,000 and 12,000.
Size	6 x 9 - 16 pages plus cover.
Paper and Materials	Cover - 65 Lb. Parehtex - Body - 70 Lb. Enamel.
Art Work	We design new cover each month.
Engravings	
Composition	Longino & Porter, Inc.
Process and Colors	Cover - Two color; Body - One color.
Binding	Saddle Stitch.
Special Packing	As requested.
Delivery	
Prices	6,000 . . . . . .$674.95 per issue. 12,000 . . . . . .1050.70 per issue.
Other Specifications	Based on one year contract subtract $50.00 per issue.

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

*Accepted*_____ *19*____ LONGINO & PORTER INC.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

May 11, 1964

Quotation to

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Description Booklets.

Quantities 3,000 each of two.

Size 8½ x 11.

Paper and Materials 60 Lb. Offset.

Art Work C. R. C.

Engravings None.

Composition C. R. C.

Process and Colors Black Ink.

Binding Saddle Stitch.

Special Packing As requested.

Delivery One week after receiving all copy.

Prices

Per 3,000 copies

24 pages	self cover	$ 405.44	40 pages	self cover	$667.00
	plus cover	580.44		plus cover	842.00
32 pages	self cover	530.60	52 pages	self cover	$889.00
	plus cover	705.60		plus cover	1064.00

Other Specifications Purchase of any two, deduct 5% of total price.

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

*Accepted*_____ *19*____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

June 4, 1964

Quotation to	Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth Street Atlanta 3, Georgia
Description	"New South" 12 Issues - Monthly.
Quantities	6,000 and 12,000.
Size	6 x 9 - 16 page self cover.
Paper and Materials	70 Lb. Enamel.
Art Work	
Engravings	
Composition	Longino & Porter, Inc.
Process and Colors	Cover: Two color; Body: One color
Binding	Saddle Stitch.
Special Packing	Bulk.
Delivery	
Prices	6,000 . . . . . $499.10 12,000 . . . . . 787.70
Other Specifications	Fold to fit # 10 Envelope - $6.00 per 1,000.

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

INVOICE

523-8011

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

DATE: June 15, 1964
YOUR ORDER NO.:
OUR ORDER NO.: 8975-C and 8974C
HOW SHIP:
SOLD BY: Walker
TERMS NET:

2,975	Charlotte Report (96 pages)	1584.00	
	Less shortage of 25 books	(13.00)	
3,000	Louisville Report (46 pages)	816.00	
	Less 5% for purchase of two	(119.38)	
		2267.62	
	3% GEORGIA SALES TAX	68.03	
	POSTAGE, FREIGHT AND INSURANCE		
	TOTAL:		$2,335.65

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

June 17, 1964

Quotation to	Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Southern Regional Council Atlanta, Georgia
Description	"This I Believe" Folder.
Quantities	3,000.
Size	12 x 9. Fold to 6 x 9.
Paper and Materials	70 Lb. Offset (Green).
Art Work	C. R. C.
Engravings	
Composition	C. R. C.
Process and Colors	One color.
Binding	Folded.
Special Packing	Bulk.
Delivery	
Prices	3,000 . . . . . .$93.65
Other Specifications	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

*Accepted*_____ *19*____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Tommy L. Walker Jr.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

August 3, 1964

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council
Description	Booklet "Albany".
Quantities	1,000.
Size	6 x 9.
Paper and Materials	70 Lb. Offset.
Art Work	
Engravings	
Composition	
Process and Colors	Cover two color - Body copy one color.
Binding	Saddle Stitch.
Special Packing	Bulk.
Delivery	
Prices	1,000 - $409.90 .....Add'l 1,000 - $198.00
Other Specifications	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

*Accepted*_____ *19*____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

T. L. Walker, Jr.

Masters 100 @ 15.00/C	15.00
Paper 15M @ 2.69 M	403.50
Inks + Sol ~~+500~~ 300 M @ .20	60.00
Collating + Stapling	420.00
Labor 50 hours @ 2.00/hr	100.00
	998.50

USS Galvanized Flat Sheets

August 3, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Many thanks for your time and interest this morning.

As we discussed, I will wait the correct ' season '
and contact you again in October.

The following data will clearly illustrate the
advantages of your using Multilith for full or partial
use with your publications.

3,000 Special Reports - " Charlotte " by Pat Watters

Present Cost $ 2,000.00

Multilith Costs -

Masters	$ 15.00
Paper - 150,000 sheets @ 2.69/M	403.50
Inks & Solutions - 300,000 impressions @ .20 per M	60.00
Collating & Stapling	420.00
Labor - 50 Hours @ 2.00 / hour	100.00
	998.50

Result - $ 1,000.00 plus savings OR the issue of only
four similar publications by your own Multilith would
justify its purchase. Could this possibly accelerate the
' season ' to Now ? You be the judge.

Sincerely,

Foster L. Spain, Jr.
Sales Representative

REQUEST FOR ESTIMATE

CHARGE TO Southern Regional Council BILLED
5 Forsyth St

DELIVER TO
Above

Promised

Date Ent. 3-23-65
Ref. No. Date
Salesman Walker
Cust. No.

Quan. to Pkg. _____ Box ☐ Label ☐ Bulk ☐ Fold in 10 ea

VIA—CO. TRUCK Parcel Post (P.P.) (Col.) Highway Express (Prepaid) (Col.) Rwy. Express (Prepaid) (Col.)

	Quantity Ord.	Quantity Deld.	Size 9 1/4 X 8	Description
1.	10,000			Flat size folded to 9 1/2 x 4 1/4 mailer printed (1) one color two sides (2) (2) color two sides (3) Three color two sides — (Layout attached)
2.				
3.				
4.				

No. P.P. _____ Plus Cover / Self Cover — Cover Trim Size _____ x _____ / Inside x — No. Pages / Print — 1-2-3-4 Off. ☐ L.P. ☐ / Off. ☐ L.P. ☐ — Cover Colors / Inside 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____

UP ☐ OB ☐ Stock Inside: Cover:

	Name of Stock	Color	Size	Ream Wt.	Quantity	Press Size	Order From P. O. No.
1.	80# offset	wht.					
2.							
3.							
4.							

ART

Art: In File ☐ We Do ☑ Furn. ☐ Return ☐ Rough Sk. ☐ Comp. Sk. ☐

Paste up ☐ to:

Photo Furn. ☐ In File ☐ Make ☐ Scale ☐ Return ☐

COMPOSING

Type set ☑ Stdg. ☐ Changes ☐ No Changes ☐

Cuts: Furn. ☐ In File ☐ Make ☐ To Come ☐ Returned ☐

Proof: Gal. ☐ Page ☐ Repro ☐ To:

Via: Send ☐ Salesman ☐ Mail ☐ Date out Retd.

OFFSET PREP

Water Cotes ☐ Brown Print ☑ To: Customer

Date out Retd.

New Job ☐ Neg. Stdg. ☐ Changes ☐ No Changes ☐

BINDERY

Binding: _____ Way ☐ Seal ☐ _____

Gather: 1st _____ 2nd _____ 3rd _____ 4th _____ 5th _____

Pad: _____ Sets T - B - L - R Chip Back ☐ _____

Bind: No. Sets _____ Tag Ft. ☐ Chip Back ☐ Strip K. R. ☐ G. H. ☐

Carbons: Tip in ☐ Insert ☐ _____

Punch ☐ _____ Holes T - B - L - R _____

Rd. Corner _____ Corners ☑ Perforate As per layout

Special:

PRESS: Imposition & Run

Color Proof ☐ _____ Press Proof ☐ _____

See Layout ☐ _____ Cover Backbone _____

Scores: _____ Perf. _____

Number To Color

No. Forms	Kind	No. Pages	Press Sheet Size	Color	Imp. Per Form	Color Stock
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			
			x			

Amt. Ink Used

Color: Swatch Copy Attached ☐ 1. 3.

Match Exact ☐ Approx. ☐ 2. 4.

FOLDING

Head Out ☐ In ☐

No. Form	No. Pages	Sheet Size	Fold To
		x	9 1/2 x 4 1/4
		x	x
		x	x
		x	x

CUT TO FOLD:

OUTSIDE WORK

Art

Composition

Engravings

Separations

Misc.

COMPANY Southern Regional Council SALESMAN Walker DATE 3-24-64 (LITHO) 9¼X8 (LETTERPRESS)

ADDRESS

DESCRIPTION 10,000 Folders w/ Reply Card - ~~[illegible]~~ flat
no bleed - 1 color 2 sides on 80# wove offset
Perforate - fold to ~~4¼X9¼~~ 4X9¼

use 20 layout - set type & do
paste-up

NO.	PREPARATION OPERATIONS	HOURS	RATE		
	Comp & repros			24	00
	Layout art & Paste up			50	00
	Plate 1-17X22			50	00
	MR & Reg	1	12.50	12	50
	Lockup & MR Perf.			14	00
				150	50

NO.	PRODUCTION OPERATIONS	HOURS	RATE	10000	
	1350 sh. 23X35-68	184#	28.65	66	00
	Run (Black)			4	00
	Press run litho	2.5	12.50	31	25
	Press run perf.	2.5	9.00	22	50
	Cut & trim	.7	10.00	7	00
	Fold	2	10.00	20	00
	wp & Del.			3	00
				153	75
				150	50
				304	25
	10,000 1 color				
	10,000 2 color			412	00
	10,000 3 color			520	00

Blue Bod

Look like for

LAYOUTS:

	PLATES	P.S.S.
1	17X22	17½X22½
	WPT	2 pr 2 up

QUOTED PRICE

ESTIMATED BY: DWP DATE: CHECKED BY: DATE:

QUOTATION

Stein

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

March 29, 1965
Stein's 41st Year

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Here is the information
you requested, Mr. Jordan,
for printing your "New South folder".

Prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	9-1/4 x 8"
PAPER:	70# Hammermill Textopaque
COLOR:	2 colors
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set type
PASTEUP:	Stein will do pasteup.
OFFSET PREPARATION:	Stein will make all negatives and plate.
PRESSWORK:	Printed in two colors by offset lithography and perforated by letterpress.
BINDERY:	Trim to 9-1/4 x 8" and fold to 9-1/4 x 4"

QUANTITY:	2 colors	4 color
3,000	$ 265.69	$ 392.74
5,000	294.14	432.69
10,000	389.06	565.99

(Next page please)

ACCEPTED BY _____

_____ 19____

CONDITIONS.

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

ART WORK, DRAWINGS, type, plates (including lithographic plates), engravings, electrotypes, negatives, positives, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing. The printer assumes no obligation to hold plates, electrotypes or standing type after the completion of a job, unless specified in this proposal. The printer will charge at its current rates for all type and metal held standing at customer's order.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for extra work performed. Mortising and other work on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT – The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes, or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or defamatory, or constitutes an invasion of privacy or unfair competition or violates or infringes any copyright, patent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES – All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

Trust the above covers everything you requested, Mr. Jordan. Many thanks for the opportunity of quoting on this job. You can be sure that if Stein is awarded this order, it will be produced to your complete satisfaction.

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

SP/jk

ACCEPTED BY _____

_____ 19____

CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATERIAL PUBLISHED. The customer warrants that nothing the printer is required to reproduce is libelous or defamatory, or constitutes an invasion of privacy or unfair competition or violates or infringes any copyright, patent, design protection, trademark or other law, and agrees to indemnify and save the printer harmless from any and all such claims, and to reimburse the printer for all expenses incurred in the defense thereof, including court costs, attorney's fees and other expenses of investigation and trial or appeal, whether or not claims so asserted prove to have been well founded.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

~~3421 stewart avenue~~ • *hapeville, georgia* • *phone* ~~761-6631~~ 523-8011

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

196 Marietta St N.W. 30303

August 17, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Quotation to	
Description	Booklets "The Migrate Farmer"
Quantities	2,500 - 5,000 - 7,500
Size	5 1/2 x 8 1/2 Page Size, 28 Page plus cover
Paper and Materials	Body Stock 60# Offset Cover - 65# Cover
Art Work	Longino & Porter - Cover Only
Engravings	None
Composition	Longino & Porter
Process and Colors	Body one color - Cover One and Two Colors
Binding	Saddle Stitch
Special Packing	Bulk
Delivery	

need - Friday September

30 pp + cover
7,500
1000.00
one color body
two color ~~body~~ cover

~~2 color~~

One Color Body and Cover	2500	5000	7500
	$552.00	$800.00	$1036.00
One Color Body and Two Color Cover	2500	5000	7500
	$593.00	$856.00	$1113.00

28 pp + cover

Other Specifications 32 page - 2500 - $592.00 5000 - 840.00 7,500 - $1,036.00

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Tommy L. Walker Jr

TOMMY L. WALKER, JR.

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone 761-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

August 17, 1965

Quotation to
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Description Booklets "The Migrate Farmer"

Quantities 2,500 - 5,000 - 7,500

Size 5 1/2 x 8 1/2 Page Size, 28 Page plus cover

Paper and Materials Body Stock 60# Offset
Cover - 65# Cover

Art Work Longino & Porter - Cover Only

Engravings None

Composition Longino & Porter

Process and Colors Body one color - Cover One and Two Colors

Binding Saddle Stitch

Special Packing Bulk

Delivery

Prices

	2500	5000	7500
One Color Body and Cover	$552.00	$800.00	$1036.00
One Color Body and Two Color Cover	$593.00	$856.00	$1113.00

Other Specifications

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Tommy L. Walker Jr.

TOMMY L. WALKER, JR.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

August 18, 1965
Stein's 41st Year

Mr. Samuel Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Here is the information you requested, Mr. Adams, for printing your 32-page book.

Prices and specifications are as follows:

SIZE:	5 1/2 x 8 1/2"
PAGES:	32 plus cover
COLOR:	Inside - Printed in one color Cover - Lithographed in one color, front cover only. Other 3 pages blank.
PAPER:	Inside - 60 lb. White Wove Offset Cover - 65 lb. White Carnival Cover
TYPESETTING:	Stein will set all type.
ENGRAVINGS:	None
ART:	Stein will do pasteup art for front cover. All drawings, layouts or designs extra.
PRESSWORK:	Inside printed in black ink by letterpress. Cover printed in one color by offset lithography.

(Next page please)

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

QUOTATION

Stein
THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY | 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 ■ PHONE: AREA CODE 404 / 875-0421

BINDERY: Fold, saddle stitch and trim to 5 1/2 x 8 1/2"

QUANTITY & PRICE:

2,000	$691.37
3,000	791.10
5,000	947.20
7,500	1159.25

Additional for second color on front cover:

2,000	$26.80
3,000	30.50
5,000	35.22
7,500	42.00

Additional for 70 lb. Wove Offset on the inside:

2,000	$16.05
3,000	23.65
5,000	39.69
7,500	57.41

Trust this covers everything we discussed, Mr. Adams. I'm looking forward to printing this job for you and if I can be of further service please contact me.

Sincerely,

Sonny Paul

Sonny Paul

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

SP/jk

*Accepted by*_____

_____ *19*_____

Please read the standard terms and conditions on the reverse side carefully, as they are an integral portion of this contract.

August 25, 1965

Mr. Sonny Paul
The Stein Printing Company
2161 Monroe Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Mr. Paul:

Your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate for printing The Migrant Farmers manuscript is highly appreciated.

Regretfully, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we are giving this firm our order.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means our last, and certainly we will let you know when we have another.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

August 25, 1965

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Printing Company
302 Hayden Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

Your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate for printing The Migrant Farmers manuscript is highly appreciated.

Regretfully, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we are giving this firm our order.

I hasten to add that this is by no means our last job, and certainly we will let you know when we have another.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

August 25, 1965

Mr. Tommy L. Walker, Jr.
Longino and Porter, Inc.
196 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Walker:

Your help and cooperation in providing us with your firm's estimate for printing The Migrant Farmers manuscript is highly appreciated.

Regretfully, however, a lower bid was submitted by another firm, and we have given this firm our order.

I hasten to add that this job is by no means our last, and certainly we will let you know when we have another.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGNERS

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 LUCKIE STREET, NW • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JAckson 5-8654

August 13, 1965

Southern Regional Council
Mr. Samuel Adams
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

sent to Snow 8-25-65

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
2,000	"Migrant Farmers" Booklets (32 pp and cover) ± pages @ $11.31 per page	$ 440.50
	Plus second color on Cover	31.00
3,000	"Migrant Farmers" Booklets - ± pages @ $13.33	526.50
	Plus color	34.95
5,000	"Migrant Farmers" Booklets - ± pages @ $17.25	691.75
	Plus color	41.45
7,500	"Migrant Farmers" Booklets - ± pages @ $22.14	899.00
	Plus color	48.65
	Decision within 3 mos for reprint	947.65

SPECIFICATIONS

Page size 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, printed one color throughout. Insides on 70# Wove Offset, and covers on 65# White Beckett Cover. Cost of plates for cover are included. Reduction will be made if type only is used on covers.

We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Castleberry

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.
A. C. Castleberry

MEMORANDUM September 1, 1965

To: SAdams

From: LWDunbar

I noticed your letters to the unsuccessful bidders for the Coles pamphlet. This is a good idea. It should be standard practice also, and more important perhaps, to write a letter to the printer doing the job in which you make all of the conditions and specifications a matter of record. Mildred can show you samples of old letters of this kind.

Will you take care

LONGINO AND PORTER, INC.

3421 stewart avenue • hapeville, georgia • phone ~~761-6681~~ 523-8011-2

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

September 9, 1965

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth Street Atlanta, Georgia
Description	BOOKLETS
Quantities	2,000 - 3,000 - 5,000 - 7,500
Size	36 pages plus cover - 5 1/2 x 8 1/2 page size
Paper and Materials	Body, 60# Offset - Cover, 65# Cover
Art Work	None
Engravings	None
Composition	Longino & Porter
Process and Colors	Body one color, Cover two color
Binding	Saddle Stitch
Special Packing	Bulk
Delivery	10 days after copy is received
Prices	2,000 -------- $ 13.00 per page ---$ 520.00 3,000 ---------$ 16.00 per page ---$ 640.00 5,000 ---------$ 20.00 per page ---$800.00 7,500 ---------$ 26.00 per page ---$1,040.00
Other Specifications	Note prices are based on 40 pages which would include cover or extra page -

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet.

*Accepted*_____ *19*____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Tommy L. Walker Jr.

TOMMY LEE WALKER, JR.

November 22, 1965

Mr. Tommy Walker
Longino & Porter Printers
196 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Tommy:

As discussed, we want 3,000 copies of "Southern Justic: An Indictment" in offset with the same kind of cover as on the education desegregation report. We will expect the printed copies around Wednesday, December 1.

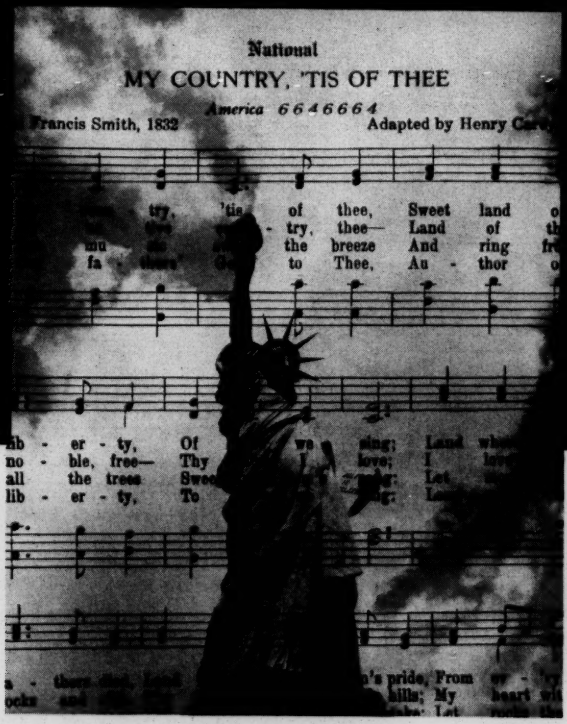
Thank you for your help with this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/pf

the RH



JULY

1963

THE RIGHT HAND

printing: the right hand of industry

WILLIAMS Printing COMPANY

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N.E. ATLANTA 5, GA.

FOURTH OF JULY ODE

Our fathers fought for Liberty,
They struggled long and well,
History of their deeds can tell —
But did they leave us free?

Are we free from vanity,
Free from pride, and free from self,
Free from love of power and pelf
From everything that's beggarly?

Are we free from stubborn will,
From low hate and malice small,
From opinion's tyrant thrall?
Are none of us our own slaves still?

Are we free to speak our thought,
To be happy, and be poor,
Free to enter Heaven's door,
To live and labor as we ought?

Are we then made free at last
From the fear of what men say,
Free to reverence Today,
Free from the slavery of the Past?

Our fathers fought for liberty,
They struggled long and well,
History of their deeds can tell —
But OURSELVES must set us free.

— ***James Russell Lowell***

What Kind of a "Nut" Is He?

He wants to run his own business.
He wants to select his own doctor.
He wants to make his own bargains.
He wants to buy his own insurance.
He wants to select his own reading matter.
He wants to provide for his own old age.
He wants to make his own contracts.
He wants to select his own charities.
He wants to educate his children as he wishes.
He wants to make his own investments.
He wants to select his own friends.
He wants to provide his own recreation.
He wants to compete freely in the market place.
He wants to grow by his own efforts.
He wants to profit from his own errors.
He wants to take part in the competition of ideas.
He wants to be a man of goodwill.

What kind of a nut is he?

He's an American, that's what kind!

Editorial advertisement in the Marysville, California Appeal-Democrat

What is America?

America means far more than a continent bounded by two oceans. It is more than pride of military power, glory in war, or in victory. It means more than vast expanse of farms, or great factories or mines, magnificent cities, or millions of automobiles and radios.

It is more even than the traditions of the great tide westward from Europe which pioneered the conquest of a continent.

It is more than our literature, our music, our poetry. Other nations have these things also.

Maybe the intangible we cannot describe lies in the personal experience and the living of each of us rather than in phrase, however inspiring. The meaning of our word "America" flows from one pure spring. The soul of our America is its freedom of mind and spirit in man. Here alone are the open windows through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit. Here alone is human dignity — not a dream, but an accomplishment. — *Hon. Herbert C. Hoover*

Truth is not a mere commodity to be used by sovereign individuals for their own self-chosen interests. Truth is a sovereign which has to be served in order to be possessed. When Pilate asked Jesus, "What is truth?" the Master did not deign to answer. Why try to explain truth to Pilate? He would not have followed it if he had seen it. He was merely a politician looking for an expedient way out of a predicament. If we would understand the truth, we must be willing to follow where it leads.

Work

Work brings man to life, sets him in motion. Work is man in action doing things. Nothing happens until people go to work. Work creates the world we live in.

The right attitude toward work multiplies achievement.

The art of work consists of what you think about your work, how you feel about your work and what you do about your work.

It is abolishing the concept of work as chains and slavery and seeing it as freedom to create and build and help.

It is striving to find work you can love, a job to which you can harness your heart.

It is idealizing your work, turning a job into a mission, a task into a career.

It is doing your present work so well that it will open doors to new opportunities. Tasks done at a high standard pave the way to bigger things.

It is glorifying your work, putting a halo around your job.

It is saying with the poet, Henry Van Dyke: "This is my work, my blessing, not my doom."

It is discovering the great healing power of work. If you are lonely . . . work! If you are worried or fearful . . . work! If you are discouraged or defeated . . . work! Work is the key to happiness.

It is working with enthusiasm, recognizing with Maxim Gorkl that "The game is not only worth the candle, it is worth the whole bonfire."

It is making your work, *you*. It is putting the stamp of your unique personality on the work you do. It is pouring your spirit into your task. It is making your work a reflection of your faith, your integrity, your ideals.

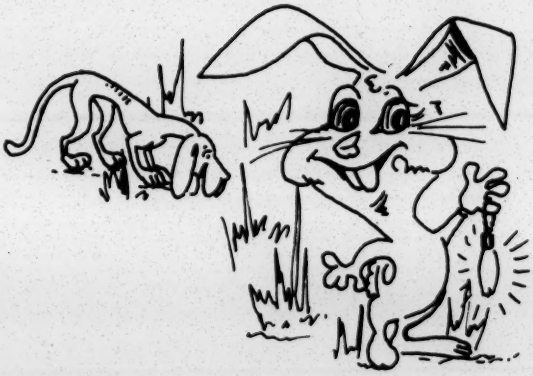
It is recognizing that work, not repose, is the *destiny* of man. It is only through work that you can express yourself and make a contribution to human progress.

It is going to your work as you go to worship, with a prayer of thankfulness and the aspiration to serve.

James W. Elliott said it all in nine words: "Work is life and good work is good life." — *Wilferd A. Peterson*

A RABBIT'S FOOT

means GOOD LUCK



for a rabbit, when he's outrunning the hounds.

A BLACK CAT

CROSSING YOUR PATH

is BAD LUCK

for the cat, if he gets run over in that path.

Neither a Rabbit's Foot nor a Black Cat can be depended on to bring good luck or bad fortune to you or your business.

Carefully planned and persistent advertising can be depended upon to build and maintain a sound business. We have the experience and know-how to create such an advertising program for you.

Let a GOOD ADVERTISING PROGRAM be your Lady Luck.

WILLIAMS
Printing Company
345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N. E. • ATLANTA 5, GA.
PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS
CEDAR 7-1684

Prove All Things;
Hold Fast That Which is Good

This is another year of national infirmity; civilizations become ill just like people; and like sick people, they become diseased, decadent and deceased. The History books are full of dead civilizations, like Greece and Rome, Macedonia and Carthage. Philosophers have filled pages explaining the fall of ancient cities, but they are all agreed that when any nation loses its ideals, that driving power which gave it growth, when it becomes cynical toward those fundamental ideals, national corruption breeds defeatism, and Nature calls the undertaker.

No one doubts that Uncle Sam is a very sick patient; for more than twenty years he has labored in the fetid, poisoned, suffering atmosphere of "Social Gospel", "Regimentation", "Security" and other Marxian distempers; his wealth has been wasted in a dysentary of global distribution; political quacks have aggravated his misery; he has been fed on a diet of untruths and uncertainties and *there is no health in him.* He has forgotten the only prescription from one of the greatest teachers of all time that will cure him: *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*

Dr. Washington and Dr. Jefferson and others of their staff invented this simple remedy way back in 1776 A. D.:

> *"We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."*

Under this treatment, America became the greatest nation in the world. Think of the Pilgrim Fathers battling the rigors of New England winters, the heroes of the Alamo, the prairie schooners on the wilds of Kansas, the gold rush to California. They pioneered progress under free enterprise — the mines

the steel mills, better homes, autos, radios, and the myriads of necessities and luxuries unknown elsewhere in the world. Those Pilgrims, those heroes and those early settlers *proved all things;* it is up to us to *hold that which is good.*

Let us look at the record: Have patriotism and religion been proven? Have Constitutional government and the right of private property been proven? Have the laws of inheritance and honorable family life been proven? Then let us all unite to *maintain* them. Let us fight the moral pestilence of "regimentation", "planned economy", "the Welfare State", "Progressive Education" and all of the miasma and pollution of foreign ideologies.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

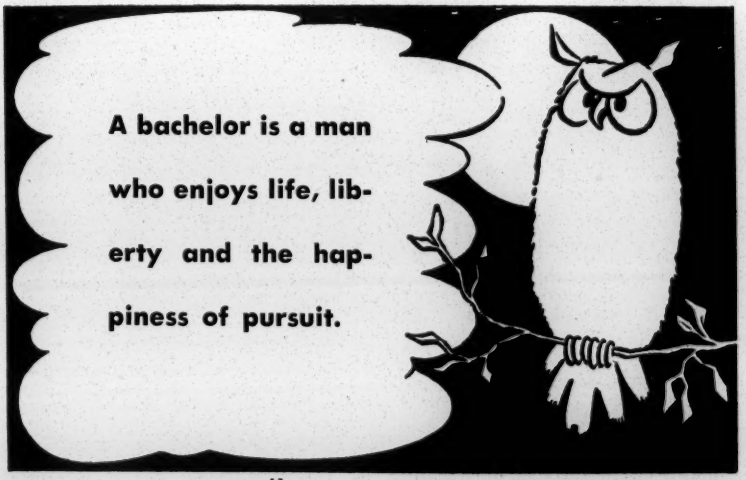
Keep on Pounding

The story is told of a salesman, noted for his success through persistance, who explained that whenever the going got hard, he would go out and watch an old stonemason at work. Each blow seemed to make no impression on the rock, but the mason kept pounding until it finally split, not from the last blow, but from the continual pounding.

So it is in Life. Maybe what you do may not seem very important, but keep on pounding and soon your efforts, added to the efforts of many others, will result in accomplishments far beyond the capacity of your single feeble blow.

Gullible People

Is it only in America that an elected official can tax you nearly to bankruptcy, waste your taxes in supporting a swollen, wasteful program of public spending and then get reelected by convincing you that he is doing more for you than you can do for yourself? Maybe I am wrong, but I always thought it was a lot cheaper to do a job yourself than it is to hire someone else to do it. Especially if the man you hire knows less about the job than you do. — *Rotary Magazine*


A bachelor is a man who enjoys life, liberty and the happiness of pursuit.

MARCEY

Take It From Me

"He that steals my purse steals trash, but he that filches from me my good name takes that which enriches him not but which makes me poor indeed."

Shakespeare

There is a great deal more to a "good name" than most of us realize. Pride in the family name holds generation after generation to a moral standard.

Many a child, who has been named after a great man in history, has literally lifted himself to the mountain peaks of success on the sheer strength of the name he feels he must live up to.

To inherit a "good name" is to get off to a good start in life, but it is up to us to protect that name above all else that we possess. It is the one great gift we can pass on to our own children.

Mark C. Pope

The Tiger's Tale

Accused: "Judge, I don't know what to do."

Judge: "Why, how's that?'

Accused: "I swore to tell the truth but everytime I try, some lawyer objects."

FINE EXAMPLE

Father: "Mary, you must stop using those bad words."

Small daughter: "Shakespeare uses them."

Father: "Well, don't play with him anymore."

JUST GOLF

St. Peter and St. Thomas were playing golf one heavenly afternoon and St. Peter's first drive was a hole in one. St. Thomas stepped to the tee and also scored a hole in one.

"All right, now," said St. Peter, "Let's cut out the miracles and play golf."

QUIT CLAIM DEED

"Hey," cried Satan to the new arrival, "you act as if you owned the place."

"I do," came the reply. "My wife gave it to me before I died."

THE FASTER THE BETTER

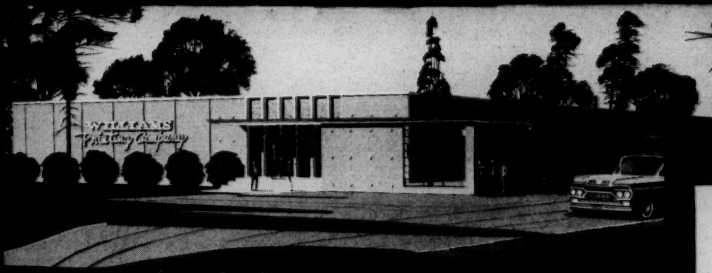
The Club women were peppering the explorer with questions following a dramatic lecture on his adventures in Malaya.

"Is it true," asked one, "that wild beasts in the jungle won't harm you if you carry a torch?"

"That depends," replied the explorer, "on how fast you carry it."

Blaming Your Faults On Your Nature Doesn't Change The Nature Of Your Faults

The Right Hand



You choose the service you want . . .

We can start from copy and create original layouts and artwork . . . or we can develop the job from your rough layouts . . . or, you supply the art and mechanicals, we'll take it from there.

WILLIAMS
Printing Company

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GA.

CEdar 7-1684

Complete WILLIAMS Services

Sales and Service
Layout and Design
Typography • Artwork
Camera and Platemaking
Offset • Letterpress
Bindery Finishing
Packing, Delivery and Mailing

Catalogs • Booklets • Folders • Box Wraps
Labels • Inserts • Programs • Publications
Streamers • Broadsides • Calendars • Brochures
Point of Purchase Displays • Process Color Work
Direct Mail Programs • House Organs
Insurance Policies • Planographing
Office Forms • Plastic Binding

WILLIAMS

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY

345 PEACHTREE HILLS AVE., N. E.

ATLANTA 5, GA.

Gentlemen:
I am interested in further information on the following services:

_____

_____

☐ **My scratch pad supply is low!**

☐ **The name, title or address on your mailing stencil is not correct. Please change to the following:**

FIRM _____

NAME _____

TITLE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY AND STATE _____

TELEPHONE _____

Mail this POSTAGE FREE CARD TODAY!

WILLIAMS

Higgins McArthur's Bid on Migrant publication

2,000...1 color...$960.

2 color 1040

3,000... $1,067
$1154

5,000.... $1,225
1,320

7,500.....$1,420
1,526

Memo from PAT WATTERS

Les: ✓ File

I ordered 2,000 of the 1 color, and we are supposed to bill ADL, % Stan Waxler for ½ of the $347.50. Delivery in about 10 days, with 1,000 of them to be shipped to ADL from the printing plant. They will bill us for shipping costs which I assume we can pass on to ADL. ok

Pat.

✓ PW - did you also order Henderson? No-

PAW

PW

MA: petitions

Frontey — PB

I should think

1 000 would be

enough (we don't

want to overstock,

whatever the economy

of purchase), but

check with Paul.

Also let's get the

one-color, cheaper job

Memo

from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

6-22-65

Cales

1,000 $690.00
2,000 $800.00

McKenzie, at Higgins-McArthur - price on reprinting Cales.

Ja-5-8654

2,000 $391.50
$313.50
1,000
78.00
only for another thousand

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGNERS

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 LUCKIE STREET, NW • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JAckson 5-8654

July 2, 1965

Mrs. Montez Allbright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1,000	Copies "The Desegregation of Southern Schools"	
	with 2 color cover	$313.50
	with 1 color cover	272.50
2,000	Copies "The Desegregation of Southern Schools"	
	with 2 color cover	391.50
	with 1 color cover	347.50

SPECIFICATIONS

Cover can be run in blue only causing all type to appear white with the savings indicated above. Page size 6 x 9. 32 pages plus cover. Cover 100 lb. Wove Offset. Pages 60 lb. Offset. ~~Side~~ Saddle stitch. To be exact reprint.

We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

John Rogers

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.
John Rogers

2,000 $ 391.50
1,000 313.50
$ 78.00

Leo, do you want to get estimate for as high as 10,000 copies

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SPECIFICATIONS FOR A BOOKLET ENTITLED:

"The Economic Status of the Negro in the Nation and the South"

NUMBER OF COPIES: estimates on cost for runs of 5,000 and 7500 respectively

SIZE: 8½" x 11"

PAPER STOCK: 60 lb. Prinetone (Warren's)

TEXT TYPE: Two 20-pica columns per page
10 on 12 pt. Times Roman

HEADINGS: News Gothic Condensed and Times Roman

SUB-HEADS: Sparton Heavy, 12 point

TABLES*: Sparton Heavy, 8 point (Suggest 8 on 9 pt. Times Roman with 10 pt. Sparton Heavy Heads)

BINDING: Self-cover
Saddle-stitch
Flush trim

*Tables will be set one or two-column widths, as required.

File Mailing Lists

MEMORANDUM January 24, 1966

TO: ELewis, JShortt, JSmith, et.al.

From: MMJohnson

Our new Board Members, elected in November and whose names should now be added to our mailing list for Members, are as follows:

Mr. J. William Becker (69)
State Director
Arkansas AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsaiman Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Donald Hollowell (69)
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Henry Lehmann (66)
194 Windward Circle
Ormond Beach, Florida

Mr. William A. Maness (69)
603 ~~703-709~~ Florida Theatre Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. Hollis F. Price (69)
President
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Tom Ragland (69)
3821 Abbott Martin Road
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Claude Ramsey (69
President
Mississippi AFL-CIO
133 South Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi

LIFE FELLOWS - elected Nov. 1965

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Mr. Paul E. Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.
(there is no need for a new stencil to be made on Mr. Green -- he was already on the Board but because his term expired, he was made a Life Fellow

Memo - 2.
Jan. 24, 1966

Several persons were rotated off the Board in November, but PA wishes that their stencils be transferred to Category 7 (Research) so that they may continue to receive our publications. They are:

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
Presiding Bishop
The Protestant Episcopal Church
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York
(moved from region)

The Rev. Duncan Hunter
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
8705 Camille Drive, S. E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Southern Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Austin Kimball
3131 S. W. First Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Mr. Z. A. Looby
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. A. M. Secrest
5009 Waggaman Circle
McLean, Virginia

Mr. James W. Silver
Department of History
Notre Dame University
South Bend, Indiana
(moved from region)

Mr. Patrick J. Owens
Editor
Detroit Free Press
Detroit, Michigan
(moved from region)

James Colston + Sled. Wright

CHANGE OF ADDRESS:
(as of 1/24/66)

Mr. James E. Youngdahl
Attorney
711 West Third Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

(old address: The Tower Bldg. Suite 1330)

✓ N.S 5/66 (PA) Reviewed 1/17/69

✓ on FCR

MEMORANDUM February ~~28~~ 16, 1966

To: ELewis, JShortt, JSmith — including New South
Checked 3/8/66
okayed by PA

From: MMJ

The following persons are to be added to our mailing lists to receive our pamphlets and publications:

Mr. Frank Bowles
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York

Mr. Marvin Feldman
The Ford Foundation

Mr. Marshall Robinson
The Ford Foundation

Mr. Carl Borgmann
The Ford Foundation

Mr. James Armsey
The Ford Foundation

Mr. Eugene S. Staples
The Ford Foundation

Check these two to be sure they're not already on -- if not, then add them.

~~Mr. Paul Ylvisaker~~
~~The Ford Foundation~~

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation

Mr. G. W. Griffiths, Edu. Div.

Mr. Wm. Pincus — in The Ford Foundation

Mr. Alan D. Ferguson

Jane Kinchelope

~~Thomas H. Vaughn~~

PA --

In this same connection, on Friday I asked Bernice to give me the Foundation stencil tray which I reviewed -- this hasn't been done for a long time, and it badly needs up-dating. ~~Would you give me a minute~~ May we look at this together?

mmj

FORT PAYNE, ALA. 7,029

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF POLICY AND PLANNING

File Ford Foundation 1966

February 11, 1966

Rec'd 2/14/66

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was good to see you here yesterday. I wanted to remind you of our conversation about putting various people here in the Foundation on the mailing list for your pamphlets and other publications. These people should include Frank Bowles, Marvin Feldman, Paul Ylvisaker, Christopher Edley, Marshall Robinson, Carl Borgmann, James Armsey, and myself. I also wanted to ask you for a copy of that report on southern business attitudes about training and employment that you mentioned during luncheon. Just Report

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene S. Staples

O - not on as of 7/15/66

OO Not on FCR 1/17/66

MEMORANDUM February 23, 1966

TO: ELewis, JShortt, J. Smith

FROM: MMJohnson

The following Foundations should be added to our mailing lists:

O Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot D. Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York
NS

O Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California
NS

O Mr. Randolph R. Compton
The Compton Trust OO
20 Exchange Place
New York, New York
NS

O Mr. H. Carl McCall
Project Director
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
NS

O Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York
NS

O Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
NS

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

O Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
NS

Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh,
Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue, N.Y.

O Mr. H. K. Hochschild
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York
NS

OO Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Educ.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
NS

Mr. Robert C. Bates
Secretary
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York
L.

O Mr. Arthur Singer, Jr.
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.
589 Fifth Avenue
N. York, N. York
NS

Memorandum - 2.
February 28, 1966
To: ELewis, JShortt, JSmith

The following foundations are on our ~~all~~ mailing list, and should remain on it, but several corrections are noted below:

NS ✓ New York Foundation * on FCR — done
4 West 58th Street
New York
(Please delete Sol Markoff and add Mr. D. John Heyman, Secretary) added

NS New-Land Foundation (in) need to direct to Mr. Wolf
200 Park Avenue
New York
(Please direct mail here to Mr. Robert Wolf, President) Not done 1/17/67

NS Anna H. and Eliz. M. Chace Fund Not on FCR 1/17/67
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
(Delete Miss Sara R. Benson and add Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom, Secretary)

NS Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York
(Dr. Leland DeVinney's title should be changed from Deputy Director to ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR) not done
(A stencil should be made for MISS FLORA M. RHIND at the Rockefeller Foundation -- I have destroyed the one for her addressed to the General Education Board)

NS

(Derick Freeman — in Rockefeller Brothers Fund)

(Montgomery Bradley — in Rockefeller Bros. Fund)

MEMORANDUM 3/3/66

to: ELewis

from: MMJohnson

Ed,

Attached is a list of names which Paul has marked. He'd like each person whose name he has marked to be sent a copy of our winter NEW SOUTH. He says that no letter of transmittal is necessary.

see list of Participants at 1966 Civil Rights Conf. at Notre Dame Elkhart Feb. 18-20, 1966

Also:

please enter complimentary, 1 year subscriptions to NEW SOUTH for the following persons:

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
(at his home address: 825 - 6th Street, S. W.)
Washington, D. C. 20024

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

PRE-REGISTERED ROSTER OF PARTICIPANTS

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION CONFERENCE
February 18 - 20, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Arnold Aronson, Executive Director
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Professor Carl Auerbach
University of Minnesota Law School
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Berl Bernhard, Attorney
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Wiley Branton
Special Assistant to Atty. General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Professor Thomas Broden
University -Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Vernon Eagle, Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

John Feild
U.S.Conference of Mayors
1707 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Potomac Institute
1501-18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Professor G.W. Foster, Jr.
University of Wisconsin Law School
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Eli Ginzberg, Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Professor Robert Harris
University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Vivian Henderson
President, Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Frank S. Horne
N.Y.Housing & Redevelopment Board
2 Lafayette Street
New York, New York 10007

Father William Lewers, C.S.C.
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Burke Marshall, General Counsel
International Business Machines
Armunk, New York

Joseph O'Meara, Dean
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

John de J. Pemberton, Executive Dir.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Professor Dan Pollitt
Univ. of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John Silard, Attorney
1631 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

William Taylor, Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
17th and Pennsylvania, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Professor Daniel Thompson
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

John Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

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MEMORANDUM April 7, 1966

to: Ed Lewis

from: PA.

Please put the following personx on our mailing list (Category #7 - Contact-Research):

Mr. Calvin Kytle
430 "M" Street, Apt. 605
Washington, D. C.

(note: He is being sent a copy of the spring, 1966 N. S.)

MEMORANDUM April 12, 1966

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please send a copy of winter issue NEW SOUTH to Mrs. Helen Furman (label attached.)

STATE OF ALABAMA

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

File - Materials file
N.S.

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

KM please handle
6-13-66
K.M

April 12, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Here are a few names and addresses in this section who might be interested in NEW SOUTH:

Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Percy
The Bayou Road
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. and Mrs. Roger Generelly
The Bayou Road
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Dyer
1077 Fairview
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. and Mrs. Joe Wroten
224 Primrose
Greenville, Mississippi

Mrs. Jesse Brent
Highway 1 North
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. and Mrs. Bern Keating
The Bayou Road
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. and Mrs. McClain Bowman
Wildwood Plantation
Greenville, Mississippi

Mrs. Jack Burke
177 Bermuda Drive
Greenville, Mississippi

Cordially,

Hodding Carter

Hodding Carter

HC:IL

brochure + new letter mailed 5-2-66 KM

file

April 25, 1966

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
The First Methodist Church
72 Lake Morton Drive
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Caxton:

Thank you for giving us the suggestions of persons who may be interested in subscribing to New South. They will be sent an invitation this week.

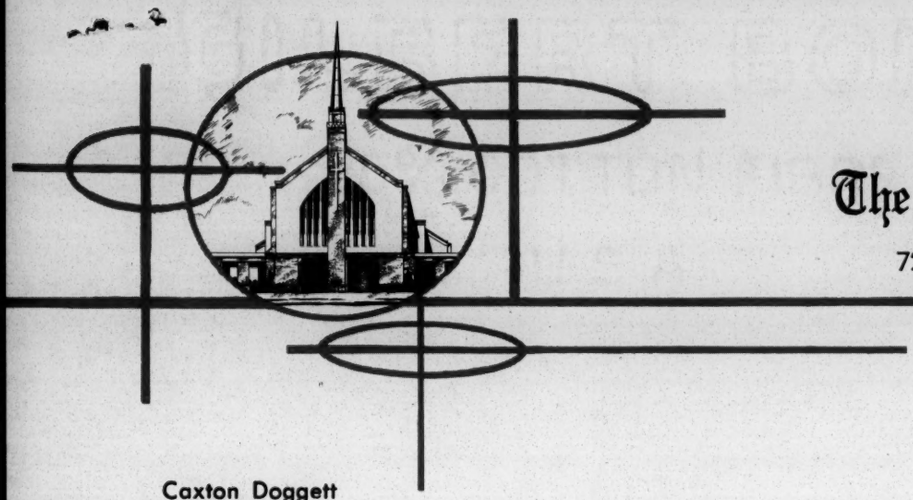
Wish we saw more of you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(3)



The First Methodist Church

72 Lake Morton Drive - Lakeland, Florida

April 21, 1966

Caxton Doggett
Pastor

Duane R. Zoller
Asst. Pastor

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am glad to send the following names in answer to your request for a list of people who might be interested in subscribing to New South:

Dr. Herman Reissig
1615 Elm Road
Lakeland, Florida

Mrs. Cleo Thomas
926 S. Mississippi
Lakeland, Florida

Rev. Don Walsh
Methodist Temple
Lakeland, Florida

Charles Straubel
2404 New Jersey Road
Lakeland, Florida

John Sargeant
P. O. Box 17
Lakeland, Florida

Lanier Upshaw
419 E. Maxwell
Lakeland, Florida

Dr. Richard Burnette
956 Harvard Road
Lakeland, Florida

Mrs. D. B. Clark
1121 McDonald
Lakeland, Florida

Don Clayton
947 S. Johnson
Lakeland, Florida

Howard Consier
1518 Handley Blvd.
Lakeland, Florida

Marvin Cook
1639 Salesberry
Lakeland, Florida

O. B. Fanning
2117 W. End
Lakeland, Florida

Archie Fowler
1117 Denton
Lakeland, Florida

Dr. Ben Hardin
2 Brooklane
Lakeland, Florida

Dr. Gordon Heath
1707 Sims Place
Lakeland, Florida

Homer Hooks
2318 Bristol
Lakeland, Florida

Percy Morris
519 E. McDonald
Lakeland, Florida

Mrs. W. C. Norwell
606 W. Patterson
Lakeland, Florida

Miss Elsie Parker
417 So. Lake
Lakeland, Florida

Vernon Peterson
1505 Fern Place
Lakeland, Florida

Mrs. Marquis Pickard
506 W. Maxwell
Lakeland, Florida

Judge Sherman Smith
Vero Beach, Florida

Sincerely,

Caxton

Caxton Doggett

mw

Ed Lewis

File ~~Personnel~~ Personnel J. Smith

April 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

The following are several comments about your memorandum of April 18. I hope that shortly we can have a meeting to determine what has been done in the way of suggested follow-up here and what else should be done. Specific reactions for the moment which will allow us to continue in this are as follows:

1. Assistant-Secretary-Treasurer. We do not yet know what will be done in the way of finding additional help for Ruth but we realize something must be done and that you cannot provide it and do the present and expanding work as well. In the interim, I have asked Thad Olive to do as much as he can to help Ruth and hope this will suffice.

2. New South Mailing List. Certainly this continues to have our priority and you should have as much help as can be provided. I agree this must be help on a regular basis and not catch as catch can. In this regard we should have it understood with Judy that for the remainder of her stay with us she will devote a minimum of two hours per day to this. We cannot cut her off from other training interests and possibilities, but I do hope that she can devote a minimum of two hours per day and on occasion more.

   Katharine is very willing to be of any help subject to all of the other demands made on her, but given the loss of a few days I see no reason why she cannot devote an hour a day to this work. Please speak to her about it and see if this cannot be arranged.

   Ed Lewis, will you please speak to Joan Browning and Pat Franklin and their supervisors and see if the same arrangements cannot be made. It occurs to me that Joan should have a little free time on a regular basis and that Pat should

have some time when Ed Stanfield is away from the office.

3. Certainly once a week isn't too often to have the phamphlet room and the whole mail room straightened out, and certainly a step ladder should be available. Ed, can you work this out with Bernice and Will?

4. I agree we are not doing the best job possible in some of our research information requests. This is a responsibility of mine that I shall attempt to work with.

5. The matter of plates and records and some two people to work together must be done obviously, and should be a part of our follow-up discussion. The same is true of setting up a systematic way to get from each staffer their recommendations and checks on the various categories.

All of the above suggestions are sound ones and are obvious basic needs for any further reorganization that we undertake, and it seems to me it would be good to go ahead and do these things prior to any further discussions on more elaborate planning.

Thank you for the suggestions. That is just what we must have if we ever get out of this mess.

cc: Ruth Alexander
Ed Lewis

Free - Materials files. "Mailing lists" (If no such file - please set up one)

April 27, 1966

Mr. Charles Houston
Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation
1240 West Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charlie:

Enclosed is a group of names to be put on plates. We would appreciate your prompt attention, and please be sure that they are returned to my attention. Please Zip Code all addresses that are not already done.

Best.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Enclosure

March 31, 1966

Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation
1240 W. Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Charles Houston

Dear Charlie:

I am delaying paying your corrected Invoice No. 061-823 as we have discovered a number of duplications, and as soon as we finish our checking we will return them to you for corrected billing. It is my hope that this can be completed sometime next week.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

file Materials file
N.S.

April 27, 1966

Mr. Jack Davis
Florida Council of Churches
100 Liberty Street
Orlando, Florida 32801

Dear Jack:

I am sorry that we are completely out of everything but file copies of the first issue of NEW SOUTH. However, our Spring issue will be available in approximately three or four weeks and we can supply you with some at that time.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis
Executive Assistant

EL/km

On list of subscribers rec'd last issue

April 22, 1966

Mr. H. S. Hank Brown, President
Texas AFL-CIO
Box MM, Capitol Station
308 W. 11th Street
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Hank:

Thank you very much for your good response to our request for possible subscribers to NEW SOUTH. We are sending those persons you suggested information about the magazine this week. If you would care to follow this up with a note of your own that, too, we would appreciate very much.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Hold to send 2nd Issue New South

(4)

TEXAS AFL-CIO

Box MM, Capitol Station 308 W. 11th Austin, Texas 78711 GR 7-6195 GR 2-0600

April 15, 1966

H. S. HANK BROWN
President

ROY R. EVANS
Secretary-Treasurer

VICE PRESIDENTS

MILAM C. WHITEHURST
1206 Berry Lane, Longview

J. W. RICKS
2312 Ave. E., Nederland

W. C. WELLS
7811 Harrisburg, Houston

DON McCULLAR
P.O. Box 18242, Houston

PAUL TEAGUE
Box 1429, Texas City

WILLIAM DARBY
626 John Lee, Corpus Christi

REX D. BALLARD
109 Lexington, San Antonio

GEORGE MINER
718 NW 7th, Grand Prairie

WALLACE REILLY
P.O. Box 15866, Dallas

J. W. SIFFORD
532 Norwood, Hurst

J. W. JACKSON
705 Travis, Wichita Falls

E. F. JERGINS
1010 Lavaca, Rm 316, Austin

FRED CRADDOCK
3600 Fleetwood, Amarillo

TOM BOOTH
314 W. 46th, Odessa

JAMES E. FIORETTI
1021 E. Missouri, El Paso

HENRY VILLARREAL
404 McDavitt, Brownsville

D. L. WILLIS
1406 S. Terrell, Midland

HERMAN WHATLEY
3909 So. 1st., Abilene

J. A. McMAHON
P.O. Box 9468, Houston

ROBERT N. BROWN
1303 E. 35th, Odessa

JOHN T. GUY
1500 Jefferson, Port Arthur

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HENRY MUNOZ, JR.
Equal Opportunity

HAROLD G. TATE
Education

MRS. ROSA WALKER
Women's Activities

FRANCIS J. DUGGAN
Research

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I note yours of March 28 and I share your views that the New South should be given broader distribution.

Therefore, I am enclosing a list of the executive board of Texas AFL-CIO and a list of the Secretaries of the area councils. These are the key people throughout the State.

If you will let me know when you send out the complimentary copy, I will be glad to do a follow up and urge that they subscribe.

Sincerely,

Hank

H. S. Hank Brown
President

hsb/lmn
opeiu 298
afl-cio

6-13-66
KM

4-22-66
New South brochure mailed w/ return add envelope & email letter
KM

Build Texas—Go Union

TEXAS AFL-CIO
308 West 11th Street
Austin, Texas

Telephone:
GReenwood 7-6195
GReenwood 2-0600
a/c 512

Mailing Address:
P.O.Box MM, Capitol Station
78711

OFFICERS

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President

ROY R. EVANS
Secretary-Treasurer

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Sherman A. Miles, Legislative	GR-6-5566
Lyman Jones, Public Relations	GR-8-1284
H. G. Tate, Education and Research	GR-7-6195
Henry Munoz, Jr., Equal Opportunity	GR-7-6195
Mrs. Rosa Walker, Women's Activities	GR-7-6195
Frank Duggan, Research	GR-7-6195
Sam Houston Clinton, Legal Counsel, 308 West 11th, Room 205	GR-6-8763

Lester Graham, AFL-CIO Regional Director, 1318 Continental National Bank Building, Fort Worth, Texas ED-5-3657
Walter Gray, Director Area 8 COPE, 3123 Talisman Drive, Dallas, Texas CH-7-0446

****

VICE-PRESIDENTS

DISTRICT	NAME	ADDRESS	A/C TELEPHONE
1	Milam C. Whitehurst (CWA)	1206 Berry Lane, Longview, Texas	214 PL-3-3000
2	J. W. (Bill) Ricks (OCAW)	2312 Avenue E, Nederland, Texas	713 RA-2-0952
3	W. C. (Willie) Wells (ILA)	7811 Harrisburg, Houston, Texas	713 WA-3-2564
	Don McCullar (SCME)	P.O.Box 18242, Houston, Texas	713 WA-8-3738
4	Paul Teague (IUOE)	Box 1429, Texas City, Texas	713 WI-8-2001
5	Bill Darby (IBEW)	626 John Lee St., Corpus Christi, Tex	512 UL-3-9186
6	Rex D. Ballard (BWU)	109 Lexington, San Antonio, Texas	512 CA-5-7381
7	Wallace Reilly (ITU)	~~1710 South Harwood~~, Dallas, Texas (Mail: P.O.Box ~~897~~) 15866	214 HA-8-8385
	George Miner (UAW)	718 N.W.7th, Grand Prairie, Texas	214 AN-2-4864
8	J. W. Sifford (TWU)	532 Norwood, Hurst, Texas	817 BU-2-3536
9	J. W. Jackson (UBC)	705 Travis, Wichita Falls, Texas	817 322-1601
10	E. F. (Blondie) Jergins (BLFE)	1010 Lavaca, Room 316, Austin, Texas	512 GR-8-9221
11	Fred Craddock (CWA)	3600 Fleetwood, Amarillo, Texas	806 FL-6-3600
12	Tom Booth (IUOE)	314 W. 46th Street, Odessa, Texas	915 EM-6-5940
13	James E. Fioretti (CWA)	1021 E. Missouri, El Paso, Texas	915 532-1164
14	Henry Villarreal (IBEW)	404 McDavitt, Brownsville, Texas	512 LI-6-1958
		Harlingen, Texas	512 GA-3-5038
CWA	D.L. Willis	1406 S. Terrell, Midland, Texas	915 MU-3-3151
IBEW	Herman Whatley	3909 South 1st, Abilene, Texas	915 OR-4-9584
IUOE	J. A. McMahon	P.O.Box 9468, Houston, Texas	713 WA-3-9379
OCAW	John T. Guy	1500 Jefferson Dr., Pt.Arthur, Tex	713 YU-2-9471
UAPP	Robert N. Brown	1303 E. 35th St., Odessa, Texas	915 FE-2-4495

oeiu 298
afl-cio
9/65

ABILENE-SWEETWATER CLC
Elaine Davis, Secretary
1702 Rosewood
Abilene, Texas

AMARILLO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
L. A. Wilson, Secretary
212 W. 7th Street
Amarillo, Texas

[redacted] AFL-CIO COUNCIL
Mrs. Floy Shafer, Secretary
4514 Ramsey
Austin, Texas

COASTAL BEND CENTRAL LABOR CL.
William H. Darby, Secretary
626 John Lee Street
Corpus Christi, Texas

DALLAS AFL-CIO COUNCIL
Gene Freeland, Secretary
1727 Young Street
Dallas, Texas

DENISON LABOR TRADES COUNCIL
C. R. Duckworth, Secretary
312 W. Chestnut
Denison, Texas

[redacted]

FORT BEND COUNTY COPE
B. J. White, Secretary-Treas.
510 Brooks Street
Sugar Land, Texas

[redacted]

[redacted]
J. [redacted], Secretary
[redacted]
Longview, Texas

GREENVILLE CENTRAL LABOR CL.
John Little, Secretary
4118 Cordell
Greenville, Texas

HARRIS COUNTY AFL-CIO COUNC
Don Horn, Secretary
2704 Sutherland
Houston, Texas

[redacted]
[redacted], Secretary
[redacted]
Big Spring, Texas

[redacted]
[redacted], Secretary
[redacted]
[redacted], Texas

LUBBOCK CENTRAL LABOR COUNC
Walter J. Allison, Ex. Secy
2002 Avenue J
Lubbock, Texas 79405

LUFKIN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
Herman Parrish, Secretary
Route 2 Box 570
Lufkin, Texas

[redacted] CL.

ODESSA CENTRAL LABOR UNION
S. E. Furlow, Secretary
2020 E. 8th Street
Odessa, Texas

[redacted] COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR CL.
[redacted], Secy-Treas.
[redacted]
[redacted], Texas

PARIS CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
[redacted], Secretary
[redacted]
Paris, Texas

B. J. Barnett
427 Parr ave.

SABINE AREA CENTRAL LABOR (
Frank Arnaud, Secretary
P. O. Box 3437
Port Arthur, Texas

SAN ANTONIO AFL-CIO COUNCIL
George Eichler, Secretary
109 Lexington Avenue, Room 202
San Antonio, Texas

SHERMAN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
James H. Adlof, Secretary
Box 722
Sherman, Texas

SMITH COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR
C. W. Sessions, Secy.-Trea
1118 W. 4th
Tyler, Texas

SAN ANTONIO AFL-CIO COUNCIL
Jack Martin, Treasurer
~~121 Marsh Street~~ 4798 Lee Ave
San Antonio, Texas

TARRANT COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Cliff Sparks, Secretary
2914 E. Rosedale, Room 202
Fort Worth, Texas

TOP OF TEXAS CLC
F. L. Hill, Secy.-Treasurer
P. O. Box 483
Borger, Texas

WEBB COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Martiniano Bazan, Secretary
409 Candlewood Road
Laredo, Texas

WICHITA FALLS TRADES & LABOR CL.
H. M. Watson, Secretary
1403½ Burnett
Wichita Falls, Texas

GALVESTON COUNTY AFL-CIO COUNC
A. G. Goodson, Secretary
P. O. Box 1429
Texas City, Texas

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ABILENE-SWEETWATER CLC
[illegible] D. Doss, President
[illegible]9 South 1st
Abilene, Texas

Austin
~~CAPITOL AREA~~ AFL-CIO COUNCIL
A. C. (Irish) Matthews, Pres.
8409 Kromer
Austin, Texas

[redacted]

EL PASO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
James Funk, President
212 Mardi Gras
El Paso, Texas

[redacted]

GREATER EAST TEXAS CLC
M. L. Anglin, President
106 Vine
Longview, Texas

A. E. Davies
LUBBOCK CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
~~[illegible]~~, President
~~[illegible]~~ 516 N. Ash St.
~~[illegible]~~, Texas Lubbock

Archie Boatright
PARIS CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
~~[illegible]~~, President
~~[illegible]~~ Street
Paris, Texas 244 W. 28th

SHERMAN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
W. F. Purdom, President
1007 N. Cleveland
Sherman, Texas

[redacted]

TOP OF TEXAS CLC
V. E. Kisinger, President
407 Dallas Street
Borger, Texas

AMARILLO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
Fred Craddock, President
3600 Fleetwood
Amarillo, Texas

DALLAS AFL-CIO COUNCIL
Wallace Reilly, President
P. O. Box 15866
Dallas, Texas

FORT BEND COUNTY COPE
Lloyd Tyer, President
122 - 2nd Street
Sugar Land, Texas

Charter filed 2-10-66
GREENVILLE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
J. O. Follis, President
2810 Walnut
Greenville, Texas

HOWARD COUNTY COPE
H. D. Stewart, President
1002 - B 11th Place
Big Spring, Texas

McLENNAN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
George Vowel, President
P. O. Box 81
McGregor, Texas

SABINE AREA CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Harry Hubbard, President
P. O. Box 548
Port Neches, Texas

SMITH COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Richard Schaefer, President
1420 E. Travis
Tyler, Texas

WEBB COUNTY CLC
Ramiro J. Ramirez, President
2219 Elm Street
Laredo, Texas

LUFKIN CENTRAL LABOR CL.
James E. Moore, President
613 Lafayette
Lufkin, Texas

COASTAL BEND CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Oscar Reyna, President
1010 S. Alameda
Corpus Christi, Texas

DENISON LABOR TRADES COUNCIL
Bernard E. Perry, President
719 West Hull
Denison, Texas

GALVESTON COUNTY AFL-CIO
T. M. Townsend, President
2113 - 43rd
Galveston, Texas

HARRIS COUNTY AFL-CIO
Harry Burk, President
911 Ogilvie
Houston, Texas

~~LOWER RIO GRANDE VALLEY CLC~~
~~A. V. (Gus) Gianfala, President~~
~~P. O. Box 310~~
~~Brownsville, Texas~~ Revoked Charter 11-65

ODESSA CENTRAL LABOR UNION
D. L. Willis, President
1406 S. Terrell
Midland, Texas

SAN ANTONIO AFL-CIO
Joe Winters, President
367 Sandalwood
San Antonio, Texas

TARRANT COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR CL.
Delbert Adams, President
2914 E. Rosedale, Room 202
Fort Worth, Texas

WICHITA FALLS TRADES & LABOR CL.
~~[illegible] Griffin~~, President
~~[illegible]~~ Jack Burton
Wichita Falls, Texas

2/5

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

file Materials file N.S.

Livingstone College

Salisbury, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

(4)

May 10, 1966

TO: Southern Regional Council

FROM: Livingstone College — from Dr. S. E. Duncan

RE: Persons to receive New South

6-13-66 KM

Dr. Victor J. Tulane
Assistant to the President
Livingstone College

Miss Betty J. Verbal
History Department
Livingstone College

Mrs. Josephine Sherrill
Librarian
Livingstone College

Dr. Elnora Smith
Director of Humanities
Livingstone College

Dr. Richard Sallett
Chairman Social Sciences
Livingstone College

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Education Department
Livingstone College

Dr. James C. Simpson
Dean
Livingstone College

Mr. Henry Jackson
History Department
Livingstone College

Rev. E. N. French
Dean of Students
Livingstone College

Dr. H. W. Thompson
Director of Education
Livingstone College

Mrs. Lucy Herring
Director Reading Development
Livingstone College

Mrs. Abna A. Lancaster
Livingstone College
English Department

Mr. Bernard L. Brown
Social Science Department
Livingstone College

Mrs. Eliza G. Miller
Education Department
Livingstone College

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
FOUNDED 1944

file
Materials for
"Mailing Lists"

June 7, 1966

Mr. Gilbert Osofsky
Assistant Professor
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Dear Mr. Osofsky:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the publication, The Continuing Crisis. We are also placing you on our mailing list to receive future publications of the Council's.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMO June 7, 1966

To: ELewis

From: MJohnson

Ed,

Paul would like the folloing person put on our mailing list (I guess Category ~~#4~~ #7, Research):

Mr. Gilbert Osofsky
Assistant Professor
Department of History
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Chicago, Illinois 60680

thanx, mmj

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Department of History
(Box 4348) Chicago, Illinois 60680
Telephone: 663-3141

(4)

Rec'd 6/3/66

June 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As a specialist in American Negro history, I am writing to request a copy of your recent publication, The Continuing Crisis. I would also like to receive all your publications as they appear. Would you please tell me the best way to arrange this.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Gilbert Osofsky

Gilbert Osofsky
Assistant Professor

kc

File "Materials free on Requests"

June 22, 1966

Mr. Robert R. Vance
The Ecumenical Institute
3444 Congress Parkway
Chicago, Illinois 60624

Dear Mr. Vance:

In Mr. Anthony's absence from the office I am sending under separate cover two of our recent special reports: A City Slum - Poor People and Problems, and Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program. I am also enclosing with this letter one of our publications list. If any other of our materials interest you, please feel free to write for them.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 6/20/66

THE ECUMENICAL INSTITUTE

3444 CONGRESS PARKWAY • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60624

June 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We at the Ecumenical Institute are doing research on available resources for a comprehensive program in community reformulation. Please send us general information on your work and any lists that you might have of available material on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

Robert R. Vance

Robert R. Vance

RRV/km

MJ - please send the AV & MS special reports - (4 of them)

See Material file "Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM June 22, 1966

To: Ed Lewis

From: MMJ

Ed,

Paul says that Raymond Wheeler wishes to receive our publications mailings (including NEW SOUTH) a t his home address as follows:

3724 Warrington Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

Would you please see that this change is made on our mailing list as quickly as possible.

NOTE: For just plain correspondence, we will continue to send that to his office (1900 Brunswick Avenue)

File
Mailing lists
(Materials file)

MEMORANDUM June 23, 1964

To: NM

From: MMJ

Please put the following person on our FCR category:

Dr. A. Hollis Edens
Executive Director
Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
Reynolda
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

thanx, mmj

File
Materials file
"Mailing Lists"

6-24-66

Memo to: Ed Lewis

Add to Research Mailing List and Complimentary New South

Special Collections Library
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. John Dobson, Librarian

June 24, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please collect and ship to the following,
Mr. John Dobson, Librarian, Special Collections,
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, Knoxville, Tennessee,

the largest possible collection of current
and past publications

Label is attached.

File
Materials file
(Mailing Lists)

Mass Media
Category #9-1
Checked in stencil tray
(not on) 6/28/66

June 27, 1966

Mr. Richard P. Cunningham
Staff Writer
Minneapolis Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Mr. Cunningham:

Enclosed is a copy of the Continuing Crisis...

Long after we figure out a way to integrate the South I am convinced we will still be grappling with our mailing list. I am very, very sorry you have to ask again for our publications. Certainly, if you ever get them there will be no charge.

We are, I hope, adding you to our media mailing list, which is supposed to get everything we publish.

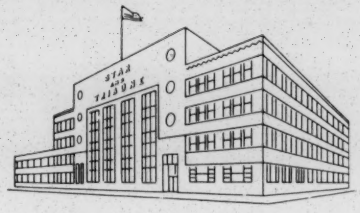
With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
STAR
Evening



THE
MINNEAPOLIS
TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Minneapolis , Minnesota
55415

June 23, 1966

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 NW. Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please send me a copy of the recently published report, "The Continuing crisis: An assessment of new racial tensions in the South."

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Dick Cunningham

Dick Cunningham
Staff Writer
MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE

DC:ske

Man, we'll pay, honest, if you'll just put us on the mailing list — (See previous correspondence)

Eps —

File Materials file
Mailing Lists

Mass Media
Category #9-1

Checked in stencil tray
& stencil pulled
6/28/66 mj

June 27, 1966

Mr. Charles Silberman
Fortune Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

Dear Charles:

Long after we figure out a way to integrate the South we will still not have coped with the problems of our mailing lists. I am sorry for the trouble you have had. Your home address has now been noted, and I trust all of our materials will be sent to you there.

I, too, was sorry we did not have a chance to talk while in Washington. Perhaps sometime when I am in New York we can have lunch together, unencumbered by either the Washington mystique or its party schedule.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

... Rec'd 6/15/66

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, New York 10020*

Editorial Department

June 13, 1966

Dear Paul:

I have been meaning to write for some months to ask you to correct my address on the Council's mailing list. I moved last summer from Long Island to Mount Vernon (110 Stuyvesant Plaza, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 10552) -- just about five minutes away from Les Dunbar -- and I thought I had sent a change of address card. The publication and releases are still coming via my old address on Long Island, and I feel badly about the possible cost in postage to you, and more to the point, the probability that at least some proportion of the mail does not get forwarded. I certainly want to keep getting the materials.

It was good seeing you in Washington last week, but frustrating to have no chance to really talk. I came too late and too sober to the party to be able to stay.

With warmest regards.

Cordially,

Charles

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

CES:bw

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Judson 6-1212

file
Materials file
"Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM June 28, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

1. Here is Charles E. Silberman's ~~aaa~~ stencil -- he has now moved to the ~~aaaaa~~ following new addressx, and has requested that all his mailings be sent here:

   110 Stuyvesant Plaza
   Mount Vernon, New York

   (Note: I pullèd his stencil from Category #9-1)

2. Please add the following person to our Category 9-1 (mass media):

   Mr. Richard P. Cunningham
   The Minneapolis Tribune
   Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

   (Note: At his request I have mailed him a copy of Continuing Crisis...)

3. Until we have received a business address for Jack Patterson I suppose we should send his mailings to ~~aaaaxhaaaaaddaaaaa&~~ his home address in Pelham, New York as follows:

   83 Harmon Avenue
   Pelham

   (Note: I have pulled his stencil from ~~Caaaaaxpla~~ Category #9-2)

SRC ROUTING SLIP

✓ ADAMS, Sam
✓ ALEXANDER, Ruth
✓ ANDERSON, Bob
___ ANTHONY, Paul
___ BARTLEY, Glenda
✓ BROWNING, Joan
✓ COOK, Bernice
✓ FRANKLIN, Pat
✓ GIMARC, Jerry
✓ HOWARD, Ruth
___ JOHNSON, Mildred
✓ JORDON, Vernon
___ KNOX, Luesta
✓ LEWIS, Ed
___ LONG, Margaret
✓ LUMPKIN, Ester
___ MANDERSON, Marge
✓ MARTIN, Kathy
✓ MORGAN, Nobbie
✓ MORRISON, Bernice
✓ OLIVE, Thad
~~✓ OLMEN, Helen~~
___ PATTERSON, Barbara
✓ REED, Doris
✓ SHORTT, Janet
✓ SMITH, Janet
✓ SMITH, Moreland
✓ STANFIELD, Ed
✓ Lockhart, Carolyn
___ TILLY, Mrs. M.E.
✓ ULMER, Al
✓ VIA, Emory
✓ WATTERS, Pat
~~✓ MOODS, Willie~~
✓ MW

Return to Mildred Johnson for filing.

File (Mailing lists Materials file)

MEMORANDUM June 28, 1966

To: The Staff

From: MMJohnson

Re: BOARD CHANGES (to be incorporated onto your working Board Lists)

(1) Effective July 7, 1966 Mr. Paul Johnston of Birmingham will have the following new address:

1142 Brown-Marx Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

(2) Dr. James A. Colston will be leaving Knoxville, presumably fairly soon, to assume the duties of President of Bronx Community College in Bronx, New York. (He has expressed the wish to continue to receive our publications, therefore, his stencil has been pulled and a new one should be made as above and placed in Category #7 "Contact-Research")

(3) Dr. Stephen J. Wright will be leaving Nashville, also presumably fairly soon if not already, to assume duties with the United Negro College Fund in New York (22 East 54th Street). His stencil has also been pulled and a new one should be made and placed in Category #7 "Contact-Research"

(4) Mr. Benjamin Muse now has the following new permanent address:

Heron House
Reston, Virginia 22070

(5) Dr. C. G. Gomillion has written that he prefers to receive his mailings at his home address as follows:

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

(6) Our Board list shows the law firm address for Attorney Donald Hollowell. It might be more expedient to send our mailings to his new office address as follows:

Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

See Materials file "Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM July 1, 1966

To: JSmith

From: MJohnson

Janet,

Please add the following person to ~~an~~ our Foundations mailing list and to NEW SOUTH (complimentary for one year)

Mr. Robert H. Klein
The Division Fund
750 Welch Road
Palo Alto, California 94304

done → on Compl. N.S. & also on FCR

See File Materials for "Mailing List"

00 Not on FCR 1/17/67

MEMORANDUM July 23, 1966

To: JSmith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Once again, I'm listing below the foundations to be added to the FCR Category -- I've checked the February 23, 1966 list against the stencil tray and the following are still missing: (Note: I'm going to, for my own records, make a control card index file to be kept in my office, so that whenever changes occur I can make them first on the cards, after which transferrals will be made to you for the stencil tray. I'll do the same thing for the Board. It would help me a great deal if whenever you receive changes you'd pass them on to me -- for these two categories).

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt 00
The Eliot D. Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York

Dr. Prynce Hopkins 00
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Mr. Randolph R. Compton 00
The Compton Trust
20 Exchange Place
New York, New York

Mr. H. Carl McCall 00
Project Director
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar on FCR 1/17/67
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

MEMORANDUM - 2.
July 23, 1966

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York

Mr. H. K. Hochschild
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Executive Associate ~~Carnegie~~
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary
Anna H. and Eliz. M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

THE FOLLOWING STENCILS SHOULD BE CHANGED AS FOLLOWS:

New-Land Foundation On FOR 1/17/67
200 Park Avenue
New York
(Please direct mailings here to MR. ROBERT WOLF, President) not done

Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York
(PLEASE ~~CHG~~ CHANGE Dr. DeVinney's title from Deputy Director to ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR) not done

~~Miss Flora M. Rhind~~
~~111 West 50th Street~~
~~Rockefeller Foundation~~
~~New York, New York~~ Revised 1/17/67

MEMORANDUM August 11, 1966

To: JANET SMITH

From: MMJ

Please add the following persons to our mailing lists as so indicated:

Miss Marilyn Shapiro
385 East 18th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11226
(Category #7, Research)

Mrs. Marion R. Ascoli on FCR
Marion R. Ascoli ~~Foundation~~ Fund
100 Park Avenue
New York, New York
(Category FCR)

File
Mailing Lists

MEMORANDUM August 19, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJ

Janet:

Please put the following persons on our mailing lists as so indicated:

Mr. Andrew Jaffe
? ~~NEWSWEEK~~ NEWS WEEK
912 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia
(Mass Media #1)

Dr. Wendell H. Pierce
Education Commission of the States
Suite 2575
? Kroger Building
1014 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
(Research and Complimentary NEW SOUTH)

Also, please note new address for Calvin Kytle:

Urban America, Inc.
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

See Mailing Lists (Materials file)

MEMORANDUM August 29, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Please add the following person to our MASS MEDIA mailing list and a year's subscription to New South.

Miss Ruth Hussey
Congressional Quarterly Library
1735 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

add to Mass Media & Cong Pers

File
Materials files
- Mailing Lists

August 15, 1966

Miss Ruth Hussey
Congressional Quarterly Library
1735 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Miss Hussey:

I am very sorry to learn that you have not been receiving our materials. We will correct this immediately, and see that you are returned to our mailing list. In the meantime, I am sending the first two issues of our new quarterly to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, INC.
1735 K STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY SERVICE
EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS

16

9 Aug. 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We should very much like to receive press releases and other media from your organization. At one time we were on your mailing list, but, inadvertently, perhaps, we are no longer receiving your material.

Thank you in advance for this courtesy.

Yours very truly,

Ruth A. Hussey

Ruth A. Hussey,
Library

9-1-66

TO: PA

FROM: JSmith Jane

J Smith please do

Perhaps some such memo as the following is now in order to maybe REA, MW, BCC

Category plates for mailings other than NEW SOUTH have been combined in some instances and renumbered. Category numbers forsuse in future distribution memos are as follows:

1. Board (all mailings)
2. FCR (all mailings)
3. Media
4. Intergroup
5. Labor
6. Research (includes old All Purpose)
7. Libraries
8. Blue Ribbon
9. School Superintendents and Education Associations
10. Chambers of Commerce and Bank Presidents
11. Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents
12. Government
13. Internationals
19. Paid Subscribers (all mailings)

See type it and write it if you wish.

MEMORANDUM September 7, 1966

TO: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Please put the following person onx our Interagency mailing list:

Mr. Deane C. Tucker
Community Relations Service
U. S. Department of Justice
Room 538, Old Post Office Building
56 Forsyth Street, N. W.
P. O. Box 2150
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

memorandum September 7, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJ

Janet,

Paul would like the following two persons placed on our mailing list (Category #6 - Research) and also given a one-year complimentary NEW SOUTH subscription.

Mr. Opie L. Shelton
Executive Vice President
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
1300 Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Charles E. Crowder
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
1300 Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Note: Mailed today Winter, Spring and Summer issues of NEW SOUTH.

file Materials file "Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM September 19, 1966

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Mildred Johnson

Janet,

Paul would like the follwwing person added to our mailing list (Category #4 - Intergroup):

Mr. Jacques E. Wilmore
Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mid-South Field Office
167 North Main Street, Room 56
Memphis, Tennessee 31803

thanx, mmj

File
Mailing list

September 26, 1966

Please check with Janet Smith when she returns to make very sure that Boisfeuillet Jones of the Woodruff Foundation is on our regular mailing list, research and on a complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH. Ou,

File ~~[illegible]~~ Materials file Mailing lists

MEMORANDUM October 17, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJ

Re: Board List Changes

Dr. E. A. McDowell has now moved to Atlanta. His new address is as follows:

First Baptist Church
754 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Presiding Bishop M. LaFayette Harris (Life Fellow) should be removed from our stencil tray for board members. He is now deceased.

Miss Lillian Smith (Life Fellow) should also be removed from the Stencil Tray for the same reason.

See Materials file "Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM Oct. 17, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Mrs. Barbara Whittaker would like to be put on our mailing list. Paul has asked that we do so. Please see that she goes on CATEGORY #6 (RESEARCH)

Mrs. Barbara Whittaker
Project Enable
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Thanx, MMJ

See Memorial file: Mailing lists

MEMORANDUM October 21, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

I have been given Dr. Bell Wiley's stencil from the Board Stencil Tray to check on. He is now back at Emory and a new stencil needs to be made for him at the University. Would you please?

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

MATERIALS FILE - "Mailing Lists"

REGARDING

Memo to Bernice Cook requesting copies of New South be sent to Dr. M. A. F. Ritchie, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon

DATE

10-26-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

UNIVERSITIES - GENERAl

MEMORANDUM October 26, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Re: Mailing List

Janet,

Paul asks that the attached correspondence be passed on to you for processing. Mrs. Murray wishes not to receive our materials -- please remove her stencil from out lists. (I have no notion what Category she is on, and I don't know how you'll find her -- but she doesn't want our stuff.)

See Materials file "Mailing lists"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mrs. John Murray
104 Indian Lane
Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37830

REGARDING

Removing her name from our mailing list (second request)

DATE

Mrs. Murray's ltr. dtd. October 21, 1966
PA's reply dtd. October 26, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Janet Smith files -- all correspondence relating to this matter has been turned over to Janet for processing and filing. MMJ 10/26/66

See "Materials for Mailing Lists"

MEMORANDUM October 26, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Please add the following person to our mailing list (Category #6 RESEARCH):

Dr. M. A. F. Ritchie
President
Pacific University
Forest Grove, Oregon 97117

thanx,

NOTE: I am sending him today one copy each of winter, spring, summer NEW SOUTHS

Free Materials free Mailing lists

MEMORANDUM October 27, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJ

&&
Janet,

Yes, Paul would like Dr. Earl Brewer, School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322 put on our RESEARCH list. He would also like him sent a complimentary copy of NEW SOUTH with a subscription blank.

Thanx, mmj

See Materials list "Requests" (via telephone)

October 27, 1966

The following materials were mailed to Mr. Joseph P. Conte, Office of Equal Health Opportunities, Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.:

ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE - Watters
MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY - Silver
THE CONTINUING CRISIS - SRC-AGCttee
SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND - Morland
BLACK BELT SCHOOLS: BEYOND DESEGREGATION - Ross Green, et.al
THE MIGRANT FARMER - Coles
NEW SOUTH (winter, spring and summer, 1966)
"A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina:"
"A City Slum-Poor People and Problems"
"September 1965 - School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law"
"Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People"
"Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program"
Publications List
SRC brochure outlinging the Council

mmj

Please send a collection of SRC publications - including recent New Souths to

Joseph P. Conte
OEHO, Public Health Service
HEWS Bldg.
Washington D.C.

Alt Helles Univ.

File
Mailing lists
(Materials file)

MMJ

October 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Janet Smith

Category plates for mailings other than NEW SOUTH have been combined in some instances and renumbered. Category numbers for use in future distribution memos are as follows:

1. Board (all mailings)
2. FCR (Foundations, Contributors & Related) all mailings
3. Media
4. Intergroup
5. Labor
6. Research (includes old All Purpose)
7. Libraries
8. Blue Ribbon
9. School Superintendents and Education Associations
10. Chambers of Commerce and Bank Presidents
11. Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents
12. Government
13. Internationals
19. Paid Subscribers (all mailings)

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

Paul,

Please give me the titles of our current publications which you'd like sent to Dr. Wagner of the Mississippi Research and Development Center. I've asked Janet Smith to put him on our mailing list as suggested by Dr. Beittel.

MJ

MJ

4 quarterly New South
Economic Status of Negro -
Ulmer Coop Special Rept

Sent, 12/9/66
mj

Fire & Materials free "Mailing lists"

MEMORANDUM

November 23, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Dr. Beittel has written and asked that the following person be added to our mailing list to receive our research materials. Please add to Category #6 (Research)

Dr. Kenneth C. Wagner, Director
Mississippi Research and Development Center
787 Lakeland Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Thanx, mmj

(Paul knows of this and concurs)

/

file
Mailing lists
→ Materials file

November 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

I would like to discuss the mailing to Mr. J. Kenneth Morland in Hong Kong. See attached.

Orig letter
J. K Morland
rec'd to J. Smith
to rel to mailing

Original ltr. to Janet Smith
passed on to me
to be returned to me

File Mail

November 28, 1966

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
New Asia College
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
6, Farm Road, Kowloon
Hong Kong, China

Dear Ken:

Delighted to hear from you and delighted and envious to hear that you and the family are well settled and having an exciting experience. We will see that you get all materials, including the NEW SOUTH. There is no charge, although if you wish the subscription to NEW SOUTH is $3.00 a year. I wouldn't even raise this except that we are trying desperately to increase the paid circulation in order to prove the magazine's worth.

It was a pleasure seeing you at Stetson and meeting your wife and daughters there. I still occasionally have regrets that I didn't ask to keep that wonderful dog for the year!

Every good wish for a good year. And, come home ready to get back to work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Materials for Mailing list

December 15, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please do whatever is necessary - if this is possible - to see that Margaret Price of the Potomac Institute receives ten copies of everything we mail to her except NEW SOUTH.

Also John Feild the Director of Community Relation Service, U. S. Conference of Mayors, doesn't think he is getting NEW SOUTH. Would you please check this and if he is not then see that he receives the forthcoming issue and is billed for a subscription.

PA/km

file
Materials file
Mailing lists

December 19, 1966

TO: JANET SMITH from K. Martin

ON CHECKING THE LATEST MAILING TO BOARD MEMBERS, I FIND ENVELOPES MISSING FOR THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS IN THREE SETS OF ENVELOPES:

MR. FRED D. ALEXANDER
DR. B. R. BRAZEAL
MR. JOHN A. GRIFFIN
RABBI JACOB ROTHSCHILD
MR. JOHN H. WHEELER

I FIND ALSO TWO ENVELOPES FOR DR. E. A. MC DOWELL - ONE FOR ATLANTA WHICH IS CORRECT AND AN ENVELOPE WITH HIS OLD ADDRESS IN WAKE FOREST. THE OLD PLATE SHOULD BE PULLED.

EDUCATION U.S.A. 1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

December 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Could you put us on your mailing list to receive news releases, advance notices of new reports, announcements of conferences, etc.? If so, we would appreciate it.

Materials should be addressed to: The Editors, EDUCATION U.S.A., 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

EDUCATION U.S.A. is a fast-mail weekly report on educational affairs. Our current issue is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely,

Helen H. Cox

(Mrs.) Helen H. Cox
Managing Editor

EDUCATION U.S.A.

Washington Monitor

December 22, 1966

BIGGEST USOE RESEARCH EFFORTS

Among the biggest--and probably the most important--research activities currently being supported by the U.S. Office of Education are 20 regional educational laboratories and 10 research and development (R&D) centers across the nation. Though they are greatly dissimilar in nature and purpose, both the laboratories and the R&D centers are generally so new that it isn't difficult to confuse one with the other. R. Louis Bright, associate USOE commissioner who heads the Bureau of Research, gave Washington Monitor a capsule picture of these programs, which follows. The editors then have listed for your reference the names and addresses of the labs and centers. For a fuller view of activities, write to them for information.

The regional laboratories, said Bright, are flexible unions of persons and facilities working to put educational research into practice. Colleges and universities, local school systems, community organizations, administrators, and teachers join together to work out "a link between educational research and classroom purpose." They offer unprecedented opportunities for involving those to be affected by research--the children--along with teachers and administrators. "In one case," said Bright, "we introduced the president of a small college to the superintendent of schools in his town. They had never met." The focus is on testing our existing research in the classroom. The laboratories average annually $1 million each in federal support, a figure Bright thinks ideally should be tripled in time, and they will receive continuing support from USOE.

The R&D centers, he said, are less extensive operations concerned with a single educational research activity. Located mostly on college and university campuses, they are basically groups of "highly qualified scholars" concentrating on researching a particular educational problem.

REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH LABORATORIES

AREL: Appalachia Regional Educational Laboratory, Box 1348, Charleston, W. Va. 25325. Director: Howard B. Aldman. 304: 342-4109.

CAREL: Central Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory, 1515 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Director: Carl Lange. 202: 387-7171.

CEMREL: Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory, 10646 St. Charles Rock Rd., St. Ann, Mo. 63074. Director: Wade M. Robinson. 314: HA9-3535.

CERL: Cooperative Educational Research Laboratory, 1102 W. Main St., Urbana, Ill. 61803. Director: David Jackson. 217: 333-2892.

CUE: Center for Urban Education, 33 W. 42d St., New York, N.Y. 10036. Director: Robert Dentler. 212: 244-0300.

ERIE: Eastern Regional Institute for Education, 111 Furman St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13210. Director: Sidney Archer. 315: 476-4243.

FWREL: Far West Regional Educational Laboratory, 116 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105. Director: John Hemphill. 415: 421-5042. (more)

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IEI: Institute of Educational Innovation, 55 Chapel St., Newton, Mass. 02158. Director: John Holden. 617: 969-7100.

MCREL: Mid-Continent Regional Educational Laboratory, 104 E. Independence Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 64108. Director: Robert S. Gilchrist. 816: 221-8686.

MOREL: Michigan-Ohio Regional Educational Laboratory, School Center Bldg., Detroit, Mich. 48202. Director: Stuart Rankin. 313: 833-7900.

NWREL: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 2009 Lloyd Center, Portland, Oreg. 97232. Director: Larry Fish. 503: 288-6718.

RBS: Research for Better Schools Inc., 121 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Director: James W. Becker, 215: 545-1077.

RELCV: Regional Educational Laboratory for the Carolinas and Virginia, Quail Roost Conference Center, Rougemont, N.C. 27572. Director: Ralph McCallister. 919: 477-7395.

RMEL: Rocky Mountain Regional Educational Laboratory, 105 Fillmore, Denver, Colo. 80200. Director: James Thrasher. 303: 355-2315.

SCEL: South Central Region Educational Laboratory Corp., National Old Line Bldg., Little Rock, Ark. 72201. Director: W. L. Bergerson. 501: FR6-4641.

SEEC: Southeastern Educational Corp., 3450 International Blvd., Hapeville, Ga. 30054. Director: Robert Hopper. 404: 766-0951.

SWCEL: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 120 Vassar Ave. SE, Albuquerque, N. Mex. 87106. Director: Paul Petty. 505: 277-5221.

SWEDC: Southwest Educational Development Corp., 800 Brazos St., Austin, Tex. 78767. Director: Edwin Hindsman. 512: 476-6861.

SWRL: Southwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 11300 La Cienega Blvd., Inglewood, Calif. 90304. Director: Richard Schutz. 213: 776-3800.

UMREL: Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory Inc., 2698 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55104. Director: John Prasch. 612: 645-0526.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

Center for Research and Development for Learning and Reeducation, U. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Codirectors: Max Goodson and Herbert J. Klausmeier.

Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, U. of California, Berkeley, Calif. Director: T. R. McConnell.

Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford U., Palo Alto, Calif. Codirectors: Robert N. Bush and N. L. Gage.

Center for Research Development on Educational Differences, Harvard U., Cambridge, Mass. Director: Theodore R. Sizer.

Center for Research in the Study of Social Organization of Schools and the Learning Process, Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, Md. Director: Edward L. McDill.

Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, U. of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg. Director: Roland J. Pellegrin.

Center for the Study of the Evaluation of Instructional Programs, U. of California, Los Angeles, Calif. Codirectors: Erick L. Lindman and Merlin C. Wittrock.

Learning Research and Development Center, U. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. Director: Robert Glaser.

Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, U. of Texas, Austin, Tex. Director: Robert F. Peck.

Research and Development Center in Educational Stimulation (Ages 3-12), U. of Georgia, Athens, Ga. Director: Warren G. Findley.

WASHINGTON MONITOR, Supplement to EDUCATION U.S.A., the Special Weekly Report on Educational Affairs, published each Thursday, September through May, by the National School Public Relations Association, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Special summer issues, about June 20 and July 20.

EDUCATION U.S.A.

A Special Weekly Report on Educational Affairs

Dateline: Washington, D.C.
December 22, 1966

WHO CONTROLS AMERICAN EDUCATION?

Whoever dictates what the child in the classroom will learn and how he learns it controls education. Determining who holds the reins has become "a great national pastime," according to George B. Brain, dean of the College of Education at Washington State U., because the public mood today is receptive to the idea that public education needs new controls. Brain, former superintendent at Baltimore and immediate past president of the American Assn. of School Administrators, was the keynote speaker at a seminar in New York on "Who Controls American Education?" sponsored by the Joint Committee of the National Education Assn. and the Magazine Publishers Assn. The topic brought a standing-room-only audience to hear representatives of various "control" groups explain their positions.

"Perhaps the single most evident development in the search for viable arrangement," Brain said, "has been the proliferation of agencies and individuals dedicated to the shaping of what transpires in the operation of the public schools." He then discussed a dozen sources from which control could stem:

- Federal--U.S. Supreme Court ("That the courts have chosen to utilize ((their)) great powers sparingly redounds to their credit"); Congress ("the federal government could easily double every school district's expenditure level if it so chooses"); and the U.S. Office of Education, whose shift from consultation to supervision "cannot be viewed with complacency." He is particularly concerned about the potential "control" in the upcoming national assessment.

- Other national groups--Compact of States could become an added resource for the solution of complex issues; foundations, which hold the power of the purse but represent "little more than seed money for educational purposes"; national curriculum groups; the "Establishment," where new faces "make it a force to be reckoned with in shaping the future design of educational policy"; nationally recognized critics and mass communications media (including textbooks).

- At the local level--School boards, more important than ever in contributing to a realignment among local, state, and national levels of responsibilities, but their role is being undercut; the rising expectations of minority groups; and teacher organizations ("I see nothing frightening nor disturbing in this long overdue activity on the part of teachers and their organizations").

Brain views the conflicts over control of education as "constructive energies" that could be channeled to bring about rapid educational progress. But throughout, he warns, education must remain "free to be flexible and adaptable."

This is the first of two special year-end issues of EDUCATION U.S.A. Next week's issue will review the 10-year history of instructional television and its prospects under proposed satellite transmission.

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SUPERINTENDENTS IN THE MIDDLE

Superintendents feel trapped by various groups trying to control schools, Lester B. Ball, superintendent at Oak Park, Ill., told the MPA-NEA seminar. He described the everyday drama of the school administrator and the predetermined climax--the superintendent makes political decisions that are a compromise to what he wants. Asked to recommend to the school board proposals for buildings, curriculum, or salaries, the superintendent starts "with a reality that very few people think about." Ball explained:

"Is it a matter of money? About 75% of his budget goes for salaries, 10% for building and bonds, perhaps another 5% for supplies, and 5% for buses, insurance, and the like. Actually, there is very little of the money involved in schools that he, or for that matter anybody, has much actual control over.... Is it a matter of curriculum? About 80% of what is taught is a matter of custom: the three R's, college admission requirements, accrediting agency demands, or the real and persistent indirect demands of testing programs. Also, some of what is taught is controlled by state law.... Is it a matter of personnel? First of all, in a time of teacher shortage, the question is not so much of quality, it's a question of anybody. Then, too, personnel is controlled by certification laws, training, tenure, and the increasingly insistent demands of teachers for a say in what they teach.... Is it a question of how to organize the school enterprise? Well, most of it is pretty much predetermined by what exists."

To be more concise, Ball said, "there is not an awful lot of the educational activity over which the superintendent, the board, or, indeed, anyone can have much immediate or dramatic influence." Faced with decisions about his school system, the superintendent deals with things in a political matter--"the art of the possible." He makes a recommendation which he considers the best arrangement of all the complicated financial, sociological, educational, and political factors involved.

Ball said that the superintendent can perform this role of politician with "meaning and with self-respect" if he is perceptive and professional: "While the board must make the decision, it is the superintendent who must suggest the way."

WHY TEACHERS ARE MILITANT

Teachers, too, are in the middle. Elizabeth D. Koontz, classroom teacher and immediate past president of the Dept. of Classroom Teachers, NEA, explained to the seminar: "Teachers have been caught...between...those who make the demands and set the goals of the community's schools, on the one hand," and "those who want the goals achieved without giving financial priority, human and professional freedom, unhampered lay representation, and the professional recognition needed to foster such achievement."

In her estimation, teachers have been quite patient. They have endured an "old system of paternalism" which prevented them from deciding about their own professional competence, efficiency, training, continued education, or contribution to the educational enterprise. This frustration has contributed to the militancy of teachers ("I'm not so sure teachers are yet as militant as they must become") and forced them to act on "the many problems that stand in the way of successful effort...."

Mrs. Koontz outlined several ways in which all those concerned with education can accept the inevitable changes that are occurring. These included the willingness of communities to accept the new relationships among staff, acceptance by school boards of the constructive uses of conflict, the acceptance by educational organizations of the responsibility for seeking solutions to problems through professional approaches, and mutually acceptable agreements developed by employers and employees of the school system. Finally, she said, "all parties concerned must keep uppermost in mind that whatever is done must be agreed upon in the context of advancing the cause of education."

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC

Except for enlightened school boards and a "handful of grateful parents," the role of the public in control of American education tends too much to be either apathetic or uninformed. Mrs. Shirley Lewis, a practicing attorney and member of the Taunton, Mass., school committee for 14 years, was not particularly charitable toward her fellow parents and their participation in school affairs.

However, she does not agree with those educators who want the public to have no voice in the educational process, e.g., appointed rather than elected school boards. "What American education needs," she said, "is not appointed school boards but boards elected by an informed electorate, who will vote for qualified candidates who have demonstrated a sense of fair play, who have a knowledge of what a good education encompasses, who are willing to stand up and be counted when the chips are down, and who are not using the school board as a stepping-stone to political office."

Mrs. Lewis credited the public with efforts to build new schools, "but in few communities does one find the same zeal expended to provide quality education." There are no mass meetings, she explained, to press for improved curriculum, to learn about new knowledge, to demand qualified teachers, or to improve teaching conditions. She placed a great deal of responsibility for the problems in the schools on the parents who are "in most instances, completely overwhelmed by their children." The parents, in turn, pressure the schools for materialistic concerns, shunting aside "the love of the life of the mind, the encouragement of independent thought, respect for law and order, dignity and human rights, a sense of personal worth, and a sense of responsibility."

School boards and administrators need to help the public realize where support for education is needed. She concluded: "The school board has the clear duty not to just provide for the community the kind of education it wants for its children, but to help the community to want and to demand and get the best educational program possible."

WHY MINORITY GROUPS WANT A SAY

Diminishing achievement in school, increasing segregation, dropout rates--this is the school environment "which to the Negro parent shapes up as a kind of yawning pit of disaster into which their children are inevitably going to fall." If minority groups are "clamoring for some kind of voice" in education, it's because they know these things have been happening to their children, John A. Morsell, assistant executive director of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, told the seminar.

The controversy over I.S. 201 in New York City, where Negro parents insisted upon a say in the operation of the school, is part of a long history of Negro involvement in education. Morsell went back to Reconstruction Days to describe how Negroes had fought, usually "in desperation," for schools for themselves and their children. Minority groups would prefer to not worry themselves with picketing, organizing, or bringing pressure by sitting down in the superintendent's office, "but they want to do something, and they feel if they can just keep it before the public, bring it to the public eye long enough and sharply enough, something, somewhere is going to give."

Much of the activity of minority groups has been centered on desegregation, but, said Morsell, more and more this has proved to be a channel to a broader concern of Negro parents for the whole quality of education: "And just as the teachers from their vantage point constitute a cutting edge, so the minorities have these recent years become a kind of cutting edge for revolutionary movement toward improvement in education." When direct pressure becomes aligned with voting power, minorities "will be carrying out the full responsibility as parents and as citizens."

THE FEDERAL INTEREST IN EDUCATION

For 15 years Assoc. Comr. Wayne O. Reed has been the U.S. Office of Education's bridge to state and local education agencies. A former teacher who became state superintendent of Nebraska, he has patiently explained and explored federal-state relations as the responsibilities in this area grew rapidly. In his speech to the seminar he predicted the next step in federal interest in education.

"...Maybe we are moving toward the end of an era--the era of categorical aid. Many voices from many quarters are calling now for general aid instead--some of them the very same voices that once spoke most loudly against it," he said. Categorical federal aid has come about because of response to specific needs of the national welfare--vocational education, national defense, help for the disadvantaged. Money given for specific purposes must be spent for those purposes, Reed said, so the recepients of federal aid must meet certain criteria, frustrating as they may be.

Faced with the problems of increased categorical aid--major decisions that have to be made quickly, shortage of educational specialists, and the necessity for evaluation of programs--school districts did a "miraculous" job in the fiscal year 1966. Reed said that 17,000 local districts worked out their plans, got, and used the federal funds available to them: "The aggregate in frayed nerves and exasperation with the federal government must have been beyond measuring. You will agree with me, I think, that it was quite understandable." He added that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act bothered local communities, also, because "it hastened...the day of confrontation" with the responsibility for the quality and the equity of education.

Reed described the present situation where both the interests of the federal government and those of the states are coming closer together to correct educational inequities, as "a transitional stage in the evolution of our intergovernmental partnership for education." It is the repeat of a pattern that developed between state agencies and local districts--at first, education was purely a local responsibility, then states responded with categorical aid for specific needs, and finally the categorical programs were replaced by simpler general aid programs.

"Already the federal government shows signs of preparing for the next step," Reed said. "It is strengthening state departments of education, those agencies responsible for underwriting quality and equity in the public schools." The federal government would continue to supplement general aid, primarily in two areas, Reed believes: research and development activities and educational personnel training. "A decentralized system, supported by local, state, and federal agencies working together--this is not merely part of our long tradition," Reed continues. "It is also the best framework we can devise in which people of vision are free to experiment and to be creative."

▶ ON THE AIR: Viewers will be able to participate in a hindsight of the major news events of 1966 along with CBS News correspondents. "The National Current Events Test" on Jan. 3 will test viewers' understanding of national and world news in seven areas (CBS-TV, Tues., Jan. 3, 10-11pm EST).

Order publications from sources listed / Check local listings and newsstands for late changes

EDUCATION U.S.A. A Special Weekly Report on Educational Affairs. Published each Thursday, September through May, by the National School Public Relations Association in cooperation with the Division of Press, Radio and Television Relations, National Education Association. Special summer issues, June and July, about the 20th of each month. Subscription price $18 a year. Address all editorial and subscription correspondence to the National School Public Relations Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

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Staff: *Editorial Director:* Roy K. Wilson, Washington, D. C. *Managing Editor:* Mrs. Helen H. Cox, Washington, D. C. *Editors:* Joseph Hanlon, Mrs. Anne C. Lewis, Miss Patricia Platt, Washington, D. C. *West Coast Correspondent:* Robert Olds, Santa Barbara, Calif. *Manager, Subscription Services:* Mrs. Mildred S. Wainger, Washington, D. C.

Editorial Advisers: Thirty-two educators, many of whom serve as elected heads of national educational organizations, serve as advisers to the editors of EDUCATION U.S.A. The list of advisers is published on this masthead quarterly, in September, December, March, and June.

Free

December 27, 1966

Mrs. Helen H. Cox
Managing Editor
Education U.S.A.
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mrs. Cox:

We are happy to add you to our mailing list to receive all SRC news releases, reports and publications. There is no charge.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

subscribe to New Scientist

File Materials for "Mailing List"

December 27, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please place the following on our MEDIA mailing list:

The Editors
Education U.S.A.
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Margaret Price

J. L. Edy 12

Dear Mildred:

Harold would like to have eight copies of SRC's recent report on school desegregation (or lack of) in the South. Do you suppose you could have them sent to me? Paul said last week he would put me on the list for 10 or 12 copies of all SRC publications, since we get so many requests here from government agencies. However, that may apply to future publications, and in any event Harold would take most of them this time, so the extras would still be useful.

12 copies sent 12-27-66 mj

Happy holidays to all of you and thanks.

M.

File Mailing lists

December 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

This is a reminder that the following are to continue to receive NEW SOUTH as complimentary:

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Moench #
Box 557 Route 3
Golden, Colorado 80401

PA/km

on Comp. N.S.

December 28, 1966

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
New Asia College
6 Farm Road
Kowloon, Hong Kong
China

Dear Ken:

Thank you very much for your subscription to NEW SOUTH. I hope you get it!

Every good wish to you and the family for the coming year.

And as I have said to you several times previously, please, please don't make too many commitments on your return until we can have our chance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

香港中文大學
新亞書院
香港九龍農圃道六號 電報掛號：NASCOL
電話：620211—7

The Chinese University of Hong Kong
NEW ASIA COLLEGE
6 FARM ROAD, KOWLOON, HONG KONG
CABLE ADDRESS: NASCOL
PHONE: 620211—7

文號
Ref. No.

December 14, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
U. S. A.

Dear Paul:

Incloused is my check for a year's subscription to New South. I think it is a most valuable publication and trust it will receive the support it merits.

Happy New Year, as we leave The Year of the Horse and enter The Year of the Sheep.

Sincerely,

Ken

J. Kenneth Morland

3.00
12/19/66
C.F.

P.S. I really think it is The Year of the Automobile, here in Hong Kong as elsewhere

香港中文大學新亞書院
香港九龍農圃道六號
NEW ASIA COLLEGE
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
6 FARM ROAD, KOWLOON
HONG KONG

MA TAU
5
14
6
3

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
U. S. A.

Check Incl.

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

Give Mailing lists

December 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

We have received a check for a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH from the following:

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
New Asia College
6 Farm Road
Kowloon, Hong Kong
China

Please do whatever is necessary to see that he gets the magazine and please send a copy of the last issue.

PA/km

File Materials free "Mailing Lists"

December 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please put these people on our Inter-Agency Mailing List:

The following staff persons of:
NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Mr. Nathan T. Garrett
Mr. Michael P. Brooks
Mr. Billy E. Barnes
Mr. Dewitt Sullivan
Mr. James C. McDonald
Mrs. Lucy R. Watkins
Mr. James Lee Burney
Mrs. Martha McKay
Mrs. Carol Van Alstyne
Miss Cynthia Gubernick
Mr. Moses Burt
Mr. Ron Semone
Mr. Richard First
Mr. Williams Flowers
Mr. John Strange

Mr. Rocco Fazio
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Mr. Preston Kennedy
Mr. Robert Walker
Miss Royce Jordan
Mr. Bruce Jones
Mr. Charles Davis
Mrs. Edwina Williams
North Carolina Fund Library
Mr. John Morgan
Mrs. Mary Schneider
Mr. Tommie Dial
Mr. Noel Beyle
Mr. Arthur Cogswell, 105 N. Columbia St., Chapel Hill, N.C.

Rec'd: 1966 Annual Report

MEMORANDUM December 30, 1966

To: Janet Smith and Nobbie Morgan

From: MMJohnson

For your records, effective Monday, December 12, 1966 John Ehle's Winston-Salem address changed from:

104 Cascade Avenue

to:

438 South Main Street
Winston-Salem (27101)

His telephone number remains the same: 725-8890

Take Mailing lists

Effective Monday, December 12, 1966, my address will be changed from 104 Cascade Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C. to 438 South Main Street, Winston-Salem, N. C. My telephone number will remain the same - 725-8890.

John Ehle

Please tell Vernon & the other -

John

See Motivations Files (Requests)

January 11, 1967

Mrs. Marjorie F. French
Item Librarian
Educational Testing Service
Test Development Division
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. French:

We will be happy to have you reprint the SRC voter registration material described in your letter of January 9th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE PRINCETON, N. J.

Test Development Division

January 9,1967

Leslie W.Dunbar,Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Educational Testing Service requests permission to reprint as part of a test question the chart showing Negro Voter Registration in the South which appears on page 374 of the READER'S GUIDE AIMANAC AND YEARBOOK, 1967.

Educational Testing Service is a nonprofit,nonstock,educational corporation organized under the Education Law of the State of New York, and chartered by the New York State Board of Education. ETS prepares and administers such tests as the College Entrance Examination Board tests,the Law School Admissions Examinations, the Graduate Record Examinations and the National Teacher Examinations.

Since we would like to use thus chart in a test to be printed soon,we would appreciate an early reply from you.

Very truly yours,

Marjorie F. French

(Mrs.) Marjorie F.French
Item Librarian

File mailing lists

MEMORANDUM January 25, 1967

To: Janet Smith

From: Mildred M. Johnson

Janet,

In keeping with a request of January 13 from Miss Brooke Harris, secretary to Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation, please discontinue sending the six or seven copies of NEW SOUTH to their office and simply add the following members of their Board to our New South mailing list (complimentary):

Mr. Richard Bentley, Esquire
Tenney, Bentley, Guthrie, Askow & Holwll
69 West Washington Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Mr. J. Anthony Lewis
Chief, London Bureau
The New York Times
Printing House Square
London, E.C. 4, England

Mr. Whitney North Seymour, Esquire
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York, New York 10005

Dr. Stephen J. Wright
President
United Negro College Fund
55 East 52nd Street
New York, New York 10022

Note: Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison of Washington, D. C., and Miss Katharine Taylor also on their Board are already on our New South mailing list for complimentary copies.

Also, Janet, in checking my memorandum to you of July 23, 1966 I noticed that the following foundations are still not in the FCR category -- I'm sure their plates must have been mislayed or destroyed through error.

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot D. Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Mr. Randolph R. Compton
The Compton Trust
20 Exchange Place
New York, New York

Mr. H. Carl McCall
Project Director
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. H. K. Hochschild
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement
of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace
Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ALSO:

Please have a new stencil made for Dr. Leland DeVinney at Rockefeller Foundation showing him as ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR instead of DEPUTY DIRECTOR.

MR. AND MRS. HARRIS H. PARKER SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL
~~1301 MORGAN STREET~~ 3537 Raven Hill
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29204

pd $2.00 6-3-64 expires May 1965

Hold for
Corrections

Add also - gen. cats + N.S.

Marion R. Ascoli Fund (?)
100 Park Ave. (1000 for def)
N.Y. 17
(Mrs. Marion R. Ascoli, Pres.)

~~Compton Trust~~ (?)
~~20 Exchange Place~~
~~N.Y. 5~~
~~(Mr. Randolph P. Compton)~~

~~Fund for Advancement of Ed.~~ (?)
~~477 Madison Ave~~
~~New York 10022~~
~~John Scanlan~~

~~Eliot Pratt Foundation~~ ?
~~177 E. 87th. Street~~
~~N.Y. N.Y.~~
~~Mr. Eliot D. Pratt.~~

Sopoco Products Co (?)
Hartsville, S.C.
Chas. A. Coker, Pres.

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Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Frank Helderman, E.
Gadsden Times
Gadsden, Alabama

Ted Wylie, E.
Northwest Arkansas Times
Fayetteville, Arkansas

C. F. Byrns, E.
Southwest American-Times Record
Fort Smith, Arkansas

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John S. Knight, E.
Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

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Martin Anderson, E.
Sentinel-Star
Orlando, Florida

James Saxon Childers, E.
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William Gordon, Managing E.
Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

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Tuscaloosa News
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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Memo

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BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY 40403
Department of Philosophy & Religion

March 21, 1966

Rec'd 3/23/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Enclosed is my memorandum on public policy and racial minorities.

I make the following suggestions, for what they are worth, in order of importance.

a) Because I am not a professional in the areas of public policy, civil rights, and state and local government, I strongly urge that you submit this memorandum (or relevant portions to the relevant people) to such professionals when you and the other specialists, in research and elsewhere, at SRC finish with it. Facts, and interpretations of those facts, are especially important to be checked out. I would be especially pleased if the Research staff at SRC would fill in specific details, such as statistics, charts, etc., which it seems to me would enhance the argument.

b) In that regard, it seems to me that the most important part of this memorandum is the fact that it is an effort to try to see the problem of minority assimilation in the South, complex as it is, in a total context and to direct a series of coordinated public policy proposals to that total context. The chief virtue in the memorandum, therefore, is to call attention to the integral and interrelated character of the problems of minority assimilation, and to tentatively, at least, suggest an integral and interrelated public policy to meet these problems. Hence, the professionals and specialists should not be too detailed in their specific recommendations, and not too picayunish in their objections to the synoptic character of the memorandum, which inevitably means generalization and lack of balance.

c) I have not submitted drafts to such professionals or specialists, but I have talked with a couple of them

about the project and the recommendations as a whole, and they support the argument I have tried to summarize in paragraph b) above. I have let several people who have been involved in problems of integration in the South for a number of years as protagonists (white and Negro) see drafts, and I have incorporated a number of their suggestions in the memorandum.

d) I am not pleased at the precision with which I have stated the recommended policies at a number of places, but I feel sure this is due to the fact that I am not a professional, and welcome all efforts at improving the precision of the memorandum. The same is true for my lack of detailed knowledge and information about state government and public administration. No amount of time and study by me can overcome this handicap, which is a further reason for submission to additional specialists inside and outside SRC.

e) Related to this is my lack of enthusiasm with the phrase "minority assimilation." I hope you will feel free to employ alternatives.

f) The description on the title page is taken from Les Dunbar's letter describing the project to me.

I hope things are well with you.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Y. Holloway

PUBLIC POLICY AND MINORITIES

The purpose of this memorandum is to isolate and describe the larger, and the more basic, pressing, and common issues that confront state policymakers about minority assimilation and to develop recommendations for public policy for state governments.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

The "racial crisis" is merely the most striking symptom of a complex malady in American society which must be recognized in public policy recommendations for the assimilation of racial and other minorities.

An honest call by political authorities for full rights and opportunities is a necessary first step. The discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of minorities is widening, thus creating an even more serious and complex problem.

The federal system poses a threat and a promise to minority assimilation. An alternative and parallel arrangement might be found in "regionalism."

Initiative and positive action must, on the administrative as well as on the policy level, supersede the negativism of legal prohibitions against segregation, and must be related to and in part supported by a maximum participation at the local and neighborhood level.

The areas of greatest and most immediate concern to policy-makers dealing with minority assimilation are education, employment, housing, law enforcement, medical services, farm opportunities.

An important requirement for public policy makers is the recognition of "the limits of public policy" in the area of minority assimilation.

The nature and the magnitude of the problem of minority assimilation requires an over-all, exhaustive, and coordinated program of state resources. This might be done at four levels:

1) A State Civil Rights Act;
2) A series of other, related, public policy recommendations; plus
3) an invigorated administration and bureaucracy led by a "Resources Office," and
4) maximum participation of minorities themselves in these policies and programs.

A state Civil Rights Act should

1) serve as and therefore include an "earnest" from the State government to minorities;
2) prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, and in membership in professional, business, commercial or labor organizations;
3) eliminate discrimination in public accomodations by a very broad and general definition of "public accomodations", with a minimum of exclusions;
4) direct enforcement to an agency of the "Resources Office" (a commission on human rights), with clearly specified procedures for initiation and receipt of complaints, on hearings, etc., with persuasion and education as the initial effort.
5) provide for punishment of retaliation and threats of retaliation; and
6) encourage civil rights efforts on county and local levels, including the creation of local commissions of human rights.

The enforcement, coordination and direction and initiative of the program of minority assimilation should be vested in a "Resources Office" whose Executive is responsible directly to the governor and legislator.

The specific public policy recommendations for areas suggested are:

1) <u>Education</u>
   a) beginning with the immediate and total integration of the public school system. The problem of "neighborhood schools" and the integration of faculties must be faced.
   b) Upgrading of the total educational system is an essential factor in minority assimilation; as are the problems of
   c) adult and pre-school education;
   d) "desegregation" and "integration" of textbooks;

e) education of the majority about equal rights in American democracy; and
f) trade and re-training school expansion.
g) Higher education is the keystone and final test of the effectiveness of educational policy in minority assimilation.
   1) Deficiencies in preparation for higher education should be met in several ways;
   2) Public institutions have a responsibility in this regard, as do
   3) Private colleges and universities.
   4) Studies of predominant Negro colleges within the state are necessary in order to plan for their future in both the long and short run.
   5) Professional schools should be required to actively recruit students.
   6) The continued training of Negro public school teachers, especially those discharged by integration, is essential, and provisions thereon must be made.
h) Public policy regarding education is a test of the integrity of the seriousness of programs to assimilate minorities: May the minority student exercise his option to a complete education without impairment because of race, color, religion, or national origin?

2) <u>Employment</u>

a) covered in part by the State Civil Rights Act, should also be the concern of
b) the "Resources Office," by establishing relationships and liasons between federal and local services <u>and</u> colleges, universities, the public school system, and trade schools, etc.; and by
c) attracting industry on an integrated basis.

3) <u>Law</u>: <u>Enforcement</u> <u>and</u> <u>Administration</u>

a) as a problem may find that the key problem is the political commitment of leaders at every level to educate employees and citizens about equal protection of the laws in American democracy.

b) Discrimination in the employment of law enforcing agencies and courts is essential.
c) Licensing of law enforcement officers is necessary.
d) Restrictions on minority law enforcement officers must be removed.
e) Instruction in civil rights, periodically, of all law enforcements is necessary.
f) Committees to deal with police misconduct should be established.
g) Inquiries into the racial element in capital punishment is in order.
h) Prison reforms should pay heed to any racial problems.

4) Housing.

a) The Resources Office should, with state planning commissions, plan for the elimination of ghettos.
b) Discrimination in housing projects might be handled through enforcing the guidelines on the contractors.
c) Rentals, on a non-discriminatory basis, by public housing authorities in established neighborhoods should be undertaken.

5) Voter Registration

a) Universal registration should be inaugurated.
b) Times for registration should be expanded.
c) Absentee voting should be made easier.
d) Election commissioners should heed racial overtones in irregularities.

6) Medical and Hospital Services

Should be guaranteed on a non-discriminatory basis through an agency of the Resources Office, paying particular attention to the practices in emergency situation. Discrimination in professional medical organizations should be prohibited. Negroes should be encouraged and prepared by special efforts to enter the medical professions.

7) Farm Employment, Training and Ownership

The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1965 demonstrates the plight of farm workers in the South and the importance of federal-state cooperation. These problems should be met by loans, training, and re-training and by the creation of a special agency of the Resources Office to coordinate these programs and services.

The choice before the South, and the nation, is whether or not this crucial test of the American system of democracy will be met, democratically.

Domestically, the political system of the United States is facing the most severe test of its capacities since the Civil War. That test is usually referred to as "the racial crisis." But it is now abundantly clear that the crisis of racial assimilation is merely the most striking symptom of a malady that touches every phase of American political, social and economic life. The malady strikes at the heart of the system of American democracy in our time, because previously it has been possible to rationalize, by the western frontier, wars, and the challenge of external foes, the hiatus between our professions about democracy and our performance thereon. The demand for racial equality and opportunity has not only called attention to the plight of racial minorities, but has provided the enthusiasm and the excuse for the examination of the plight of what Michael Harrington has called "The Other America," a plight in which race has an integral, but neither exclusive nor necessarily essential part. Indeed, an increasing number of commentators are suggesting that the "racial" aspect of the problem is almost accidental--that, essentially, the crux of the domestic political crisis centers around the extent to which this and the next generation will honor or pervert the tenents about the universality and equality of rights and opportunities that American democracy has so brashly proclaimed for 150 years. Thus, to cite only one example

from (an essentially conservative source,) THE SATURDAY REVIEW: Emile Capouya, in his review of the recent autobiography and biography of the late Malcolm X, observed:

> Right now, in this country, every man stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. The ideals we profess as a people have scarcely any other function than to color greed at home and violence abroad. We are in a moral and political crisis. Almost alone, Malcolm X knew it and declared it; his doctrine was cast in terms of race, but that was very nearly an accident. Those who responded to his intuition of what was happening to us understood him whether they were Negroes or whites. I think that any reader who is at all accessible to the message must be moved by his autobiography--ingenuous, often mistaken about elementary facts, sometimes less than charitable, but mostly true and mostly very important.

It is necessary to make these observations at the outset so that the heart of the matter of this report will not be ignored by concentrating upon recommendations, techniques, procedures, programs, (etc.). The recommendations, techniques, procedures, programs contained herein are, at best, a belated start on a chronic problem in the life of the South and nation. For that reason, a--if not <u>the</u>--fundamental purpose of this report is to call attention to the context of urgency and complexity of the problem about which we present a number of recommendations, general enough to be adaptable, but specific and relevant enough, we trust, to commence a reasonable and intelligent retreat from the dead-end journey down which the states of our region have

been headed for over one hundred years.

The "crisis of confidence" that exists in this country about equality of legal, political and economic rights and especially opportunities--without regard to racial, social or economic status--while obviously more subtle and complex than the problem with which this report is concerned, is just as obviously related to it. Proposals directed toward public policy in the field of minority assimilation in the South will be little more than short-term crisis-oriented pallatives unless those responsible for public policy recognize the relationship between these two sets of crises. Any attempt to otherwise assimilate cultural and economic and racial minorities will be ephemeral and seriously compound the sense of frustration and alienation already experienced by these minorities. And it is questionable just how far American society--and Southern society in particular--can sustain and assimilate this frustration and this alienation without doing irreparable injury to that society. It is clear, therefore, that, in the final analysis, success in meeting the problems of assimilating racial and cultural minorities will be determined by the willingness and the determination, in the first instance, of National and State political leaders, to meet this broader crisis in American democracy.

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Possibly the most direct way to meet the crisis with which this report is chiefly concerned is to issue a call for honesty--viz., to insist that the Constitutional rights to political and legal equality and economic and social opportunity must be realized fully and forthwith by all citizens. To so insist is to openly admit that several minority groups (in the South) do not at present fully enjoy these rights and opportunities. Such an open admission at the Statehouse level might well be the most important initial step in a program of minority assimilation. In all probability, some such step is the sine quo non, for two reasons: to convince minorities of the sincerity of the political establishment, and to convince state agencies of the determination to face the problems of minorities. Such an insistence would also direct attention to the fact that the discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of economic and racial minorities is widening, not closing. The crises in Mississippi and Alabama occurred after the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964; the Watts streets riots occurred after passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, after Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Bill and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had had opportunity to remove the most obvious source of the riots--hopelessness

and meaninglessness.

The urgency of the widening discrepancy cannot be overstated and must not be overlooked. The discrepancy between the present situation of racial and economic minorities and the legal minimums prescribed by the Constitution of the United States is obvious, alarming, and unless alleviated, will become, in the affluent society, a fixed pattern that will continually ignite Watts streets and Selmas. Democracy as professed in the United States cannot survive the last half of the 20th century unless this overt and covert racial and economic discrimination is purged from American society. The economics of racism presents an obvious consequence of this discrepancy and an immediate challenge to political entities on every level of government. Those racial minorities which presently bear the brunt of the economic consequences of a racist society both in urban and rural areas are the very people most seriously threatened by technological advances in factories and on the farms. Unemployment, living on welfare doles and charities--and the consequent threat to a meaningful life within an ostensibly democratic society--threatens, especially in urban areas, the creation of political as well as racial dissidence of serious proportions. The most recent figures released by the Department of Labor (January 1966) show that

twice as many non-whites are unemployed as whites. [These are figures for the entire nation, and vary for each region, which we might include in a chart about Southern states at this juncture.] What happened in Los Angeles in August 1965 is a portent of things to come. Every qualified observer who has studied the causes of the present situation in Watts streets has predicted further trouble. The uneasiness in Chicago, East Harlem, Rochester, and in several areas of the South is well known.

The increasing "affluence" of the majority of American society and economy highlights the discrepancy between economic and political possession and opportunity for possession, and no where more obviously than in the programs of mass communications. The programing and the advertisements direct attention dramatically to the disparity between the lives of the white majority of established American "haves" and the lives of the impoverished, Negro, dis-established "have-nots." This disparity cannot fail to be noticed by those deprived by the political and economic system which persistently implores its citizenry to loyalty and thanksgiving for the benefits of living in "the greatest country the world has ever known."

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This report is concerned with public policy recommendations for state and local governments. Federalism, therefore, as a political method and a political value is a

presupposition to the recommendations. And the fact is that the future of the federal system as a basic value and as a viable political undertaking in American politics may well depend upon the response of state and local governments to this principal domestic problem--viz, the treatment and assimilation of minority groups. (The impact of technology--especially in the bloated "defense" economy--may well pose the most serious threat to federalism, but this falls for the most part outside the scope of this paper.) The record of state and local governments in the South in the field of political rights, education, law enforcement, employment opportunities, public accomodations and medical care, for example, provides little ground for hope that the federal system can succeed here and stave off national control. Further discouragement about the capacity of local political units to deal forthrightly with the problems of minority assimilation is found in the responses of the administrations of certain large cities (Chicago and Los Angeles the most notable examples) to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. When the very instrument designed to overcome minority deprevations is used by local political units (and local politicians) to increase their own power at the expense of the dispossessed, the despair and hopelessness that ignite riots and insurrections can be expected.

In the South, particularly, "federalism" as a political principle is usually connected with the value of "states' rights". But this, in turn, has been the chief device by which Southern state and local governments have not only impeded the assimilation of Negroes into Southern society, but have also sanctioned, and in some instances abetted and encouraged, violence against and the intimidation of Negroes. To suggest that "states' rights" permits the thwarting of the republican form of government in the United States, to suggest that "federalism" is the principle by which political rights and economic and social opportunities can be denied to American citizens is an obvious and fundamental violation of the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution and of the intention of the authors of the Constitution.

"Federalism", however, provides both threat and promise in the effort to effectively assimilate minorities. It can be, as it has been, used to thwart the legitimate legal and economic opportunities of minorities. It can, on the other hand, be a positive and healthy principle by which the national government may work effectively with local political sub-divisions to meet a problem that can be resolved, finally and effectively, only on the local level. What needs to be urged, however, is that there is no guarantee in the success of "federalism," or the rejection thereof. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 recognizes

and accepts the importance of effective cooperation between national and local governments. Early experiences in the administration of funds under Title II must be carefully studied (in the ensuing years) in order to learn the possibilities and the pitfalls. At the present time the more obvious errors are apparent (the Johnson Administration's decision to channel funds through Mayor Daley in Chicago and, even after the Watts streets riots, through Mayor Yorty in Los Angeles), and, unhappily may suggest the trend for future O.E.O. programs. Policy planners must study reports (including newspaper reports) on several experiences of the working relationships between national and local political units. Here is an instance where state and local officials might rescue the initiative from federal agencies.

The importance of "federalism" to the effort of assimilating cultural minorities, and especially for this report on policy recommendations, is seen in the fact that one of the major recommendations of this report is the necessity of a neighborhood and individual participation by minorities in the decision-making process and administration of these programs themselves. There are sufficient indications that the problems of minority assimilation into America, and especially into southern society will be more effectively handled and finally resolved on the local level. With the one-man one-vote decision of

the United States Supreme Court, "local" political units are undergoing a profound change throughout the nation, and especially in the South. This change itself can, and ought to, be used by national, state and local political leaders to assimilate the previously politically and economically disfranchised who make up the very minorities which must be brought into all phases of American life. "The Negro's central problem," writes Charles E. Silberman in CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE, "is to discover his identity, or to create an identity for himself. What history suggests is that when the Negro solves his problem of identity, he will have gone a long way towards finding the means of relating himself to every other American group." Self-identity is not found apart from active participation in and determination of one's life and destiny. Welfarism and paternalism can no longer be used to delay the integration of minorities, or minorities, into the American system, even at the price of a radical change in the system.

The old ways of Southern Stoic-type paternalism and Northern welfare-paternalism, while perhaps not deliberately designed to keep the Negro from creating "an identity" for himself, had precisely that effect. The real beginning of a solution of minority assimilation will occur wherever minorities are permitted to design

their own solutions to their own problems, in precisely the same manner in which the majority groups in American social and economic establishment does. Federalism here can be a positive device to encourage and sustain just such a movement, for the problem of minority assimilation will not only be ultimately resolved but will be more effectively handled over the long run by local rather than national direction. Clearly, however, the operative phrase here is "effectively handled" and "over the long run." The necessity for such a memorandum as the present one demonstrates the fact that heretofore state and local governments have largely abdicated their own clearly defined political responsibility, and thereby invited the intervention of national government into guaranteeing equal protection of the rights and opportunities of all citizens.

And, in point of fact, unless the assimilation of Negroes into all phases of Southern life is accepted and successfully met on state, county, city and township level, the problem will remain, by definiation, insoluble. The consequent peril of prolonging a solution to this problem is, of course, continued political turmoil, violence, and the increasing threat of anarchy and insurrection.

Needless to say, one of the fundamental issues involved in this discussion is "inward commitment."

In the first instance, state and local political authorities must accept the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing programs for equal treatment and assimilation of racial minorities. Visible proof of the above mentioned "inward commitment" of state and local political authorities will be seen when these same authorities initiate and maintain as one of their chief political responsibilities leadership of their people to interest in and support of programs for minority assimilation. Such assimilation is a basic value and goal of political democracy. It will provide an acid test over the next several decades about the dedication of Southern political units to the values of political democracy.

One possible alternative to the current moribund federalism that has made a measure of achievement over the past three or four decades is "regional arrangements." The insights of Howard Odum, an important figure in the early history of the Southern Regional Council, might well be applied to the regional character of the South's racial as well as economic and social and political problems. Indeed, such regional arrangements might well rejuvinate federalism and offer to the South a more dynamic as well as a more relevant approach to problems which so obviously defy state and local boundaries. The partial and potential successes, for example, of arrangements among the state of the Appalachian region in

meeting the problems of strip coal mining, water pollution and deforestation offers a precedent and a promise. [The definition of "community action program" in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 would seem (may?) to permit such regional arrangements: cf. Section 202: "The term 'Community action program' means a program (1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private, of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a "community"), including <u>but not limited to a State</u>, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicity unit, or multicounty unity in an attack on poverty."] But a further source of strength can be found through regional arrangements among the states in overcoming local intransigence and prejudice as well as intrenched interest--economic and social--that is not presently available in arrangements between the federal government and state and local political authorities. The political traditions as well as the legal arrangements of this nation--for good or ill--have been geared toward local responsibility (and irresponsibility) in facing local problems. Perhaps a satisfactory and an important half-way house between localism and central initiative and control would be these regional arrangements.

The alternative to responsible state and local and regional activity in facing the problems of minority assimilation is clear: the "federal principle" (~~[illegible]~~, in this sense,

state and local initiative and responsibility) in the areas of human rights and opportunities will continue to deteriorate at an even more rapid rate than has been the case during the past quarter decade. The pressure for and the urgency of the problems of minorities in this nation will not be thwarted by an appeal to an illegitimate federalism. Indeed, if it is clear that if federalism--in the strictest legal sense--becomes a barrier to the realization of minority rights, then federalism will be swept away, de facto, if not also de jure.

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The principal lesson that the past twenty-four months has provided is that public policy on either the national, or the state and local level cannot be restricted merely to seeking an end to existing discrimination and compulsory segregation. Something far more positive than the mere legal prohibition against discrimination and segregation is obviously necessary. The President of the United States pays some homage to this truism, and in recent months has insisted that the more difficult and complex problems about minority rights that faces the federal government is transfering legal equality into human brotherhood. In the system of American democracy, however, this goal cannot be achieved--and possibly even successfully initiated--apart from full, active and committed participation on the state and local level. A principal concern and recommendation of this report consequently is that

present commissions, boards, agencies, which by statute, or administrative decision have been involved in problems of minority rights and opportunities to receive or initiate and act upon complaints must move from this largely negative function to the more positive one of searching out the ways and means whereby minorities may be more effectively assimilated into Southern society. Perhaps this task, more than any, points to the tentative and initial quality of this report: in the first place, most of these "complaint-centered" agencies in the South have scarcely had time to learn their function of receiving and acting upon complaints before these new demands are put upon them to become initiators and innovators rather than reactors. And some states have few, if any, of the complaint-centered agencies to eliminate discrimination. But surely it is not premature to suggest that these agencies be ready to move into a more positive role before they become victims of their own precedents and prejudices--in much the way that complaint-centered agencies of the north have become--and functionally unable to move from a negative to a positive role.

Appendix of Cases - Southern Agencies

With that particular recommendation in mind, therefore, it is necessary to insist that state and local policy must move, forthrightly, to bring about an actual integration of all sectors of public life. The complexity of modern American society and economy is

such that this integration and assimilation will not come about apart from a determined and dedicated drive by state and local governments to make it come about. And, as we shall continue to insist throughout this report, unless minorities are assimilated, the American system will undergo a change so radical as to deny the concepts of its founders.

There are a number of reasons that public policy must be geared into an active and positive role of assimilating minorities instead of a restrained, negative role of eliminating current discrimination and segregation. It is necessary that public policy-makers be aware of these reasons. In the first place, any political or economic or racial majority is fundamentally reluctant to wittingly or reasonably share its political and social and economic well-being with a minority. This is especially true in the case of a racial minority in a political tradition which offers few if any precedents for rationally sharing political and economic power. Especially in the South, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 could provide a rational channel for the political adjustments necessary to bring about minority assimilation, (even though the Bill itself was not reasonably induced: one thinks of Mississippi in 1964, and Birmingham, and Selma, and Montgomery). Further, low-level administrators and bureaucrats are notorious for inertia, for an unwillingness to initiate

or innovate plans or programs. Any alteration and innovation--to begin at the most obvious level--breaks the routine of the past, whether the past be five years, or fifty years. Bureaucracies, regardless of their origins or aims, are by nature and profession conservative. The responsibility for breaking the stranglehold of conservatism in the area of minority assimilation resides with the elected officials in whom, finally, responsibility for policy planning and implementation will ultimately lie.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for the necessity of positive initiative in the area of public policy for minority assimilation is the patent and ominous failure of the "desegregated" society of the North to lead to a continuous and gradual elimination of the barriers to political rights and economic opportunities. Legal prohibition of discrimination and segregation has been a fact of life in most Northern states for a century. Their commissions and agencies were structured to "receive and act upon complaints," in order to eliminate existing discrimination. But opportunities for assimilation into the predominate society of the North decreased, rather than increased, with the growth of the minority population in the North. No initiative was taken to avoid the development of new structures of discrimination. The vast ghettos of the

north, (and the intransigent and self-righteous insistence upon "neighborhood schools") are testimony to the failure of political legal arrangements geared merely to performing the largely negative function of eliminating existing discrimination and segregation. Small wonder that minoritites see the law as the instrument whereby "segregation" is prohibited, but which in fact prohibits them--in the name of "desegregation"--from integrating into American society. Small wonder that minorities see law and legal arrangements as simply the instrument of the northern Liberal to preserve both his ideology and his predominance in the social structure.

Public policy in the South, therefore, ought to learn from the Northern failures. Public policy in the South must directly and without equivocation and with "inward commitment and outward determination" assimilate minorities into all areas of American society.

What, then, are the areas that are of greatest and most immediate concern to public policy-makers on the state and local level determined to assimilate minorities into all segments of Southern society? The fact is, there is little disagreement in the areas that demand the most immediate attention of public policy and minority assimilation. Racial and economic minorities, their leaders, and social scientists share some a measure of agreement that education, employment, housing and law enforcement are chief problem areas. But the further fact is

that, ~~apart from such~~ including the restricted--politically, legally, socially, and economically--efforts as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently under consideration by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, no thoroughgoing approach to the problem of minority assimilations at present exists. The chief purpose of this study is to provide at least a first step in the direction of a synoptic or overall approach to this problem. The first step in this task, therefore, is of fundamental importance: to isolate and direct attention to those areas in which it is generally agreed that public policy must center its energies and intelligence in seeking to assimilate minorities. We shall make suggestions for the direction public policy might take within these areas, but these suggestions must be deliberately general--not only because of the difficulty in projecting suggestions for thirteen distinct political entities and economic areas, but also because of the importance attached to the conviction already discussed: that the most reliable, long-term solution to public policy minority assimilation will develop out of an honest and genuine dialogue between public policy-makers, executives, administrations, legislators, and state agencies on the one hand, and "residents of the areas and members of the groups served" (to use the language of the Economic

Opportunity Act of 1964).

Many sociologists have directed attention to the fact that the very social system in the South which blocked integration is being radically and fundamentally changed by social and economic forces affecting the whole of American society, forces having little to do with "the racial crisis." Arnold Rose, for example, believes in giving the "greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political, sometimes wielded deliberately but more often impersonally in the form of great trends affecting the whole society" viz., "continuing industrialization and technological advance, the high level of mobility among the American people" and, to a lesser extent, "the organization and political education of minority groups, an increased American awareness of world opinion, consistent support from other branches of the federal government and the Northern state governments, and the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights" (THE ANNALS, January 1965).

The "great trends affecting the whole of society" (in Rose's phrasing), and more especially the economic and political ones, point to what are unquestionably the most basic and the most common problem areas which public policy makers must face in meeting the tasks of assimilating minorities. In these areas--the areas in

which "the great trends affecting the whole of society"--are both the urgency and opportunity for the policymaker. A chief emphasis of this report is that in the first instance public policy must be directed to the minority problems implicit in these "great trends affecting the whole of society". These trends ought to be viewed not as harbingers of crisis but as seeds of opportunity in dealing with minority assimilation.

In their examination of the Racial Crisis in America (1964), Killian and Grigg make an often-repeated observation (p. 130): "It is true that tokenism is 'too little and too late.' But it is also true that token desegregation will be the dominant pattern until the cultural deficit of the Negro masses is reduced or the majority of Negroes reject integration as a goal, as the Black Muslims would have it . . . . The spatial distribution of the Negro population, the cultural deprivation of the Negro masses, and the social organization of the Negro community make it clear that, in the present circumstances, not many Negroes can benefit directly from the Supreme Court's decisions. Only a minority of 'qualified', highly motivated individuals will be willing and able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the new legal principle. Over and over again it has been demonstrated that plans for 'voluntary desegregation' either result in token desegregation or, if more than a token number of Negro volunteers

appear, in the eventual 'resegregation' of the institution and neighborhood." (italics added).

The Chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, as far back as December 1963, made much the same point, and it is as germane, and all the more urgent, two years later. He granted that the integration of public facilities was important, and that it was "also important to be called 'Sir' rather than 'boy'. But more basic than any of these are education and employment. The great mass of Negroes are more concerned where they work than where they eat; winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who cannot afford the cost of the meal." George H. Esser, Jr., the Executive Director of the North Carolina Fund noted (at that same conference in December 1963) that half the families in North Carolina exist on less than $1,000 a year, and that surging mechanization in the factory and the farm makes the plight of uneducated, unskilled workers even more desperate. "Unless we face the challenge that is on us and if we don't decide to do something about it immediately, we're going to wind up by 1970 with more unemployables than a democractic nation can afford to have."

(check this)

Education and employment are, from the point of view of public policy, the crucial and interrelated factors that form the crux of the problem of minority assimilation. There will be no substantial solution to any of the other,

perhaps equally frustrating but individually less basic, problems that form the heart of the problem of minority assimilation. Public policy recommendations must, inevitably, seek to coordinate the problems in and policy for these areas with related yet distinct problems in law enforcement and administration, voter registration and participation, medical and hospital services, farm employment, and training and ownership.

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The premise upon which this study is based is that political, social, and economic disaster can be avoided only by a determined coordination of every resource of state government into an exhaustive effort to bring about the assimilation of minorities. But planning for this task will itself be doomed to failure unless the "limits of public policy" are recognized <u>at the outset</u> of the effort. The fact is that public policy recommendations, political activity, fresh judicial and administrative decisions are ~~themselves~~ insufficient to meet the problems of minority assimilation. What is meant here is far more than the hackneyed expression of ~~the~~ moribund conservatism that "morality cannot be legislated." Rather, the point is twofold: first, public policy recommendations must take into consideration the fact that without active acceptance by the majorities and full participation by

the minorities, the division of minority and majorities, along currently existing lines will continue indefinitely. Second, as the periodic attacks upon the problems of Appalachia have demonstrated over the past thirty years, programs which do not have a built-in awareness of their specific limitations are doomed to discouragement and abandonment at early, and sometimes only temporary, failures.

The consequences of this are clear. Public policy must encourage and solicit the active support of both majorities and minorities, especially with a view to developing the relevant responses of the minorities to programs for their assimilation into areas providing for the maximum expression of options and opportunities. The coordinated program to eliminate minority injustices and inequality must be drafted with full recognition of the long-range, on-going nature of the task it seeks to meet, and legislators, administrators, and the public at large must understand this aspect of the program and the policy. False optimism and early discouragements can only compound the existing problem by increasing the feeling of frustration and despair by minorities and of frustration and recklessness by the majority. A recognition of the "limits" of public policy, therefore, should assist the framing of a more viable and relevant series of public

policy recommendations, by developing programs designed to encourage types of efforts which, by definition, are beyond the possibility of direct political influence.

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We envision, therefore, a coordination of all resources of state government into an exhaustive effort to assimilate minorities in the earliest yet most effective and permanent manner. There are four major aspects to this task from the point of view of public policy.

1) A State Civil Rights Act, (patterned after the Kentucky Civil Rights Act and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.) Such an Act is necessary for two prinicpal reasons. First, it will serve as an earnest to those racial and economic minorities in the South who, for over one hundred years, have seen the political instrumentalities of their states used to keep them locked in a minority status. A great deal has been made about the fact that the pattern of state (and federal) government activities toward minorities has in the past generation shifted <u>from</u> outright hostility toward minorities and preserving the status quo of the existing power structure through the use of the machinery of government, <u>to</u> the use of

let's read these

that machinery as a neutral, an umpire, between majority and minorities. We contend, therefore, that the machinery of government must now be used positively and actively to assimilate minorities into the mainstream of Southern life. A State Civil Rights Act would be a highly significant gesture of government to Negro minorities, indicating that their governments now intend to meet the obligations of providing equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. Similarly, a State Civil Rights Act would bind future state administrations to the goal of minority assimilation, and have a cleansing effect upon State politics.

About the 1966 Kentucky Civil Rights Act, Martin Luther King said: "The passage of this legislation comes as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of human captivity. We in SCLC, in conjunction with our affiliate organization, the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, will cooperate in every way to implement this all-important bill. . . [The Bill contains] strong and enforceable public accommodations and fair employment legislation. This is a milestone for a Southern State, and indeed, a great step forward in any state. The passage of this bill will serve as a great beacon light of hope for all men of goodwill and hopefully inspire other states to follow suit."

Secondly, there are some aspects of public policy and minority assimilation which are best covered in a Civil Rights Act, especially the declaration of intention to bind the machinery of the state's government toward equality, the elimination of discrimination in employment, public accommodations, possibly law-enforcement, in the establishment of a state agency having principle responsibility for directing the coordinated program for minority assimilation, and for coordinating federal and state programs concerned with Civil Rights.

2) We envision a series of other public policy recommendations related in some cases to the State Civil Rights Act but which required specific and immediate attention because of their importance and urgency in the field of minority assimilation--notably education and employment, law enforcement, medical and hospital services and farm employment.

3) We envision the need of public policy to address itself to bureaucracies dealing with the problems of minority assimilation. While this is a common problem in every phase of the coordinated program, it requires specific mention at this juncture. The importance suggests that a special study of bureaucracy might be undertaken by each state on various levels of administration. The problem is concerned not merely with the agencies and

commissions concerned with problems of equal rights and opportunities being gradually shifted from complaint-centered to initiators of positive programs, but to what seems to be a built-in conservativism peculiar to American bureaucracies. Restrictions are already on record in the projects encouraging Community Action Programs to exert external pressure upon state and federal bureaucracies. Some plans must be devised to enable the bureaucracies directly involved in minority assimilation to re-orient and reorganize themselves to meet the current challenges.

4) We envision that every phase of these public policy recommendations must have as its central task the effective and genuine participation of the minorities in programs designed to assimilate them into the mainstream of our society. This should be done in every plan and program (including the drafting of a Civil Rights Bill), and especially in giving advice and effectiveness to programs of education, employment, medical services, neighborhood activities, law enforcement and farm programs. This policy has become axiomatic with those who have identified themselves most closely with problems of racial and economic minorities. It has been regarded as an ever-present danger to a number of city and state political leaders and even local administrators employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The relation of

the maximum participation of minorities to the issue of the "limits" of public policy in assimilating minorities ought to be obvious. Without such maximum participation, the ~~line drawn~~ area delineated by the "limiting" line of public policy will be narrower than it need be. Nathan Glazer recently made an important observation about the necessity for instrumentalities other than political ones to guarantee the success of any programs designed to meet the related evils of poverty and racism:

> And since the problem of poverty is so largely concentrated in our Negro population, I am convinced that much of the effort and manpower involved in overcoming it must come from the Negro community, even if funds that power it come from the Federal government [and we may add, "state governments"]. It is axiomatic to me that Negro organizations--whether they educate, train, advise, employ, organize, or what not--can potentially do far, far more with Negro clients than can governmental organizations. It is in the stimulation of individual and group effort--whether motivated by profit, charity, group pride, or the desire for individual fulfillment or salvation--that I see the most productive courses we can follow to overcome poverty. [Italics added.]

But the issue of minority participation in a democracy relates, in a very practical and very immediate way, to the majority. Saul Alinsky has eloquently reminded us that:

> From the beginning, it has been self-evident that the point of mortality of the democratic way of life has been in the people. This way of life cannot work unless most of the individuals work at it. The price is daily participation by the populace. One hundred and twenty-five years ago

De Tocqueville gravely warned that unless individual citizens were regularly involved in the action of governing themselves, that self-government would pass from the scene. Citizen participation is the animating spirit and force in a society predicated upon voluntarism.

We are not here concerned with the ever-present numbers of people who profess the democratic faith, but basically yearn for the dark security of dependency where they can be spared the burdens of decisions, fearful of personal responsibilities. Reluctant to, or incapable of growing up, they desire a constant childhood with others caring for them. Those who can should be encouraged to grow; for the other, the fault lies not in the system but in themselves.

Here, we are desperately concerned with the vast mass of our people, who, thwarted through lack of interest or opportunity, or both, to regularly partake of the frequent duties and responsibilities of citizenship are resigned to a destiny determined by others. Loss of identification as a citizen in a democracy is but a step from loss of identification as a person. The sense of not belonging produces a political and social numbness. If no one cares for you then you don't care for anyone. People react to this situation by not acting. The divorce of the people from the routine daily functions of citizenship become the heartbreak of democracy.

It is a grave situation when a people have reached a point of resignation of citizenship. Even when a resident of any great metropolis may have a desire to take a hand, he lacks the instrument by means of which he can translate his desire into active participation. And so the local citizen sinks further into apathy, anonymity, and depersonalization. The end is his complete dependence on public authority and a state of civic-sclerosis.

From time to time there has been an enemy at our gates; this time the Soviets, east and west; all the time, however, there has been and is the enemy within us; that hidden, malignant inertia carrying more certain destruction to our life and future than that in any nuclear warhead. There can be no darker or more devastating tragedy than the death of man's faith in himself, in his power to direct his future.

What public policymakers face in the effort to assimilate minorities, therefore, is the possibility of a genuine renewal or an inevitable disintegration of the democratic way of life. The possibilities of public policy--if the "limits" are recognized--in renewing American democracy by assimilating minorities is the most important domestic political challenge of the second half of the twentieth century.

We shall concern ourselves first with an outline of broad but essential features of a civil rights bill before turning to a sketch of the agency which might direct and coordinate the principal efforts in minority assimilation, and conclude with some specific recommendations for public policy in particularly acute areas.

We have already called attention to the two principal factors which call for the enactment of a state Civil Rights Law. Attention should also be directed to the fact that the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964 acknowledged the desirability of implementing the public policy of the United States--i.e., non-discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin--at the state and local level. That Act emphasized that its own enforcement could be through state agencies

functioning under state laws which were compatible with the federal statute.

In this connection, a state Civil Rights Act would not only meet the requirements of federal law, but would provide a more sensitive, more efficient, more relevant, more effective, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. It should, thereby, provide a more viable approach to and enforcement of the civil rights of all citizens, and thus provide the bulwark for minority assimilation.

The general outline of a state Civil Rights Act which follows uses as its principal model the Kentucky modification of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act. It is suggested that the final draft of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act be consulted, when completed.

The first Article declares the purpose of the act, the importance of the earnest the act provides to all, but especially, to citizens of minority race or economic class. "To safeguard all individuals within the State from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accomodations; thereby to protect their interest in personal dignity and freedom from humiliation in places of public accomodation, to make available to the State their full productive capacities in employment,

to secure the State against domestic strife and unrest which would menace its democratic institutions, to preserve the public safety, health and general welfare, and to further the interests, rights and privileges of individuals within the state."

The Article covering definitions should include under "person" not only "one or more individuals, labor unions, joint apprentice committees, partnerships, associations, corporations, the State and its subdivisions", but also specify chambers of commerce, real estate dealers, organizations of professional and commercial persons, including medical associations, teacher associations etc... The necessity for this specification is obvious; the reasons for it equally so, upon review of the consequences in medical practice, teaching, business operations, etc., of segregating these professional and commercial associations.

The Article concerning Equal Employment Opportunity should have as its goal the elimination of employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin, for, as a minimum goal, 90% of a state's employees. This, rather than the percentage of employers covered, should be the determinative figure, although the percentage of employers covered should be the maximum, in line with the aims of the bill. Definitions

within this article should specify professional and commercial organizations along with labor organizations. "Employer" should mean a person who has five (5) or more employees with the state in each of fifteen (15) or more calendar weeks.

This article should make it unlawful for an employer to fail or refuse to hire any employe, to discriminate against an employe in wages, working conditions, and other privileges or to limit or segregate employes in any way which would deprive or adversely affect his status as an employe, because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employment agencies, public or private, should also be covered in this article in their referring for employment individuals who seek their services. Labor, professional, and commercial organizations should no longer, under this article, be permitted to limit membership, segregate or classify membership, or cause employers or agencies with which they deal, to discriminate against individuals on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employers and others, including individuals seeking employment should be prohibited from publishing advertisements specifying race, color, religion or national origin in matters concerning employment, or employer-employe relationships. The obvious provisions for dealing with equal treatment based on individual

merit, and for a "reasonable exercise" of religious preference to church-related educational institutions and should also be included in this article.

The Article covering Public Accomodations should draw on the experience of state laws, and the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, on this subject. Clarity and uniformity are best achieved by making the coverage provisions as general as possible, and this clarity, in turn, eliminates both anxiety in the minds of owners and customers and the possibility of subterfuge. It should be made unlawful (in the words of the Kentucky act) "for a person to deny an individual the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accomodations of a place of public accomodation, resort or amusement" on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. Place of public accomodation, resort or amusement would include "any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed, which supplies goods or services to the general public or which solicits or accepts the patronage or trade of the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds." Exclusions should cover only private clubs, defined not as "a place of public accomodation if its policies are determined by its members and its facilities or services are available

only to its members and their bona fide guests;" barber shops and beauty shops grossing less than $5,000 a year; rooming or boarding houses containing no more than four rooms for rent or hire, within a building occupied by the proprietor as his residence. Publications and advertisements indicating discriminatory practices or services should be prohibited in this article.

Enforcement of the Act should be in the hands of an appropriate agency of the Resources Office, possibly incorporating within such Office any existing Commission on Human Rights. Its initial, and [redacted] chief, work would, hopefully, be educational, persuasive, and conciliatory. But the Commission should have the"power to receive, initiate, investigate, seek to conciliate, hold hearings on, and pass upon complaints alleging violations of" the state Civil Rights act. The Commission would conduct preliminary investigations upon receipt of or initiation of complaints, determine if there is sufficient cause to believe that unlawful discrimination is being practiced. If so, it would proceed first to encourage compliance by conciliation and persuasion. If this fails, the Commission would then serve a complaint upon the party charged with discrimination, hold a public hearing, subpoena both witnesses and documents, barring the Commission member who filed or received and investigated and sought to conciliate the

complaint. If the law is found to be violated, a cease and desist order should be issued, subject to review and enforcement in the state courts. Complaints are dismissed when staff investigation finds no probable cause, although the complainant can appeal this decision to the state courts. (Procedures found in the Model State Administrative Procedure Act should serve as a guide to protection of complainants, respondents, use of subpoenas and avoidance of general "fishing expeditions" in the conduct of hearings.)

Retaliation, and conspiracy to retaliate, against anyone exercising rights guaranteed by the State Civil Rights act should be made an unlawful act punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

Finally, the act should provide for the establishment of local commissions of human rights to encourage all levels of local government to protect citizens from discrimination, permitting counties to create such commissions, and cities and counties to cooperate with them in order to eliminate discrimination, and to pass ordinances enforceable in state courts.

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The Commission whose duties are summarized in the Civil Rights act to enforce the Act and to receive, initiate, investigate, conciliate, hold hearings on and pass upon complaints alleging violations of the Act, should, we believe, be a part of a broader state Agency or Office

whose chief responsibility would be to initiate, and implement public policy dealing with minority assimilation, and to direct and coordinate the programs in existing agencies on the state and local level having to do with this problem. The details of such an Agency, Commission, or Office should, of course, be determined by specific states, but the chief functions of such an agency are fairly clear. (We shall refer to this agency hereafter as the Resources Office.)

We believe that the task of assimilating minorities is so urgent and so complex that a specially created, permanent Office is required to effectively initiate and direct the program. Quite possibly the Office should have several divisions, one being concerned with the enforcement of provisions of Civil Rights Act, and the other to include all of the other activities of the minority assimilation program. The immensity of the task of minority assimilation is so great that piece-meal, ad hoc programs are doomed to failure. The Office should be composed of those whose task it will be to continue to search out ways in which to implement, improve, speed minority assimilation, as well as implement the programs of initial legislative efforts. We suggest that the importance of this Office be established in many ways: the appointment of a Director whose prestige is assured by his designation as an Officer of the State

Administration who is responsible directly to the Governor and to the Legislature.

One function that should be performed by this Office is the collection and dissemination of information relative to problems of minority assimilation. It should be in possession of progress upon all such programs. It should be ready to distribute by a number of means information that would effectively counter the work of hate-groups and racists, simply by publishing straightforward and factual information. This office should also have responsibility for directing studies to be made of problems peculiar to minority assimilation in each state and, in cooperation with other states, in their regions. For example, the economic cost of unassimilated minorities should be an initial and integral part of the work of this agency and this study should be kept up to date. Other such studies which immediately come to mind would be possible effect of reapportionment; of urban decay; of rural migration; of birth control; of the relation of cultural deprevation and non-verbal "sub-cultures" and the possibilities of maximum educational attainment.

One of the reasons for urging an overall and comprehensive program for minority assimilation is the fact that there has never existed, on either Federal or state level, planning which takes seriously into account the problem with which we are here concerned. The over-all

planning for this task should be done closely with state planning agencies (largely concerned with economic matters; indeed, no plan should be regarded as completed until it had gone through the Office concerned with minority assimilation and relevant state agencies such as education, finance, etc.)

Another activity of this Office would be concerned with the establishment of a code--possibly leading to legislation--covering the mass media. Perhaps an agency in this Office could administer such a code. In any event, some sort of code of fair practices is needed, especially in the coverage of news relating to "race relations", and also to matters of the sponsorship of certain types of "devotional" and/or "educational" programs by well-known economic-racial conservatives.

This Office should also have responsibility for dealing with problems of state-local relationships, and programs, dealing with minority assimilation. Assuming that the Civil Rights Act were effectively drawn, the state responsibility should supersede local perogatives in cases of minority discrimination. Indeed, the Office could well provide a clear delination of authority from the Federal Civil Rights act, through State efforts (summarized in Article 1 of the State Act), and to the local level. This would insure not only that the Office serve as a clearing

house of information, but would insure as well that minorities received the full resources--legal, economic, and otherwise--of the state, federal, and local governments in the abatement of their problems.

The Office which we have described here will bear the principal governmental burden for the ongoing problem of assimilating minorities. It should be characterized by integrity and determination, for one of its chief tasks will be to create, and maintain, an atmosphere of openness and willingness throughout the State to complete the tasks facing all of the people of the state. The constitution of the Office should be framed in such a way that it be free of political tug-of-war and campaign pot-shots. The Executive should probably be appointed by the governor, with appropriate legislative approval, and a Board of Directors with over-lapping terms, whose appointments are determined by their insight into the urgency of the problem and ability to cope with it, plus experience in the State in various capacities, without regard to political affiliation. The Constitution of the Office should make it clear that the office is central in the State's administration, and that its tasks are second to none performed by the state.

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Education, with employment, are the two areas in which

public policy recommendations are most likely to meet with success, and they are the areas which require the most immediate attention.

I. EDUCATION

A. The first step in meeting the problem of education faced by a determination to assimilate minorities is the immediate integration of the public school system, all grades, all phases. The gradualism and evasiveness, and in some instances fear, that have accompanied compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court decision suggests that an over-all state plan to integrate school systems immediately and completely is needed--quite independent, therefore, of specific plans made by localities at the behest of the Federal District Courts. We believe that such a plan, and the implementation thereof, should be put into the Resources Office of the state agency just described rather than in the state department of education. Officials in the State Department should share a responsible part of the planning to complete the integration of the school system. But final responsibility for the program, and for its implementation, should reside with the Resources Office.

Comment in a chart and state had to date

Among the issues that must be faced in planning the end of minority isolation, is the problem of de facto segregation in the concept of "neighborhood schools." This obvious subterfuge must be faced and solved in the

plan to complete integration of the school system. Another issue that the plan should cover is the integration of public school faculties, which is essential in assimilation of minorities, and would provide in most cases a positive example of such assimilation. Similarly, provisions must be made for the integration of school administrations and school boards as well as of faculties and students. Possibly some form of a quota system should be used in the initial stages to insure that Negro teachers, administrators and school board members are appointed.

B. Related to the integration of student bodies, faculties, administrations and school boards is the fact that an emergency program is in order in each Southern State that would bring the school system abreast of other systems in the nation. This involves, in the first instance, an up-grading of the teaching professions in public education by increased salaries and benefits, with the corresponding increase in requirements for teacher qualification and certification. These qualifications should be maintained through renewal of certificates upon continued work and study.

C. Public schools have a responsibility today to educate other than young people, and this task is one that touches one of the central problems of minorities--adult illiteracy, and pre-school deficiencies. Public school

systems must supplement the education of those who have suffered under a segregated school system, and this means primarily adult general education programs, begun immediately, and offered in the evening hours and, for those unemployed, daytime hours. The program should be tuition free, and textbooks provided without cost. Related to this is the problem (isolated by Martin Deutsch and others) of the permanent effect in the formative years of ages 1-5 of "non-verbal" and non-reading environments. (To meet this problem, public schools must commence "head-start" programs on a year-round basis, as early as four years old, introducing children to the rudiments of education, socialization, reflection.)

D. School text-books ought to be "desegregated" and "integrated". This notorious problem in American education must be met immediately. The influence--politically, economically, militarily, socially, culturally--of minorities must become a part of the instruction of young people in the traditions of their democracy.

E. Related to a task already discussed for the Resources Office is the necessity of an overt program to educate the white majority of Southerners about the basic constitutional rights of all citizens. The legal egalitarianism of the Constitution must be made obvious. Furthermore, the white majority must be made to realize

that economic opportunity and well-being, along with political and social equality, is as far as their own immediate situation is concerned, the essential feature of the American system of democracy. This program can be carried out in several ways which relate it to the work of the Resources Office. Members of the Resources Office could prepare material for use by the Governor in speaking on the urgency of the problem of minority assimilation.

F. Trade and Retraining schools are in need of creation and/or expansion. Those who are presently disinherited economically and socially by the centuries of segregation have a right to be prepared by education and trade to be assimilated into this society. Those presently suffering the greatest hardship through lack of skills and training in the South are Negroes who have suffered under, at best, an inadequate educational system. Trade and retraining should not be restricted to young people. The public education system has a responsibility to prepare all citizens capable of earning a living for a trade.

Another function of trade and re-training schools would be to work particularly with those schools whose student bodies have been most severely dislocated by integration--particularly those students in them who have been unwilling or unable to continue in an integrated school system.

This preparation in trade and technical schools should be carried out in an integrated atmosphere as part of the education of moving into integrated employment.

Finally, this preparation should be in skills that are relevant to the last half of the twentieth century, and not restricted to automobile mechanics and plumbing--that is, in electronics, computor operations, etc. more elaboration

G. There are a number of specific recommendations dealing with the field of higher education.

1. The fact is that equality in higher education is still a distant goal in the south (and through most of the nation) because of the continuance of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from adequate preparation for college and university work. Because of this, all segments of higher education have a special responsibility for instituting programs to overcome this educational deficit produced by inadequate and segregated school systems. A variety of means ought to be employed: special sessions, tutorials, institutes--in every corner of the state--should be undertaken, under the auspices of the institutions of higher education to prepare Negro students for higher education. Otherwise, claims about equality of education in both public and private institution will continue to be fradulent, despite clauses about acceptance of "all properly qualified applicants without regard to race or creed."

2. Public institutions have a special responsibility to initiate programs designed to overcome the deficiences of segregated school systems. Two procedures seem most obvious: first, the boards of control of state institutions of higher education should establish remedial and preparatory programs physically accessible to all citizens, designed to overcome past and present deficiences of public school education, and enable all students to have the opportunity to enter institutions of higher education. Such programs should be offered at convenient hours, in excess of regular programs of public education, designed specifically to prepare students for college work. Wherever possible, these programs should be conducted on the campus of institutions of higher education, and instruction should be given or led by college faculty. Second, the Resource Office, in coordination with state departments of Education and board of control of state institutions of higher learning, should institute a permanent program to encourage students of minority groups to plan their high school careers so that they will be able to exercise the option of choosing or rejecting higher education, rather than have circumstances make that decision for them.

3. Similarly, private colleges and universities should be encouraged to institute similar programs in

their admission programs. Perhaps part of that encouragement might consist of matching funds from the state to prepare students in special summer and after-hour sessions to meet admission requirements. (Private colleges unwilling to participate in such programs should face re-examination of charter and/or tax-exempt status.)

4. A study patterned after the Teachers College, Columbia University The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition (1965) should be prepared under the auspices of the Resources Office, with the cooperation of the state boards of education and board of control of state institutions of higher education. (Of particular interest should be the findings with regard to the phasing out of graduate, technical, medical and law schools; on the possibility of using these facilities for compensatory education for young people and for the general education of adults--both on an integrated basis; finally and most important, on measures necessary to strengthen the existing predominantly Negro colleges. The guide-line for this latter recommendation should be the realistic appraisal found in the Teachers College study by Earl J. McGrath: "Any reasonable estimate of the speed of desegregation suggests that these institutions for the foreseeable future are likely to provide the major source of educational opportunity for Negroes who continue their education beyond high school."

5. Professional schools must themselves assume the major burden of responsibility for actively seeking out potential Negro students in their particular fields. This is especially true in schools of medicine, law, and in graduate schools of the natural and physical sciences. These schools should have a permanent program designed to acquaint freshmen and sophomore college students with their disciplines, with requirements for entrance, and engage in specific training programs and institutes in summer and after-school hours preparing Negro students to meet entrance requirements. Professional schools (with certain exceptions) are notoriously conservative about such matters. Nevertheless, the degree of their public financial support today lays upon them the special responsibility to undertake such programs. Such financial support also provides a basis for a coordinated program of federal and state authorities to require that such professional schools undertake such programs as a condition for continued support.

6. An immediate and substantial program of continuing the education of Negro public school teachers is in order. This program should be geared to the problems of continued integration of public school systems. Negro (and white, for that matter) teachers who lose their position because of integration should be fully supported financially for a minimum of two years to continue their education and

to develop skills especially needed in their particular area or state.

Throughout this report, we have reiterated the crucial factor of education in minority assimilation. While it is clear that "education, alone" will not eliminate the problem of minority assimilation, it is clear that it is the key that is in the Power of public policymakers.

The successful beginning, therefore, of public policy to assimilate minorities might be geared by its success in the very area of its greatest and, in the long-run, its best hope: education. Furthermore, the success of this endeavor in education can be judged easily: by the degree and the ease to which minorities are able to pass from the first to the last stages in education, public and private, within the state, and the degree to which the public policy of a state has successfully eliminated all barriers to complete education based on minority status alone. In the culture and society and economy of the United States in the last half of the twentieth century, the importance of education cannot be overemphasized. Education is, perhaps, assuming the nature of a fetish in our country; if so, it is a fetish which has become the key to entrance into, and alteration of, the mainstream of American society. This situation is stated deliberately and provocatively in the report by Earl J. McGrath on Negro colleges. His statement makes it clear that if as

we have agreed a State Civil Rights Act is necessary to convince minorities that state governments are now, after more than a century, serious about their plight, public policy regarding to education will be a test of the endurance and the integrity of that seriousness.

> Without . . . greatly magnified support much of the present heartening public concern about the inequalities the Negro has suffered in American society and efforts to eradicate them will regrettably be abortive. For as a number of economists, sociologists, and generally well-informed persons have observed, economic well-being, job opportunities, social status, and general public acceptance today depend on the amount and kind of education the individual has. This will be increasingly true, regardless of race.
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> Opening the doors to higher education for the Negro is an indispensible step, indeed, the sine qua non in his personal and social advancement (italics the author's). The right to vote, the right to work, the right to live where he chooses, the right to move freely anywhere in American society--these rights are all dear to the man who knows what freedom is and wants it. But the right to education is no less precious than these, and to a growing degree it is the single right without which a man cannot fully obtain the others. Negroes and all citizens who want to gain for them the full benefits and privileges of living in this society ought to pour their energies into efforts to expand the opportunities for higher education among Negroes and to improve its quality.

II. EMPLOYMENT

A. Article 3 of the State Civil Rights Act covers the basic elements of equal access to employment opportunities. It should be noted that the Resource Office has power not merely to receive, but also to initiate, violations of the Act, which includes employers of more than five (5) persons,

and labor organizations and private as well as public employment agencies. (The State Civil Rights Act would also empower the Resource Office to work with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created by Title VII of the 1965 Civil Rights Act.)

B. The Resources Office should be responsible for establishing and maintaining a relationship between federal, state, and private employment services and colleges, universities, trade schools and high schools and locally based minority organizations (social, fraternal, political organizations). The purpose of this relationship would be to activate and encourage compliance with Article 3 (and Title VII) of the State (and Federal) Civil Rights Acts; to make a special effort to acquaint Negro and other minorities of available employment opportunities; to report to the Resources Office opportunities for which qualified persons are not available so that steps might be taken to institute training programs for these openings; and otherwise relate the problems of employment and unemployment, training and the lack thereof, to the Resources Office.

C. The Resources Office should have the responsibility to guarantee that industry is attracted to the state on an integrated basis.

III. LAW: ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT.

A. Possibly the key to long-term success in the area of law enforcement and administration is to couple policy recommendations with an on-going commitment of state political leaders to educate their citizens in the meaning of "equal protection of the law." Political campaigns are a proper forum for such education; political leaders speaking to service clubs, etc., should direct speeches around such themes. State and local bar associations should be encouraged by the Resources Office to undertake projects dedicated to an elucidation of the significance of "equal protection of the law" to American democracy.

B. The most obvious place to begin a program designed to equitably enforce and administer the law is to eliminate discrimination in the employment of state and local police forces and in the courts of law. State and local enforcement agencies should undertake campaigns to equalize the distribution of employees by education and training.

C. Given the present status of law enforcement in the South, especially the rural South, some system of statewide licensing of law officers, to be renewed periodically, should be instituted. The revocation of such a license would prevent the individual from being an enforcement officer anywhere in the state.

D. All restrictive clauses on classes of officers--

especially those prohibiting a Negro officer from arresting white people--should be elininated.

E. A continuous system of instruction should be maintained at all levels of law enforcement about the basic civil rights of all citizens. Licenses should be granted only to those persons who had received such instruction and had satisfactorily passed an examination on the subject. This program should be the primary instrument to alter the attitude of law enforcement officers in areas strongly inclined to racial prejudice.

F. Committees on various levels empowered to hear, investigate, and act upon charges of police misconduct are necessary. The problem of the constitution of such a panel is well-known. One possibility is a panel composed of citizens elected for this duty, the law-enforcement officers, and members appointed from the local bar association.

G. An investigation should be launched leading to the publication of data on the question that capital punishment in the South is a form of racial intimidation, or vengeance.

H. Investigations should be made into specific problems of racial segregation in prison systems or within specific prisons. The movement toward a more humane effective prison system is a particularly important

problem for Negroes in the South, and this work should be encouraged by periodic investigations from the Resources Office.

IV. HOUSING.

A. The Resources Office should be empowered by law to work with the state planning commission, and with local housing authorities, to eliminate existing ghettos, to prevent the creation of new ones, and to approve plans submitted by localities to the federal and state governments for urban renewal and resettlement.

B. Close supervision of public housing to avoid discrimination should be vested in the Resources Office. The proof of non-discrimination in new public housing would be actual residence of Negroes at completion. This can be done by having contractors accept the responsibility to recruit minorities in reasonable quantity as tenants. When recruitment lags, or fails, the contractor might be penalized by suspension of additional funds or cancellation of the existing contract.

C. Federal-state ventures into non-discriminatory housing should also consider renting existing housing and subletting it on a non-discrimnatory basis.

(Note: Eugene Feingold and Robert J. Harris have in preparation a study of "cease and desist agencies" concerned with public housing, and their tentative conclusions

argue against such agencies-insofar as housing discrimination is concerned. Presumably their study, when completed, will suggest alternatives. I have embodied two of their tentative suggestions in #2 and #3 above.)

V. VOTER REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION.

A. Universal registration of all citizens eighteen years and older. Only those actually serving prison sentences should be barred from registration.

B. Provision for regularly scheduled evening and week-end registration should be made. Volunteer deputy registrars should be recruited in the event of shortages of funds on the local levels.

C. Provisions for absentee voting should be simplified and these ballots more widely used.

D. Election Commissions should be established having control over both primary and general elections. These commissions should also investigate abuses in registration procedure.

VI. MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES.

A. A state agency, possibly from the Resources Office, should be empowered to investigate and enforce non-discrimination in all hospital and medical services. This should be coordinated with recent directives from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare seeking to eliminate

remaining segregation in federally supported hospitals, and medical services.

Particular attention should be paid to practices in emergency rooms, ambulance services, and receiving rooms where, in the past, discriminatory practices have been responsible for unwarranted embarrassments, suffering, and even death. Possible fine and imprisonment admendments to the State Civil Rights Act might be considered in the event of prolonged non-compliance.

B. Discrimination in organizations of the several medical professions should be prohibited by law. (Cf. State Civil Rights Act.)

C. Negroes should be encouraged by programs launched by the Resources Office, but supported by local organizations of physicians, hospital associates, nurses, etc., to enter the various medical professions. Information about type of pre-medical training, loans, special training outside regularly scheduled high school and university work, should be inaugurated in communities of minorities.

VII. FARM EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, OWNERSHIP.

A. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but superior to the State Department of Agriculture, of problems of assimilation of minorities of farm populations, by the establishment of a special section

devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban area migration, and farm ownership. The first and most obvious task of this section would be to coordinate state problems in this area with the many relevant programs of the federal government.

B. The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in March 1965 ("Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs" makes plain the fact that a large measure of the success of meeting the crisis of minority assimilation of farm population must be largely born by state activities. While the Civil Rights Commission statement is valid--"few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the Federal programs designed to bring about solutions--the chronic nature of the problem--again as stated by the Commission--demands the immediate attention of policymakers in the state:

> For decades the general economic, social, and cultural position of the southern Negro farmer and rural resident in relation to his white neighbor has steadily worsened. Whether measured in terms of value of products sold, level of living, land and home ownerwhip, or schooling, most of the 47 million Negroes living in southern rural areas are seriously disadvantaged when compared with rural white southerners.
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> Each census enumeration of population and agriculture has reflected the fact that the Negro farmers have not participated fully in the benefits of government programs and the progress of American

agriculture. The continuing reliance of Negroes on cotton, tobacco, and peanuts in an economy where white farmers are rapidly diversifying to other farm enterprises has been shown in Government reports issued every 5 years. Statistics have attested to the shrinking acreage farmed by Negroes. Every 10 years the census has reported a widening gap in income, education and housing, between southern rural whites and Negroes.

Although small farmers, without regard to race, are rapidly decreasing in number and although economic pressures appear to be forcing a reduction in number and an increase in size of farms, there is unmistakable evidence that racial discrimination has served to accelerate the displacement and impoverishment of the Negro farmer.

For more than 100 years--and particularly during the past 30 years--the U.S. Department of Agriculture has administered federally financed programs designed to improve almost every aspect of the lives of low-income farm and rural families. Although other political, social, and economic factors have simultaneously operated to the disadvantage of the rural southern Negro, it should be a matter of national concern that the gap between Negro and white rural residents in the South has increased during the very period when the programs of the Department were helping thousands of rural white families to achieve substantial gains in income, housing, and education. As the group most depressed economically, most deprived educationally, and most oppressed socially, Negroes have been consistently denied access to many services, provided with inferior services when served, and segregated in federally financed agricultural programs whose very task was to raise their standard of living.

The Commission's analysis of four major U.S. Department of Agriculture programs has clearly indicated that the Department has generally failed to assume responsibility for assuring equal opportunity and equal treatment to all those entitled to benefit from its programs. Instead, the prevailing practice has been to follow local patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in providing assistance paid for by Federal funds. At the same time, the Department has not developed adequate procedures for evaluating the degree to which its programs reach Negro as well as white rural residents.

One result of this failure of responsibility has been the perpetuation of a double standard for southern Negroes and whites affected by the Department's programs. In the Cooperative Extension Service this has led to the creation of separate and unequal administrative

> structures providing inferior services to Negro farmers, youth, and homemakers. In the Farmers Home Administration, it has meant a different kind of service to the two races, with Negro farmers receiving for the most part subsistence loans with limited supervision, while white farmers received supervised loans for capital expenditures. In the Soil Conservation Service, the result has been little service at all to many Negro landowners in areas where no Negro staff members are employed.
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> As applied to staff, the double standard has taken various forms in the programs studies. These have included failure to recruit, employ, or upgrade Negroes, or to permit them to serve white farmers; isolation of Negroes in separate offices or at segregated meetings; and providing Negro staff members with inservice training of shorter duration and inferior content than that given white staff members. In State extension services Negro staff members have often been required to provide to Negro farmers technical services outside their area of training, while white farmers have received assistance from specialists in these areas.

The discriminatory record of the U. S. Department of Agriculture merely writes in large letters the activities of state departments of Agriculture in the south. We believe that the most immediate, effective, and permanent resolution of the problems of minority farm populations will probably come about through federal-state-local cooperation, given the large stake--financially, politically, and otherwise--that the federal government has in the farm economy.

C. The most practical way in which to meet the problem of minority farm populations are, first, by easing of availability of long-term loans for land purchase and improvement, and short-term loans for operating costs,

diversification, and for meeting emergency expenses. Second, by making available, in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to farm owners, workers, youth, and homemakers in rural communities the educational services of the Departments on state and federal levels, through 4-H clubs, and other such activities.

D. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but nevertheless superior to the state department of agriculture, of coordinating the problems associated with the assimilation of minorities of farm populations, chiefly by the establishment of a special section devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban migration, and farm ownership. This section of the Resources Office would take responsibility for coordinating state problems, and programs, with the relevant agencies and programs of the federal government.

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While the problem of the "inward commitment" of political leaders and policymakers concerning the assimilation of minorities is obviously fundamental, and the magnitude of the task with which this report is concerned is transparent, neither of these factors should be permitted to impede the efforts to face these issues of

crisis with determination, intelligence, and goodwill. The first and irrevocable step that must be taken, we believe, is an over-all and coordinate plan to exploit existing state programs, and to create new ones, to meet this crisis. In this, the South might even provide leadership to the federal government, which has so far been unable or unwilling to accept the necessity of a coordinated plan and program to deal with minority (racial and economic) assimilation.

The honest and effective and permanent assimilation of minorities, especially racial minorities in the South, into the mainstream of American life, hope, and opportunity is a matter about which this democracy has neither option, nor a great deal of time. The failure to bring about this assimilation immediately and democratically will toll the one failure this democracy cannot afford. The failure to do so, democratically, will be the irretrievable failure of the system of democracy in the United States of America.

And <u>that</u> is the choice which is clearly before us.

Bulletin from FOR RELEASE ON OR AFTER JUNE 11,1965

PORTER SARGENT PUBLISHER 11 BEACON STREET BOSTON 8, MASS

NEW PEACE BOOK SPARKS CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADE

Contributing fresh sparks to the civil rights crusade kindling America today is DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE, Dr. Ralph Templin's penetrating analysis of the perils besetting modern democracy.

Long a champion of the civil rights and pacifist causes in America, Dr. Templin actively abetted Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for Indian independence. The author retired this year as Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, where he had taught since 1948. He now edits the Journal of Human Relations.

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE, a major social treatise to be published by Porter Sargent July 6, fires a blistering critical assault upon the false facade of mass-America.

Today, Dr. Templin bluntly charges, meaningful participation by Americans in their government, community, and total society is a fiction, an empty verbalization. Maximum popular participation -- once so vital to American democracy -- is virtually extinct in the 20th century.

The current demand by the American Negro for rights that legally are his provides the most dramatic expression of protest against the prevailing lip service Americans pay to their country's founding ideals.

Even more significantly, the author believes, the civil rights movement in America is today's life-or-death test for tomorrow's democracy in the rest of the world. To Dr. Templin, domestic unrest and foreign crisis are directly connected. Denial of civil rights to Americans at home cripples American leadership

(more)

abroad. American democracy -- in its present sham condition -- is being rejected by the newer, developing nations.

Americans are guilty of a potentially fatal self-deception, the author charges. "Many Americans appear to believe that democracy is something already achieved. They think all that remains is to export democracy to other countries -- by force, if necessary."

However, far from being an exportable commodity, democracy in the United States is a way of life not now fully realized, Dr. Templin insists. Until Americans face up to the harsh fact that their democracy is stunted and stagnating, it will never ripen and flower.

As sensitive to the ways of totalitarian governments and to the implications of nuclear armament as he is to suppression of civil liberties, Dr. Templin weaves the strands of his accumulated experience into a critique both provocative and timely. Few manifestations of Western social malignance escape his piercing analysis.

To illuminate the success of nonviolence as a technique of social change, the author draws upon his experiences with Gandhi in India and upon his pioneer activities in the American civil rights and pacifist movements.

James Farmer, National Director of CORE, and A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have written the Introduction and the Foreword, respectively, for DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE.

####

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE
336 pages, cloth, $4.00
Publication date: July 6, 1965

Contact F. Porter Sargent
Tel. 617-523-1670
Review copies on request

Louisiana State LSU PRESS University Press
BATON ROUGE LOUISIANA 70803

September 8, 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

We have your request for review copies of Newby, Jim Crow's Defense and Smith, Look Away From Dixie. Review copies of these books have already been sent to the Book Review Editor of your organization's publication, New South. If you still desire a review copy of these books, please write and let us know. We are holding your request until we receive correspondence from you in regard to your decision.

Sincerely,

Sue Geske

Sue Geske (Mrs.)
Sales Department

FOR REVIEW

POVERTY IN AMERICA: A Book of Readings

Edited by Louis A. Ferman,
Joyce L. Kornbluh, and
Alan Haber

Introduction by Michael Harrington

The
University
of Michigan
Press
Ann Arbor

PUB DATE: SEP 10 1965

$9.00

PLEASE SEND TWO CLIPPINGS OF YOUR REVIEW WHEN IT APPEARS.

Porter Sargent

EDUCATIONAL ADVISER
TO PARENTS AND SCHOOLS

11 BEACON STREET
Boston

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
SARGENT'S HANDBOOKS

S Av

NM - Make release available to reviewer, SA.

October 5, 1965

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Thank you for your letter of October 1. We are glad to comply with your request for a review copy of DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE, by Dr. Ralph T. Templin.

We believe that DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE represents the first serious effort to consolidate the mutual themes of protest and discontent that unite the current movements for Peace and Civil Rights. As such, this book will probably be of more than passing interest to both adversaries and supporters of the Peace and Freedom Movements.

Enclosed are two news releases for your further information. We shall look forward to your comments and would appreciate receiving two copies of any review in New South.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Louise Allen

Mary Louise Allen
PORTER SARGENT STAFF

encls.

November 5, 1965

Miss Doris Johnson
Researcher
National Education Association Journal
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Miss Johnson:

You will note that I have added the words "misuse of" in an effort to avoide giving the impression that the freedom of choice plans in themselves are offensive. However, the article, as written, would be acceptable to us.

We are sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the full report.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

National Education Association
1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

We are considering using this item in the NEA Journal. Will you please check it for accuracy?

If any factual change is to be made, we shall appreciate your indicating it on this copy. If we do not receive this signed copy by return mail, we shall either take the item off the Journal schedule or telephone you for clearance.

Thank you.

By return mail please.

Doris Johnson
NEA Journal Researcher

"News and Trends" story.

Charging the South with evasion and defiance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Southern Regional Council has called for stringent enforcement of the Act. The Council reports that 94.8 percent of Negro students in the South are still in all Negro schools. After surveying 11 Southern states, the council found that the percentage of Negro students attending desegregated schools is less than 1 percent in three states, less than 2 percent in two states, and less than 3 percent in two others. Part of the difficulty, the Council says results from the states' misuse of "freedom of choice" plans under which the student and his parents theoretically can apply and expect admission to any school of their choice in the district. Such plans shift the burden of initiating desegregation from school officials to Negro parents. The latter however are vulnerable to economic intimidation and terrorism.

Based on a Washington (D.C.) Post story, October 31, 1965.

300 Parrish Street
Raleigh, North Carolina
December 15, 1965

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan, Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

rec'd (checked by JS with JR 2/24/66

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

We mailed you a copy of ALCOHOL AND THE NEGRO - EXPLOSIVE ISSUES on October 24. Since we have not received an acknowledgement of it, we are concerned whether it reached its destination. Please let us know if you received it. If not, we will send you another copy.

Please send us any reviews that are made of this book.

With best wishes for a Happy Holiday Season, I remain

Sincerely,

J. R. Larkins

JRL:bm

J. R. Larkins

Answered by NM

IMMEDIATE RELEASE!

ALCOHOL AND THE NEGRO - EXPLOSIVE ISSUES, by Dr. John R. Larkins is scheduled to be published on October 10, 1965. This book is concerned with the impact of alcohol and the Negro on some of our major institutions - religion, the economy, politics, and government. The history and patterns of use of alcohol are included. The manufacture, sale and use of alcoholic beverages and the social, economic and political status of the Negro have been major issues in America since its earliest history. Although there have been other issues, these two have been among the most persistent. These have had and continue to have a profound influence upon our major institutions.

Harry Golden, Editor and Publisher of the CAROLINA ISRAELITE, in the Introduction to the book, had this to say: "It would be an injustice to think of this Larkins study solely in terms of its timeliness. Timely indeed it is and the association of the use of alcohol with the current Negro civil rights movement is not only inescapable but proper. But this book will continue on as required study of one of the great dilemmas of mid-twentieth century America". Golden also stated that: "What this book is really about is the compulsion which result from pressures which lead to certain social patterns, and, alas, certain personal habits. These are conditions we had better understand if we are ever going to change and better them".

The Record Publishing Company, Zebulon, North Carolina will publish this 254-page book.

March 8, 1966

Harvard Civil Rights Committee
Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Sirs:

We anxiously await publication of your coming, "Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review." We have no comments or suggestions at this time, but I will poll others on our staff to see if they would like to suggest legal problems for you to explore.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Research Director

SLA:js

Rec'd 3/7/66

Harvard Civil Rights Committee
Austin Hall
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Mass.

February 18, 1966

Dear friend,

We are very happy to announce the coming publication of a "Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review" under the sponsorship of the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council. The purpose of the review is to provide a forum for the publication of legal articles on human rights. Included with these articles will be notes on important recent cases and reviews of new books. Writing will be done principally by law students, but also by lawyers, law professors, and others enagged in rights work.

Our first issue will come out May 15. A copy will be sent to you free of charge. We are hoping to publish twice a year.

We would very much like to hear any comments or suggestions you may have. If you would like to write an article for the Review, let us know. If there are any legal problems you would like to see explored in an article, please tell us.

Thank-you

Officers: Joe Meissner
Frank Parker
Anita Glasco

Exec. Board: Stu Bloch
Jim Conahan
John Hatch
Mike Lefkow
Connie McDougald
Sam Thomas

We

take pleasure in sending you this book for review

The price is $5.95

Publication date is March 21, 1966

THE FAR FAMILY

By Wilma Dykeman

May we have two copies of your review, one for our files, one for the author?

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10017

File

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON, INC.
383 Madison Avenue New York, N. Y. 10017 Tel. 212 Mu 8-9100

1866 • 1966

FROM: MAUREEN McMANUS

NOTES BY WILMA DYKEMAN

I was born in Asheville, North Carolina. When I was at Northwestern University, I had ambitions for a career in drama, and I had arranged to go to New York in September after graduation. Then, in August, Thomas Wolfe's mother and sister introduced me to James Stokely. We were married in October, and have traveled considerably in the years since. Between 1940 and 1954 we lived part of the time in Asheville and part of the time in Newport, Tennessee, and for ten years we owned and ran an apple orchard in each place. We now live in Newport with our two sons. Our passion for travel has taken us by car across the United States twice (to forty-eight states), along every passable road and many impassable arroyos in Mexico, including Yucatan, and through Canada from Banff to Gaspé. We have visited at least the most familiar parts of British Columbia and traveled in thirteen European countries.

Having given up the stage, I returned eventually to writing, which I had always liked to do; as a child I wrote poems about the moss and galax leaves that grew on the hillside outside my bedroom window. THE FRENCH BROAD, my first book and one of the "Rivers of America" Series, was gleaned from years of travel, reading, and talking here in our native hill country. In 1957, my husband and I wrote NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, after more than a year's intensive traveling and interviewing in thirteen Southern states and living in and studying about the South for a lifetime.

As fairly regular writers for the New York Times Magazine and contributors to other publications, we have combined a free-lance career with our book writing. One of our chief hopes is that, although our writing has often been concerned with a specific locale and problem, it has escaped being provincial. The problems, particularly, that confront our region now are those challenging mankind everywhere, and we hope that a contribution or insight at one specific,

well-loved place might keep the bell from tolling elsewhere.

Since I have lived most of my life in the mountains of Western North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee, I think I know something of the unique virtues and tragic flaws of mountain people. And I have wanted to tell for a long time the stoy of some of those...of quiet courage who helped pioneer and hold and build this region for those of us who live here today. This, of course, makes THE FAR FAMILY, as well as THE TALL WOMAN, part of the story of America--and of all mankind....

As with all of my books, the best and deepest and longest part of my research has taken place up the coves and hollows, along the little creeks and narrow roads, on courthouse lawns and a creaking ferry crossing the river: anywhere someone would stop to talk and share a memory or an experience, a legend, a tall-tale, or a vital local fact. The research has involved a lifetime of living among the old-timers, listening to their speech, observing their ways, and absorbing something of the natural magnificence which surrounds human existence in these rugged mountains. Although I have traveled considerably, it seemed to me a wise thing...to "look homeward, angel."

ABOUT THE BOOK

"This novel is about a family--a varied family of distinctive individuals--coming of age in one of the most beautiful and despoiled regions of America: the Appalachian South. Three sisters and two brothers, their experiences range from confrontation of death on the green and lonely hillsides to construction of the sprawling suburbs of the big Eastern cities, from the challenges of little Thickety Creek to the challenges of our nation's capital. For the central idea of this book is the interrelationship of all life--forest and factory, man and woman, Negro and white, earth and air and beast, the poor and proud and the affluent and influential--and the artificial barriers by which people cut themselves off from the understanding of the wholeness of life. And it is a book about joy, the rare and precious joy which can be experienced only by a

. . . .

person who is committed to the total range of the human adventure. I wrote this book because I wanted to reveal (among other things) that when a person is most unique, he may also be most universal. And there is nothing more unique, of which we stand in more universal need today, than warmth of understanding and awareness of the possibility for joy."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The Stokelys have been published in Harper's, The Reader's Digest, American Magazine, The New York Times Magazine, Virginia Quarterly Review, The New Republic, The Nation, The Progressive, Current History, The Prairie Schooner, The Southwest Review, and U.S. News & World Report. Miss Dykeman has also done book reviews for the New York Herald Tribune. She was a Guggenheim Fellow, and, with her husband, received the Sidney Hillman Award in 1958 for NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE. Her first novel, THE TALL WOMAN, published by Holt in 1962, received a very enthusiastic press and sold several thousand copies.

THE FAR FAMILY is a chronicle of the Southern Appalachian mountains, and yet is by no means a regional novel. Indeed, it is a chronicle of one of the universal experiences in our world today, which is the breaking of old roots, the searching out of new values and meaningful relationships.

You may be interested in the following comment which we have received:

"In THE FAR FAMILY Wilma Dykeman has surpassed herself.

"This study of the intense familial bond that is at once the strength and the weakness of Appalachia--producing with equal facility Hatfield-McCoy feudists, on the one hand and, on the other, martyrs--is one of the best ever made.

"The superb creation is, of course, Mama, whose many virtues were the ruin of herself and others. To have portrayed this figure without a hint of satire is an artistic achievement of rare excellence. Mama is in fact a sort of mirror-image of Old Karamazov--reversed in every characteristic, but producing the same effect of inexorable destruction.

"I congratulate you on publishing this book."

--Gerald W. Johnson

THE FAR FAMILY
by Wilma Dykeman
March 21, 1966
$5.95

PRENTICE-HALL, INC. PUBLISHERS
ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS NEW JERSEY 07632

TO MRS. MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FOR: NEW SOUTH

PLEASE NOTE PUBLICATION DATE BELOW. CLIPPINGS OF YOUR REVIEWS WILL BE APPRECIATED.

FOR REVIEW

TITLE MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG NEGROES

AUTHOR: JESSIE BERNARD
PUB. DATE APRIL 18, 1966
PRICE $1.95 SPECTRUM Paperbound
$4.95 SPECTRUM Clothbound

TOTAL COPIES

AUTHORIZING SIGNATURE

NEWS OF SPECTRUM BOOKS AND AUTHORS

PRENTICE-HALL, INC., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. / WI 7-1000; from New York: BR 9-8000

CONTACT: Edna S. Levine Zeitz, Publicity Director, ext. 2714
Karen Gould, Assistant

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

Title: MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG NEGROES
Author: Jessie Bernard
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 174 pp., $4.95 Clothbound / $1.95 Spectrum Paperbound (orig.)
Publication Date: April 18, 1966

THE NEGRO FAMILY — FROM SLAVERY TO THE "SELF-EMANCIPATED" GENERATION

"There was a time when slaveowners discouraged marriages among their slaves ... and marriage was so uncommon among Negroes that almost every Negro infant in the United States was borne out of wedlock," asserts Jessie Bernard, noted sociologist and author.

Radical changes have taken place since that time; the early twentieth century saw marriage become so widespread among Negroes that the proportion of infants borne in wedlock rose to about 89%. Now, the new "self-emancipated" generation, still in the process of finding itself, is setting its own patterns of marriage and family relations, Dr. Bernard points out in MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG NEGROES, a new Spectrum Book to be published by Prentice-Hall, Inc. on April 18.

Ranging from the world of the Negro under slavery to the "self-emancipated" generation of our own day, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG NEGROES focuses on such major issues as the presence of "two cultures" within the Negro people, the forced adaptation to white culture, the sexuality and morality of Negroes, and the difficult roles of Negro parents.

In this well-documented study Dr. Bernard examines the former importance of the "mammy" and the "granny" in family life, as well as the present influence of the Black Muslims and the "black bourgeoisie." As she traces the development of female-headed families "by default" and what she calls "the unnatural superiority of Negro women," Dr. Bernard emphasizes the role of Negro women — a role almost unique in human history. "The Negro women, spirited, independent, and self-sacrificing, deserve a place alongside the women who pioneered the West."

Jessie Bernard, author of AMERICAN FAMILY BEHAVIOR, SOCIAL PROBLEMS AT MIDCENTURY, REMARRIAGE, and ACADEMIC WOMEN, was a former vice president of the American Sociological Association. Dr. Bernard is Research Professor, Honoris Causa, at The Pennsylvania State University.

PANTHEON BOOKS

22 EAST 51st STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 PLAZA 1-2600 CABLE: COLUMNS NEW YORK

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

Rec'd 8/5/66

August 3, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am sending you separately, as Mr. Schiffrin's suggestion, bound galleys on THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION by Frank Smith. We thought you might be interested in excerpting parts of the book for your magazine New South.

If it does prove to be of interest to you, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Carol Hill

(Mrs.) Carol Hill
Publicity Manager

CHs/

September 13, 1966

Miss Charleen Whisnant
Editor
Southern Review
2221 Westminster Place
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Miss Whisnant,

A copy of Red Clay Reader arrived here a week or so ago and I've been intending to write you ever since. What a relief from the soullessness of what one has come to think of as a standard literary review! Red Clay Reader is lively, bold, experimental, without snobbishness or pretension. We'll be delighted to help you with your promotion. We do have a technical problem, however. Our addressograph machine -- much to our own distress -- simply won't handle tapes or labels. We'll have to have your envelopes in order to give you the benefit of our circulation list. That quantity, by the way, is 3,000.

Enclosed is our subscription and, as you requested, a subscription form for NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls. - 2.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: ~~TEN AND 00/100 DOLLARS~~ ($10.00)

TO: The Red Clay Reader
Name

2221 Westminster Place
Address

Charlotte, North Carolina 28207
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For patron contribution and signed copy of the first edition of the RED CLAY READER.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: _____

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE 9/13/ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: _____
Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED: _____
Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC.

red clay
reader
2221 WESTMINSTER PLACE CHARLOTTE NORTH CAROLINA 28207

P.A. This looks like a worthwhile cause — BA

August 31, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Southern Review is a corporation formed to sustain and stimulate the Southern literary tradition by giving scholarships to writers, establishing a library of contemporary Southern writing, and publishing of RED CLAY READER. We would like to add NEW SOUTH to our circulating library. I see in the Southern Regional Council News Letter that your spring issue is off the press. Will you send us a copy and bill for a current subscription.

I have mailed you a copy of the new issue of RED CLAY READER and I am enclosing brochures for your perusal. It seems to me that our purposes are similar and I hope that we can work together with the mutual purpose of encouraging better race relations and communication in the South.

Our annual collection of New Southern writing in the RED CLAY READER has fulfilled a much needed opportunity for young Southern writers and the project has been both satisfying and successful. However, because we are a small publishing house and only recently formed it is, as you certainly must realize, difficult to circulate the good news of our existence. We have had some generous help with this problem and we are especially grateful for the use of a subscription list sent to us by SOUTHERN REVIEW QUARTERLY published at Baton Rouge. I would be very much interested in buying such a list from NEW SOUTH and wonder if you might make this service available to us. Because we are a non-profit corporation with reduced local postage rates it will be much easier for us to use labels which have been run through your addressograph and sent to us. Of course we could also send you our envelopes for addressing but then they would have to be shipped back to us for sorting and handling.

I would like to send you a copy of the new brochure and mailing which we would be sending in these envelopes if you think there is any possibility of our working together in this matter. I would like to refer you to Dr. Raymon Wheeler, Chairman of the Council's Executive Committee, who is familiar with our purposes and sympathetic to this project.

Yours very truly,

Charleen Whisnant

Charleen Whisnant
Editor
RED CLAY READER

NEWS
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

FACT SHEET

CONTACT: Jane Pasanen
(212) 620-4155
Emily Boxer
(212) 620-4159
Gail Malin - Radio-TV
(212) 620-4154

File

We take pleasure in sending you this book for review. We would appreciate receiving two clippings of any notice you may give it.

THE BOYS OF BOISE by John Gerassi

PW

Pub. date: October 17, 1966
Price: $5.95
Pages: 328

A probing study of how the Boise power elite exploded and exploited a "homosexual scandal" for underlying political, economic and personal reasons.

In exploring the situation, the author paints a savage portrait of a small American city and reveals the mores, attitudes and hypocrisy which characterized Boisian response to the affair. The responsibility of the press--or rather the lack of a responsible attitude--is exposed in the part played by The Idaho Daily Statesman.

October 25, 1966

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Frank:

May we have your permission to use the following from The Politics of Conservation: The introduction, deleting the last paragraph; pages 149 through 157, which includes the last paragraph of Section Eight of Chapter Twelve, and all of Section Nine.

As I told you, I think the book is not just important, but damned interesting. I still have hopes of using the material out of your book on the South after the elections here in Georgia. I am more than ever impressed with your analysis.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

October 25, 1966

Mrs. Carol Hill
Publicity Manager
Pantheon Books
22 East 51st Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Hill:

With your permission and Frank Smith's, we plan to use in the winter issue of NEW SOUTH the following from The Politics of Conservation bound galleys you sent: The introduction, deleting the last paragraph; pages 149 through 157, which includes the last paragraph of Section Eight of Chapter Twelve, and all of Section Nine.

This is an important book. I found it fascinating.

I assume you want us to carry your copyright line with the article. May I have your permission in writing at the earliest possible date? Your attention to this request will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Bob Anderson

PANTHEON BOOKS

22 EAST 51ST STREET NEW YORK 22, N.Y. PLAZA 1-2600 CABLE: COLUMNS NEW YORK

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

Rec'd 10/28/66

October 27, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Mrs. Hill has shown me your letter of October 25th, and I am pleased to see that you would like to use portions of Frank Smith's THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION in the winter issue of NEW SOUTH. You may indeed have our permission to do so according to the material specified in your letter; the copyright line which should appear with the material is:

© Copyright, 1966, by Frank E. Smith

Fix on proofs.

and we should be grateful, of course, if you carry mention of the book's availability from Pantheon. Under separate cover today, I am sending you a finished copy of the book; please do use it as setting copy rather than the galleys you now have; some changes were made between proof and finished books.

I am not certain whether you have written Mr. Smith about this, but I assume he'll have no objections to this plan. We shall be meeting here in New York on November 2nd, and I shall show him our correspondence at that time.

Yours sincerely,

Sara Blackburn

(Mrs.) Sara Blackburn

SB:ib

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

File

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

October 28, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I am very pleased that you are interested in reprinting some of the material from "The Politics of Conservation." I am very glad to give the permission.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

November 2, 1966

Mr. John R. Larkins
300 Parrish Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Larkins:

Our deepest apologies! Your book arrived here in the midst of turmoil and transition, and was dutifully categorized and filed without being reviewed.

Miss Margaret Long is going to read the book immediately, and you will be hearing from her in the very near future.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

PW
ML

November 1, 1966

Mr. John R. Larkins
300 Parrish Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Larkins:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 21, inquiring as to the possibilities of receiving a copy and/or acknowledgment of the review of your book, ALCOHOL AND THE NEGRO: EXPLOSIVE ISSUES, by the New South staff.

Since I have not been on the Research Department staff since January, 1966, I am unaware of the developments concerning your book, and your correspondence is being passed to Mr. Pat Watters, who is our Director of Information. I feel sure you will be hearing from Mr. Watters at a very early date.

Please give your wife my best regards, and it was good hearing from you again.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Voter Education Project

nm

PW
please

300 Parrish Street
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 21, 1966

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1966

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

On October 24, 1965, we mailed you a copy of ALCOHOL AND THE NEGRO: EXPLOSIVE ISSUES for possible review in THE NEW SOUTH. Since we have not received an acknowledgement or a copy of the review, we are concerned whether this book reached its destination.

If you have reviewed this publication, I would appreciate receiving a copy of it.

Sincerely,

John R. Larkins

John R. Larkins

JRL
bm

November 4, 1966

Mr. Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Mr. Smith:

As I think Pat Watters has mentioned to you, we plan to run excerpts from your book The Politics of Conservation in the fall issue of NEW SOUTH. These enclosed author's galleys are uncorrected, however, we did want you to see the portion that we have selected. If you could return this set to us by November 9 it would be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

~~Note~~
~~We granted permission from Pantheon book~~
~~[illegible] in [illegible] permission~~

November 10, 1966

Mr. Sherman P. Carter
Promotion Manager
University of Tennessee Press
Publications Building
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Carter:

We will, of course, be happy to cooperate with you in promoting Prophet of Plenty. Let me, however, point out that our experience in the past has not been very satisfactory. I mention this not to discourage the idea, but rather to keep your expectations from being too high. There is also a technical problem involved in using our addressograph machine. Much to our own chagrin it won't handle labels or tapes. We can get around this in one of two ways. You can send us your envelopes, let us run them, and return them to you. Or you could send your envelopes and brochures for stuffing and mailing here. However you wish to do it will be all right with us. Our circulation is 3,000.

As for a review of the book in NEW SOUTH, that certainly seems in order. Let us know how you prefer to handle the brochure mailing and please know that we are anxious to help out.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

PANTHEON BOOKS

22 EAST 51st STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 PLaza 1-2600 CABLE: COLUMNS NEW YORK

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

Rec'd 11/15/66

November 14, 1966

Mr. Bob Anderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

This is simply to confirm our telephone conversation this morning. I've sent you, under separate cover today, a sample copy of Frank E. Smith's THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION for display at your forthcoming conference. We agree to furnish you with copies of the book at a discount of 40%, the number of copies to be based upon the number of orders taken for the book at the conference. (The discount cannot be in effect unless the order we received from you is for more than ten copies, but I think you'll agree that there should be no problem in obtaining this base number of orders.) Once you let me have word of the number of orders you received, I shall let you know the exact amount of the check that should be sent to us. We are happy to cooperate with you, and hope the conference will be a successful one.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Sara Blackburn

(Mrs.) Sara Blackburn

SB:ib

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE PRESS
PUBLICATIONS BUILDING KNOXVILLE 16

November 21, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 10, and please forgive a belated reply.

The Prophet of Plenty circulars are now being printed. Since you were kind enough to offer to stuff and mail them for us, we will certainly take you up on it. You can expect 3,000 circulars and envelopes around November 30.

How about sending me a copy of New South along with advertising rates and mechanical requirements? We'd like to advertise our books of particular interest to your readers from time to time, if that is consistent with your policies.

And thanks again for your fine cooperation.

Sincerely,

Sherman P. Carter

Sherman P. Carter
Promotion Manager

SPC:gkm

Note: all previous correspondence re this book done through P.A.

File

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE PRESS
PUBLICATIONS BUILDING KNOXVILLE 16

December 1, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Under separate cover I am sending 3,000 envelopes to be addressed for mailing the PROPHET OF PLENTY brochure. Because the mailing will have to be sent from a Knoxville post office, we will ask you to return the envelopes for stuffing here. We do, however, appreciate your offer to send them for us.

Sincerely,

Sally Fields

Sally Fields
Promotion Assistant

Enclosure

Rec'd by 12/9/66 E.F.

December 5, 1966

TO: The North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS by Leslie W. Dunbar

Quantity	Amount
1	$2.50

AMOUNT DUE ---------- $2.50

copy pd

2.50
12/15/66
C. L.

December 5, 1966

TO: The Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1207 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS by Leslie W. Dunbar

Quantity	Amount
1	$2.50
TOTAL DUE ---------	$2.50

Marland Smith
Pat Watters } Bill

Dec 5 1966

CASH SALES A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS BY LESLIE DUNBAR
~~2x $2.40~~ $2.50

2.50
2.50

Tennessee Council - $2.50
Bill S.C. Council - 2.50 any chance for an autographed copy?
North Carolina Council - $2.50

Dr. Wm. H. Townsend $2.50

pd. Rev. Paul T. Dahlstrom $2.50
Alice H. Washington $2.50
Riley B. Montgomery 2.50
113 Orvine Road
pd. Lexington, Ky 40502 2.50
~~James E. Stewart~~ 2.50
2.50

2.50
2.50
2.50

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2.50
2.50

2.50
2.50
Jim Holloway 2.50
pd. Barbara Jordan 2.50

Send copy to Frank E. Smith
pd. check 204 Surburban Rd. Knoxville, Tenn. 37919

John Wheeler ~~2.50~~

August H. Vandenbosche
Fla. Council

Dr. John Dreyer
Rev. McCallum pd. 2.50

~~25 Pat Anderson credit~~ ~~$30 credit S. Friedman~~

Cash sales (& Orders) - Lin. Dunbar
Republic of Equator

Ken Dean - 5 copies (bill him)
$2.50

Mr. Thomas pd 2.50

Susan Friedman pd. 2.50 by check

Benjamin Mand $2.50 pd.

Emory Via pd. 250 by check
Linda Corbett pd. 250 by check
Marvin Wall pd. 250 cash

copy rec'd

December 5, 1966

TO: Mr. Kenneth Dean
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi 30201

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS by Leslie W. Dunbar

Quantity		Amount
5	@	$ 2.50
	AMOUNT DUE	$12.50

17.25
12/28/66
e.f.

Copy rec'd

Received 12/14/66 C.F.

December 5, 1966

TO: The Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33147

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

Republic of Equals

Quantity	Amount
1	$2.50

AMOUNT DUE ---------- $2.50

PD

December 5, 1966

TO: The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS by Leslie W. Dunbar

Quantity	Amount
1	$2.50

TOTAL DUE ---------- $2.50

December 20, 1966

Mrs. Sara Blackburn
Pantheon Books
22 East 51st Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Blackburn:

We would like to place an order for ten more copies of Politics of Conservation by Frank E. Smith.

Our check in the amount of $35 is enclosed.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl.: $35.00 check.

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($35.00)

TO:
Name Pantheon Books

22 East 51st Street
Address

New York, New York 10022
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For 10 copies of POLITICS OF CONSERVATION by Frank E. Smith.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 12/20 19 66

REQUESTED BY:

APPROVED: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: THIRTY-FIVE AND 00/100 DOLLARS ($35.00)

TO: University of Tennessee Press
Name

Publications Building
Addr

Knoxville, Tennessee
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: For 10 copies of PROFIT OF PLENTY by Wilma Dykeman.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS PROJECT

EXPENSE.

DATE 12/20 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications

APPROVED:

December 20, 1966

Mr. Sherman P. Carter
Promotion Manager
University of Tennessee Press
Publications Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Carter:

We would like to place an order for ten more copies of Profit of Plenty by Wilma Dykeman. Our check for $35 is enclosed.

The brochure mailing has been temporarily delayed due to the breakdown of the addressograph machine. We will, hopefully, get them out the first week after Christmas.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl: $35.00 check.

ORIGINAL INVOICE

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE PRESS

PUBLICATIONS BUILDING • KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37916

SOLD TO Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SHIPPED TO

Date **December 28, 1966**

TERMS: Net 30 Days

Order # **735 (Account No.)**

Order # & Dept.

Upon payment please refer to invoice number. Statement mailed only on request.

QUAN.	AUTHOR	TITLE	LIST PRICE	DISCOUNT	EXTENSION
10	PROPHET OF PLENTY		5.75	40%	34.50

PAID IN FULL
12/28/66

INVOICE

Please Pay this Amount ▶

TRANSPORTATION .50

TOTAL AMOUNT ▶ 35.00

O.P. Out of Print Order Cancelled

O.S. Out of Stock Will Ship When Ready

N.Y.P. Not Yet Published Date Noted; Will Ship When Ready

N.O.P. Not Our Publication Order Cancelled

S Short Discount

INVOICE NO. 04720

ORDERS FOR PROPHET OF PLENTY BY WILMA DYKEMAN -- ~~$3.45~~ per copy
$3.50

1. Tennessee Council on Human Relations

2. North Carolina Council on Human Relations

3. Paul Christopher

4. Alice Spearman, SCCHR

5. Riley B. Montgomery
112 Irvine Rd.
Lexington, Ky. 40502 (Bill him)

6. Frank E. Smith
204 Suburban Rd
Knoxville, Tenn. 37919

7. Mrs. Tom Ragland
3821 Abbott Martin Rd.
Nashville, Tenn.

8. Mrs Lawrence Coe
262 Stonewall P
Memphis Tenn 38112
P Prophet of Plenty

9.

10. Ken Dean
Miss. Council } tell him

11.

12.

INVOICE

McCutchan Publishing Corporation

2526 GROVE STREET
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94704

AREA CODE 415
TELEPHONE 841-8616

SOLD TO

Mr. Paul Anthony
Exec. Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

DATE SHIPPED:

January 9, 1967

P.O. No.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	1	HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH --- Wiggins	nc	nc
		This book is being sent to you with the compliments of the George Peabody College for Teachers and McCutchan Publishing Corporation.		

TERMS: 1% CASH DISCOUNT UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, IF PAID ON OR BEFORE THE 15TH DAY OF THE NEXT SUCCEEDING MONTH. NET AND PAST DUE THEREAFTER, INTEREST CHARGED ON OVERDUE ACCOUNTS.

CONDITIONS OF SALE: NO GOODS WILL BE RECEIVED OR CREDITED, IF RETURNED WITHOUT OUR CONSENT.
PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE.

1/13/67

MEMO

TO: BCC

FROM: JS of PROPHET OF PLENTY

Please send one copy each/to the following individuals:

Mrs. Tom Ragland

Mrs. Lawrence Coe

The S. C. Council on HR

The Tenn. Council on HR

The N. C. Council on HR

Mr. Kenneth Dean, Miss. Council

Mr. Riley B. Montgomery ← Invoice encld.

Rec'd 2/3/67

Labels attached.

Thanks.

~~Invoice sent with book~~

Already pd.

January 13, 1967

TO: Mr. Kenneth Dean
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Bldg.
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Miss. 30201

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: PROPHET OF PLENTY by Wilma Dykeman

Quantity	Amount
1	$3.50

Invoice encl'd with book.

January 13, 1967

TO: Mr. Riley B. Montgomery
112 Orvine Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40502

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

RE: PROPHET OF PLENTY by Wilma Dykeman

Quantity	Amount
1	$3.50

Rec'd 2/3/67

1/13/67

MEMO

TO: BCC

FROM: JS

Bernice, please send one copy of A Republic of Equals to Frank Smith, TVA, Knoxville, Tenn.

Label Attached.

Thanks.

Note: First request evidently not sent. With this, however, he should have received both "Equal" and "Plenty"

January 11, 1967

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of January 9.

Your order for the books by Dunbar and Dykeman has not been lost. I placed orders with the publishers for additional copies just before the holidays, and the Dykeman book just came in. Under separate cover I am mailing you a copy, and as soon as the other arrives, your copy will be forwarded without delay.

We are sorry to have caused you concern; please be assured that you will be hearing from us soon.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Janet:
Have we sent?

BA

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

January 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I don't know whose jurisdiction this is, but at the annual meeting in November I left a check for $6.00 with an order for one copy each of the book by Leslie Dunbar and Wilma Dykeman Stokely. I have not received them as yet. I would appreciate your having someone check up to make sure that this order has not been lost.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

JSHORTT

TO: BCC

Please send one copy of A Republic of Equals by Les Dunbar to:

Mr. Frank E. Smith
204 Surburban Road
Knoxville, Tennessee 37919

Label attached; invoice to be enclosed.

Thanx.

December 5, 1966

INVOICE

TO: Mr. Frank E. Smith
204 Surburban Road
Knoxville, Tennessee 37919

One copy of A Republic of Equals by Leslie W. Dunbar.

P A I D - $2.50

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC. - THE MODERN LIBRARY - VINTAGE BOOKS - PANTHEON BOOKS
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SHIPPED

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MO.	DAY	YR.	ACCOUNT	INVOICE NO.	VIA	STORE-DEPT.	CUSTOMER ORDER NO. OR DATE	PAGE NO.
01	05	67	60099	010537440	BK RATE		122066	1

SOLD TO: MAIL ORDERS

SM 40

SHIP TO:
ROBERT E ANDERSON JR
SO REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
5 FORSYTH STREET N W
ATLANTA GEORGIA 30303

TERMS: 1/10 E.O.M. NET 30 E.O.M.

CARTONS	ADDITIONAL UNITS	LOC	TITLE CODE	TITLE	QUANTITY ORDERED	PRICE	DISC.	NET AMOUNT
	10	2	4221	POLITICS OF CONSERVATION	10	5.95	40.0	35.70
	10			010537440 INVOICE NO.	10	SALES TAX	$	35.70
						TRANSP. CHARGES		-.83
						TOTAL CHARGES		36.53

Please Return This Copy With Your Remittance

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VINTAGE BOOKS
ALLABOUT BOOKS
EASY-TO-READ BOOKS
LANDMARK BOOKS
LEGACY BOOKS

NP - Not Yet Published (*)
OS - Out of Stock (*)
OSI - Out of Stock Indefinitely (*)
OP - Out of Print - - Order Cancelled
*Note: Numbers Following Above Alpha Code Indicate Days Title Will Be Unavailable.

14

IF WRITING MENTION BOTH NUMBERS

MO.	DAY	YR.	ACCOUNT	INVOICE NO.
01	05	67	60099	010537440

SOLD TO: MAIL ORDERS

SM 40

TERMS: 1/10 E.O.M. NET 30 E.O.M.

LOC	TITLE CODE	TITLE	QUANTITY ORDERED	PRICE	DISC.	NET AMOUNT
2	4221	POLITICS OF CONSERVATION	10	5.95		

PAID 35.70

PACKING SLIP

010537440 INVOICE NO. 10

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC. - PANTHEON BOOKS,
THE MODERN LIBRARY - VINTAGE BOOKS
Send your checks to - 33 West 60th Street, New York, N. Y. 10023
Authorized Returns - 5 Lawrence Street, Bloomfield, New Jersey 07003
Not responsible for books sent by mail

All claims for shortages and damaged books must be made immediately after books are received.

ORDERS FOR THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION BY FRANK SMITH -- ~~$3.57~~ $3.50 per copy

1. Tennessee Council on Human Relations

2. North Carolina Council on Human Relations

3. Paul Christopher

4. S.C. Council

5. JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL
711 W. 3RD ST
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72201

6. Riley B. Montgomery
117 Irvine Road
Lexington, Ky., 40502 (Call him)

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

1/17/67

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JSHORTT

Bernice, please send one copy of The Politics of Conservation by Frank Smith to the following individuals:

Mr. James E. Youngdahl

Mr. Riley B. Montgomery

Mr. Paul Christopher

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Tenn. Council

Mr. Will C. Allred, N. C. Council

Mrs. Alice Spearman, S. C. Council

Labels attached.

Thank you.

1/17/67

INVOICE

TO: MRS. ALICE SPEARMAN

FROM: ROBERT E. ANDERSON, JR.

Please remit $3.50 for one copy of
Politics of Conservation by Frank Smith.

Rec'd 1/23/67
Gave to the same date

1/17/67

INVOICE

TO: MR. WILL C. ALLRED, N. C. COUNCIL ON HR

FROM: ROBERT E. ANDERSON, JR.

Please remit $3.50 for one copy of
Politics of Conservation, by Frank Smith.

Ck pd & turned over to Carolyn by BA.

1/17/67

INVOICE

TO: Mr. Baxton Bryant, Tennessee Council on HR

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Please remit $3.50 for one copy of Politics of Conservation, by Frank Smith.

Paid 2/27/67

PA

1/17/67

INVOICE

TO: Mr. Paul R. Chistopher

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Please remit $3.50 for Politics of Conservation by Frank Smith.

INVOICE

1/17/67

TO: Mr. James E. Youngdahl

FROM: Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Please remit $3.50 for one copy of Politics of Conservation by Frank Smith.

Pd 2/3/67
C.J.
Rec'd by
$3.50

January 23, 1967

Mrs. Florence S. Thompson
The South Carolina Council
on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of January 20, and the enclosed check for $3.50, representing payment for Politics of Conservation by Frank E. Smith.

As requested, an invoice for two copies of Prophet of Plenty by Wilma Dykeman is enclosed. I am mailing you a copy today under separate cover.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary

jcs

Encl: 1.

1/23/67

INVOICE

TO: The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, SRC Publications

Quantity	Price
2 copies of Prophet of Plenty	$3.50 each
TOTAL DUE -----	$7.00

(one copy received during Annual Meeting; one mailed 1/23/67.)

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

January 20, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Jr.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed is our check for $3.50 in payment of your invoice of January 17,1967, for one copy of "Politics of Conservation" by Frank E. Smith, which has been received today.

A few days ago we received a copy of "Prophet of Plenty," a biography of W. D. Weatherford, by Wilma Dykeman, but have not yet received a bill for it. We shall be glad to remit for the cost of the book on receipt of an invoice.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary

ft

P.S. Please send us another copy of "Prophet of Plenty" and bill us for both of them. Thanks. F.T.

Rec'd 2/3/67

January 17, 1967

INVOICE

TO: Mr. Riley B. Montgomery
112 Irvine Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40502

FROM: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

One copy of The Politics of Conservation by Frank Smith - $3.50.

The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of The University of Michigan-Wayne State University is the publisher of Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts (PHRA), a bimonthly journal which abstracts and annotates books and articles of particular interest to teachers, researchers, social workers, and government and community agency administrators. The aim of PHRA is to convey information about research, action programs, legislative and community developments, and policy trends in the fields of poverty and human resources research, analysis, economic opportunity, and manpower programs.

The enclosed abstract was taken from your publication and appeared in Vol. II, Issue 1 (JANUARY-FEBRUARY , 1967) of PHRA. It is not the purpose of PHRA to offer a substitute for the original source material but rather to give a few salient facts and provide the full bibliographic reference for the original material.

It is our hope that you will continue to provide PHRA with any future publications which may be relevant to the task we are undertaking.

POVERTY AND HUMAN RESOURCES ABSTRACTS • P. O. Box 1567 • Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

NEGRO. EDUCATION. INTEGRATION.

New South, Southern Regional Council, Vol. 19, No. 4, April 1964, 15 pages. Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

This issue of New South discusses the slow progress of the South in moving to integrate its public school systems. The broad title for the issue is "Six Years of Southern Free Choice." The issue presents the history of the tuition grant or "freedom of choice" scheme to give state or local tuition money, or both, to children selecting the school "of their choice," including private schools for whites. The two articles in this issue are "Strictly Subjective," by Margaret Long and "Free Choice and Tuition Grants in Five Southern States," by Staige D. Blackford. Table.

NEGROES. SOUTHERN ATTITUDES.

Dunbar, Leslie W., "The Annealing of the South," The Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 37, No. 4, Autumn 1961, 10 pages, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Analyzes the forces that are bringing the South out of its past racial spirit of obstinate localism. The first force was that, by 1961, enough Negro talent had developed to organize a campaign for rights. Equally important was the exodus, since 1940, of Negroes from southern farms to northern cities. Through economic development channels, nonsoutherners are filling managerial and technical positions in the South. The South's intellectuals have deserted her, and its political power is declining.

NEGROES. EDUCATION. MISSISSIPPI.

Southern Regional Council, Public Education in Mississippi, Southern Regional Council Report L-45, August 19, 1963, 6 pages, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Mississippi ranks lowest of the 50 states in estimated average annual salaries of instructional staff and of classroom teachers, and 47th in estimated expenditure per pupil for public schools. In Mississippi there are 82 accredited high schools for whites and only seven for Negroes. Nine Mississippi counties have no high schools for Negroes. Negro students constitute 50.6 percent of the state's school population; yet, in 1960-1961, $46,205,113.34 was expended for insturction in white schools as compared to $26,723,109.35 in Negro schools. Tables.

NEGRO. POLICE BRUTALITY. ALABAMA

Southern Regional Council, New South, Southern Regional Council, Vol. 19, No. 6, June 1964, 23 pages, 5 Forsyth Street N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Deals primarily with police practice in Alabama. There also is a letter from Leon Dure, the father of freedom of association in education, in reply to a report written by Staige Blackford.

Southern Regional Council COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS, AND POOR PEOPLE	67A-2 PHRA Vol. II:1	NEGRO. ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

SOURCE: Special Report from the Southern Regional Council, March 1966, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, 22 pages.

SUBJECT
ANALYSIS: Cooperative enterprises may be a means of bringing economic independence to poor Negroes of the rural South, but only if these organizations are efficiently managed and large enough to compete in today's world of big business.

CONTENT
ANALYSIS: The civil rights achievements of the past few years mean nothing to poor Negroes who lack economic independence. Recently, cooperatives and credit unions have been organized in the South in an attempt to create some degree of economic freedom for the rural Negro. While cooperation is a good idea, there are many hazards involved in building these organizations. Joining an existing credit union is preferable but, if it is necessary to start a new one, a feasibility study should be made first.

Do cooperatives meet the needs of poor Negroes? The following discussion attempts to answer this question. "A cooperative is a business established by groups of people, owned and controlled and largely patronized by these same groups." It must be as efficient as its competitors in order to succeed. Cooperatives are difficult to start and difficult to run. They must find an efficient manager and try to attract adequate capital if they are to survive.

"It seems that perhaps the cooperative idea has been oversold as a means for solving an economic problem and under-explained in regard to the risk and personal involvement it entails." Small grocery co-ops are recognized as a poor risk, although some large ones in northern cities have been successful. Marketing cooperatives work better and some are being established now. Large marketing cooperatives can meet many needs of the farmers, but a group of twenty Negro farmers in Alabama cannot provide themselves with all the necessities to make such a venture a business success. A series of questions points out many problems the co-op must face.

Mr. Jerry Voorhis Executive Director of the Cooperative League, says that cooperatives in America have learned a number of lessons since 1950. (1) The day of the small cooperative is past; (2) The best method of expansion is from regional cooperatives outwards, not in the formation of new cooperatives; and (3) Good management is of critical importance. Seven guidelines for the successful operation of cooperatives are presented.

Credit unions are cooperative organizations composed of members who have a common bond. They promote thrift and create a source of credit. At present rural-based credit unions account for three percent of U.S. credit unions and one percent of total credit union services.

Small credit unions made up of low-income people will have problems. They cannot make large loans and have trouble finding help. They can, however, lend small sums at fair interest and offer inexpensive life insurance. These groups are badly needed if they can do what is necessary for success. They require good management, community involvement, and adequate capital. A source of help is the Office of Economic Opportunity, which will aid in the hiring of a financial manager. Assistance is also available from credit union leagues.

In spite of all the hazards, cooperatives are needed. Planners must be realistic by recognizing that cooperatives and credit unions are both businesses and will have to be large enough in size and scope to meet the competition. It is time to think in terms of state and regional co-ops and to consider the possibility of foundation or government subsidies.

ANNOTATIONS

NEGROES. ASPIRATIONS. MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH.

Newman, Dorothy K. (Bureau of Labor Statistics), "The Negro's Journey to the City--Part I," Report Card, Vol. 14, No. 2, December 1965, 19 pages, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

This paper attempts to test the validity of the assumption that Negroes in the United States lack aspiration and motivation. It studies the Negro migration from the South and its results in terms of jobs, housing, and income. It investigates other indicators of motivation, such as interest in schooling and training. It concludes that Negroes strive for better living conditions, make efforts to achieve them independently, and grasp opportunity when it is available. Tables. Figures. Notes. References.

NEGROES. ASPIRATIONS. ECONOMIC STATUS.

Newman, Dorothy K. (Bureau of Labor Statistics), "The Negro's Journey to the City--Part II," Report Card, Vol. 14, No. 4, May 1966, 15 pages, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Discusses the effectiveness of the Negroes' high aspirations in the face of lagging or even declining employment opportunities in the industries and occupations to which they have aspired. The economic status of the Negro today is compared with that of immigrants at the turn of the century. The paper presents some of the history of the advance of American immigrants of diverse backgrounds to lend perspective to the present situation of the urban Negro. The Negro wishes to succeed, but there are barriers to opportunity. Figures. Notes. References.

Mizell, M. Hayes FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES	67A-25 PHRA Vol. II:1	FEDERAL PROGRAMS. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. RURAL.

SOURCE: The Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, 16 pages.

SUBJECT ANALYSIS: Describes the functions of government agencies which aid workers displaced by changes in rural employment patterns.

CONTENT ANALYSIS: There are numerous government agencies attempting to generate self-help programs in rural areas and providing retraining opportunities for unemployed workers.

Dr. Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State College, predicts that "within the next 15 years the rural South will be less populated, will have fewer small farms, practically no sharecroppers, and there will be a considerable decline in the demand for unskilled laborers." A result of this economic shift will be large numbers of untrained, poorly educated laborers. In an attempt to prevent the problems likely to result from such a situation, the federal government has established several agencies.

Rural Areas Development (RAD), under the U.S. Department of Agriculture, emphasizes total economic development of the rural community. Local people must first develop their own organization, study their community, and present project proposals to RAD. This agency then contacts the appropriate federal agency to handle the required program. One such agency is the Farmers Home Administration (FHA). It offers technical advice and loans for home and family improvement or for public facilities. Other allied agencies include the Rural Electrification Administration, Forest Service, Farmer Credit Association, Soil Conservation Service, and Farmer Cooperative Service.

The Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA) was set up in 1962 to provide training programs for unemployed but capable men and retraining programs for men whose skills have become obsolete. Men are paid to take this training. Application is made through State Employment Service Offices.

In 1961 the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) was created to help establish local industry by giving long-term, low-interest loans to new or expanding industry. It is important to note, however, that there is no provision for equal employment opportunities in ARA-sponsored industry. A county is eligible for ARA assistance only if it meets certain unemployment and median income requirements. This agency, like the RAD, gives assistance only when the local community has organized and prepared a project. The ARA also sponsors a job retraining program, but it allows only one-third as much time for training as does the RAD.

Yet another training program is found under Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act. It emphasizes highly skilled workers (data processors, electricians, etc.) and usually centers in high schools and new vocational training centers. Some centers have set qualifying scores so high that the effect is to exclude Negroes. The fact that there are no Negroes in South Carolina's Title VIII program suggests that this is what is happening.

Thus there are government programs to meet many of the present rural needs, but there are two major roadblocks to actual implementation of these valuable facilities: (1) Many rural people are not aware that such programs exist, and (2) These people are not usually capable of instituting the community organization and project plans which are necessary requirements for program aid.

ANNOTATIONS

NEGRO POVERTY. MISSISSIPPI.

Good, Paul, "The Thorntons of Mississippi: Peonage on the Plantation," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 218, No. 4, September 1966, pp. 95-100.

Cotton is America's leading cash crop; eleven million Americans depend directly on cotton for their livelihood. The family described is one of the many rural Mississippi Negro families living in poverty. They are a product of a system that has left tens of thousands of southern Negroes social and economic cripples. No state or federal minimum wage or minimum age laws for cotton field hands exist. As machines cut down on the need for workers, many Negroes leave. Mechanization all but ended sharecropping. The median income, according to a 1964 Department of Agriculture report is $456 a year. The poverty program has produced little change in the Delta.

REMEDIES. PARC. LIMITATIONS. APPALACHIA.

Burlage, Robb K. (Tennessee State Planning Commission), "Appalachia: The Heart of the Matter," Reprinted from New University Thought, "'War on Poverty': This is War?" Summer 1964, 13 pages.

Describes the unemployment, "community decay," out-migration and poor education that make up the inadequate environment of the people of the Appalachian region. Appalachia has received attention but little action. There is a need for federal assistance. The President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) report defines the problems of the region but fails to recognize the diversities of the region, the interrelationships with the national economy, and the need to guarantee the welfare of all the people of the area. A New Society is needed for Appalachia--one that involves new vision, new politics, new towns, new industry, and new lives. The people without full opportunities must confront the operating political and economic systems at all levels.

RURAL POVERTY. NEW JERSEY.

Citizen's Advisory Committee On Rural Poverty, Advancing the War Against Poverty in New Jersey's Rural Areas and Smaller Communities, Report of The Governor's Citizen's Advisory Committee On Rural Poverty, December 23, 1965, mimeographed, 5 pages.

One-sixth of New Jersey's population lives in rural areas and smaller communities; one-fifth of its poor live there. Isolation, declining rural economies, and lack of employment and educational resources mark the rural areas as requiring special forms of assistance. The recommendations established by New Jersey Governor Hughes' subcommittee include legislative authorization to pay unemployment insurance benefits to jobless persons enrolled in adult basic education courses; special assistance programs to low-income farmers; emphasis on the rural poor in Community Action Programs; increasing involvement of and services to the older poor; linking the resources of several state agencies for the Rural Youth Development Program; and establishing a rural housing inventory.

ATHENEUM PUBLISHERS 162 EAST 38 STREET
NEW YORK CITY 10016 MURRAY HILL 5-3010

March 1, 1967

Rec'd 3/3/67

New South
Southern Regional Council
Margaret Long, Editor
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

Under separate cover, we are sending you a review copy of THE MYSTERY OF THE GREAT SWAMP by Marjorie A. Zapf, which will be published March 21. We feel that this book is in keeping with the general interest in your field.

If you do decide to review the book, may I please have two copies of the review?

Thanking you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Beth Davis

Beth Davis
Assistant Editor

BD:jop

GROSSMAN PUBLISHERS, INC. 125A EAST 19TH STREET NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK YU 2-5270

Rec'd 3/1/67

We regret that we have had to postpone the publication date of THE ACCIDENTAL PRESIDENT by Robert Sherrill from March 15 to March 29. Bound copies for review will be rushed to you as soon as they are available.

The Mystery of the
Great Swamp
Marjorie C. Zapf

Recd 3/20/67
(Presumably for review)

April 7, 1967

Mr. Alex Poinsett
Associate Editor
Ebony
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Dear Mr. Poinsett:

We have received the April, 1967, issue of EBONY, which contained the article, "Thirteen Years After 1954." It is a very good article, and the period of interest has been very well covered.

We were happy to be of service to you, and it was a pleasure having you here to visit with us. Please come again.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

EBONY 1820 South Michigan Ave. • Chicago, Illinois 60616

March 22, 1967

Dear Bob: Thank you for your assistance in putting together the school desegregation article, "Thirteen Years After 1954," appearing in the April, 1967 issue of EBONY, a copy of which has been forwarded to you under separate cover. My aim was to present an overview of the problem. I will be interested in your comments on the extent to which I succeeded or failed. Again, I thank you.

Sincerely,

Alex Poinsett

Alex Poinsett
Associate Editor

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

AP/ba

April 13, 1967

Mr. Alex Poinsett
Associate Editor
Ebony
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Dear Alex:

I thought your school desegregation piece was damn good.

Thanks for sending it, and come back to see us again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

EBONY 1820 South Michigan Ave. • Chicago, Illinois 60616

March 21, 1967

Dear Pat: Thank you for your assistance in putting together the school desegregation article, "Thirteen Years After 1954," appearing in the April, 1967 issue of EBONY, a copy of which has been forwarded to you under separate cover. My aim was to present an overview of the problem. I will be interested in your comments on the extent to which I succeeded or failed. Again, I thank you.

Sincerely,

Alex Poinsett

Alex Poinsett
Associate Editor

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AP/ba

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

April 26, 1967

Mrs. Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortt:

I am sorry to be so derelict in getting this check for the two cppies of Prophet of Plenty to you. ** Checks for $7.00 to cover cost are enclosed. (Your invoice is dated January 23, 1967)

Thank you for your patience.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary

ft

** S.C. Council check for $3.50
T.J.Ledeen check for 3.50

4/27/67
C.L.

Rec'd: 6/29/67

CORDELIA: MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD

by Adolphine Fletcher Terry

(Sent to Margaret Long)

This book is sent to you for review with the compliments of

Reid Cole 7/13/67

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May we have two copies of your review? Thank you.

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1707 H STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Pat: Reid 6/28/67

Here's a pre-publication copy of a book about Watts that should be of more than passing interest.

J

John

Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness - Robert Conot

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11/13/67

Recit for Review:

Black Power + Urban Unrest

by Nathan Wright Jr, Ed

Bk rec'd 11/13/67

FULL EMPLOYMENT, GUIDEPOSTS AND ECONOMIC STABILITY

Arthur F. Burns
and
Paul A. Samuelson

Published by

American Enterprise Institute
for Public Policy Research

Almost everyone seems to agree with major objectives of U.S. economic policy—full employment, stable prices, and rising productivity. The Employment Act of 1946 sets them down. The President's economic report annually swears its allegiance. The Joint Economic Committee regularly appraises the performance.

But from a day-to-day reading of our newspapers and magazines through the crises of our times, one might easily get the idea that agreement ends with the objectives.

So the American Enterprise Institute invited two eminent economists to discuss how best these objectives could be achieved. One was Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the other Dr. Paul Samuelson. Dr. Burns chaired President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers until 1956, and at the time of the debate in the spring of 1967 was President of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Dr. Samuelson was an adviser to President Kennedy, and is a consultant to the Treasury, the present Council, and the Federal Reserve Board.

What evolved from the lectures, the rebuttals, and the discussion with expert seminar participants was a large area of agreement. This was to be expected, of course, because some part of economics is a science. But despite the acres of common ground, there were critical plots of difference.

Both agreed, for example, that efforts by governments to carry out economic policy have had generally favorable results. They differed on the degree of success. Dr. Burns is inclined to believe that economic policymakers are incapable of doing the right thing at the right time over a sustained period. Dr. Samuelson tends to feel that activists produce better results for the economy than those who are more cautious.

There also were some differences over guideposts, which Dr. Samuelson, as an advocate of the "new economics," was charged with defending. He indicated he thought he might have got the short end of the stick. "For one thing, I am not a wholehearted enthusiast for guideposts; if uncritical enthusiasm were desired, one would have to go elsewhere," he said. Later, he added: "We may with fine rhetoric or telling syllogism slay the presidential guideposts a dozen times; but still, in the opinion of the vast majority of economic experts, we shall be left with the vexing dilemma that free markets do not give us a stable consumers price index at the same time that the rate of unemployment stays down to a socially desirable level." Dr. Samuelson concluded that wage-price guideposts are helpful and have an important role, but are not substitutes for proper macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policies. They are really an attempt to affect the philosophy of men in the marketplace.

Dr. Burns' final comment on guideposts seemed to summarize his opposition: ". . . free markets are our nation's most valuable economic asset, and we should therefore be wary of governmental edicts, perhaps all the more so when they come in the coquettishly modern dress of voluntary guidelines."

Dr. Samuelson attempted to define the difference between "us new economists" and "other economists." "It is our activist attempts to stretch out the prosperity periods by explicit action," he explained.

He recalled the early days of the Kennedy Administration, when he said he was astonished to discover how lawyers in the administration "really believed their own

rhetoric—that the country was going to get moving by speaking about getting it moving; and it was a great surprise and required some education for them to realize that you really had to do things to achieve vigorous growth and prosperity."

Nevertheless, many things were done from the beginning. "Expenditures were deliberately expanded," he declared. "There was a great deal of—I hesitate to call it hypocrisy—but of semantic double-talk because there was a great deal of need for the country to adjust itself to rational fiscal thinking. The desire for the investment tax credit by the Kennedy Administration was a genuine desire to stimulate investment by giving revenue, even though, for window-dressing purposes, it was sometimes thought necessary to couple it with revenue-raising verbiage. Eventually too, we had the accelerated depreciation of guidelines of mid-1963. Every time the economy showed signs of lagging, other programs were introduced."

Dr. Burns, however, was not so optimistic about official tinkering over the long haul. Governmental policies dealing with the problems of full employment and economic stability have moved along a rocky road in recent years as in the past, he said. "Since the 1930s, economic policymakers have indeed demonstrated a capacity to learn from past mistakes. Too often, however, their memories have grown dim with the passage of time. Economic generals, like their military counterparts, sometimes forget which war they are fighting, nor do they always know which war to fight. Nevertheless, significant progress has been made, and we must try to extend it."

In his comprehensive review of the economy during the past ten years, Dr. Burns cited a long series of weaknesses in the tools of economics. Among them were limitations on the art of forecasting, incomplete data on job vacancies, inaccurate measurements of prices and costs, and "most important of all, the need to learn better than we yet have the basic truth that, while stability of the general price level will not of itself bring

We take pleasure in sending you this book for review

EYEWITNESS: THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY - by Wm. Katz

The price is $9.75

Publication date is 12/5/67

May we have two copies of your review, one for our files, one for the author?

PITMAN PUBLISHING CORPORATION

20 East 46 St., New York, N. Y. 10017

prosperity in the years ahead, we cannot very well maintain international confidence in the dollar or have sustained prosperity without it."

Dr. Burns also criticized "governmental fussing with minor changes in the performance of the economy." These "may easily be ill-timed," he said, "prove ineffective or perverse, and therefore ultimately weaken the effectiveness of governmental policy in handling major problems. We have become too preoccupied with short-run variations of macroeconomic policy, and we do not give enough thought to creating and maintaining an environment that will lessen the burden of discretionary policymaking."

Dr. Samuelson was less concerned about mistakes in economic forecasts, arguing that the activism of the "new economics" usually brings about increases in the money GNP regardless of faulty forecasting. He added that forecasts might even be more inaccurate than sometimes recorded, because the policymakers get "another whack at the control mechanisms," thus achieving their predictions despite the initial misapplication of economic remedies resulting from inaccurate forecasts.

Dr. Burns blamed the "fateful policies of 1965" for the troubles of 1966. Prompt or really good solutions are rarely, if ever, available for imbalances generated by inflation, he argued. He outlined the mistakes of 1965, then asked: "Why did the nation's policymakers, who for years had succeeded so well in monitoring a business expansion under difficult conditions, finally unleash the forces of inflation? Why did men who showed the ability to profit from experience succumb to the oldest weakness of government practice?"

Perhaps these questions are the key to the debate over economic policy. The discussion recorded in this book will not supply final sharp answers; but it may help the reader in his own wisdom decide how much manipulation by policymakers helps, and how much it hurts.

December 11, 1967

Mr. John P. Sisson
Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear John:

Thank you for sending the copy of the letter to the Rev. Mr. Shiffer. I will be interested to see what develops from it.

But I do want to be sure there is no misunderstanding on two points. Beyond offering suggestions of possible sources of funds, we would not be able to help in financing the project, including publication costs. And while we always want to have an opportunity to look at a piece of writing to consider for publication, I had not meant to give you the impression of any firm commitment to publish it. In fact, I would think there are other more appropriate agencies for that, including your own.

I do, as I said in our conversation, think such a study is important, and want to help out as I can. But I didn't mean to suggest we could finance it or publish it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

PA—
Ret PW

December 1, 1967

Rev. Hubert F. Schiffer, S.J.
Editor, SOCIAL DIGEST
Loyola University of the South
6363 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear Father Schiffer:

Would it be possible for you to take on a research project, for publication, which would examine the role of the Church in regard to race relations in the South. This project would have to cover programs of desegregation of Church institutions, and also contributions made in the field of education, anti-poverty programs, community leadership, employment, housing, medical care, etc.

It is hoped that such a study would make available to Church leaders a clear evaluation of where we have been and where we must go, plus giving specifics about a number of model programs which they too might adopt.

I am approaching you because I know that with your Master's degree in Sociology and your doctorate in Economics you are professionally qualified, and this, joined with your publishing of SOCIAL DIGEST and your decade of service in the South, and a great natural interest, would seem to qualify you to take on such a task. I know also that you have pursued these interests in the giving of retreats and in your travels on the sodality summer workshop.

As a priest, many doors would be open to you in the course of your investigation because they know that you would present an honest and positive evaluation of what has been done. I had talked with Mr. Pat Watters of Southern Regional Council about such a study as this, and he was extremely interested, the only problem being finding a person who could take on the work. He indicated that they might be able to fund such a

No!

Pat, I'd like to discuss this with you again after you've had time to think about it. Jack Sisson

project and that it would be published under their auspices. I wish that I could work on this, but as I see it, it would take from six months to a year to compile the data and write it up.

Would it be possible for you to take a sabbatical to do this work? It would be right in line with the latest directive from Father Arrupe regarding Jesuit involvement in bettering race relations in this country.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

John P. Sisson

File: Book Reviews

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Rec'd 2/12/68

February 5, 1968

Margaret Long
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Long:

Joanne Grant suggested I send you a copy of BLACK PROTEST History, Documents and Analyses: 1619 to the Present. Miss Grant has edited the book and provided an introduction. It will be published as an original Fawcett Premier paperback this month.

I hope you will find the book of interest.

With best regards,

Barbara J. Hendra

Barbara J. Hendra
Publicity Director

BJH:aec
Enc.

Book for Review

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Harold Heifetz

April 12, 1968

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File

August 2, 1968

Mr. Bob Anderson
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your call this morning. I hope that I was able to answer your questions, and we look forward to your interest in GHETTO DIARY.

Please let me know if you need any more information -- and how many notebooks you would like. Although, as I mentioned to you, there is no immediate or pressing deadline we would like to have as much material as possible by the end of the summer as the editor, Claude Brown, would like to begin working with the diaries then.

Thank you once again for your interest in GHETTO DIARY. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Greene

Catherine Greene
Assistant Editor

CAG:CAG

7-11

0733 Ulmer, Al, COOPERATIVES AND POOR PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga. 30303, March 1969, 31 pages.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. COOPERATIVES. RURAL POVERTY.

Nine poor people's cooperatives in the South are examined to determine to what extent they have helped poor people meet their basic needs—more money, decent housing, land for farms, adequate food, education, power, the attraction of youths to the rural areas, strong communities, and a measure of security from unemployment, poor health, and a pauper's death. The problems of co-ops are also discussed—those resulting from action outside the co-ops and those caused by events within the organizations. An estimate is made of what it will take to overcome these problems in order to establish a number of strong cooperatives. Operating on a shrinking base of land-owning farmers, the farm co-ops' prospects for long-term success are limited. Some form of land redistribution is needed if the farm co-ops are ever to reach the poorest poor. The

overwhelming problems of housing, illiteracy, lack of employment, and racism suggest that unless co-ops can be large enough and sufficiently strong to take on their immediate oppressive situations on a communitywide basis, cooperative business will continue to be small, poorly understood, poorly supported, conservative efforts. The existing cooperatives represent possibly the only people-run community organizations tackling the economic problems of the rural black poor. With one or two exceptions they are holding actions, little understood by the persons who own them, and turned to primarily because of the desperate situations in which their members find themselves searching for some way to remain alive in the rural South. Strengthened and expanded, and subsidized on a long-term basis, co-ops can make an economic impact on the lives of the rural poor. Moreover, properly decentralized to insure democratic control, they would serve as channels for a greatly needed rehabilitation effort in the rural South.

7-11

0800 Southern Regional Council, RACE MAKES THE DIFFERENCE: AN ANALYSIS OF SENTENCE DISPARITY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE OFFENDERS IN SOUTHERN PRISONS, Special Report, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga. 30303, March 1969, 16 pages.

PRISONERS. RACE DISCRIMINATION.

Data for this analysis were derived from 1,205 cases drawn from prison and parole records in seven southern states. Data suggest that there is a significant absolute disparity between the sentences received by black offenders and those received by white offenders, without regard to type of crime, length of prior record, type of counsel, or nature of plea. Analysis of the data has failed to reveal how any factor other than race could account for this disparity. Cultural differences affect the rate of crimes reported. Official policies and personal prejudices make the arrest process highly selective. The administrative discretion allowed prosecuting attorneys to select which cases to prosecute and to determine the gravity of the charge on the grounds other than the facts of the case, opens the whole process of prosecution to undue influences—economic, social, and political. It can be heavily influenced by the personal prejudices of the officials charged with that responsibility. In the judicial process the wide discretion allowed the judges in interpreting the law and fixing penalties also exposes the process to extraneous influences. The nature of prison discipline and the expectations of correctional officers are culturally weighed. Parole

procedures are weighed against the poor and the black. The almost absolute discretion granted to parole boards is open to influence by personal prejudices, political pressures, and irrelevant cultural values. A radical restructuring of all the processes involved in the administration of criminal justice is needed. Attempts at piecemeal reform cannot move the system materially closer to the implementation of those ideas of justice which are professed to govern the operation of the structures involved.

Memorandum from...

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 10028 • TR 9-4500

July 14, 1969

Received BM
7/21/69

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

From: Joseph B. Robison

I am happy to enclose an advance copy of "Schools in Crisis," by Naomi Levine and Richard Cohen of our staff. The official publication date is August 5, 1969.

While the book does not represent AJCongress' official position, we believe it to be the fairest and most objective account of the 1968-69 New York City school crisis that has yet appeared. Also valuable is the afterword by Mario Fantini of the Ford Foundation, which discusses the Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict from another angle of vision.

"Schools in Crisis" is particularly valuable, we believe, because it treats the decentralization question not as a local issue confined to Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn but as a national phenomenon with major implications for every major city in the country, all of which are facing similar demands for community control. Because of the Negro-Jewish tension that accompanied the Ocean Hill dispute, the book will prove most useful in alerting Jewish community groups on how to deal with the question. In this connection, a study guide designed to promote grass-roots discussion of school decentralization is being prepared by Mrs. Levine and will be available, on request, early in September.

By special arrangement with the publishers, AJCongress is able to offer the book at one-third off its regular price of 75¢. Copies are available at 50¢ each, postpaid, by ordering from Miss Rae Weiss at Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 East 84th Street, New York, N. Y. 10028.

Encl.

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Dear Book Review Editor:

Enclosed please find your review copy of our latest book. We would appreciate a review in your publication.

Yours sincerely,

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Author: Charles P. Cullop

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Summer 1969

Poverty & Human Resources

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Gentlemen:

Poverty & Human Resources is a comprehensive source of information relating to the problems so urgently facing our cities and nation. It covers human, social, and manpower problems and solutions ranging from slum rehabilitation and job development training to compensatory education, minority group problems, and rural poverty.

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The enclosed abstract appeared in the January-February issue of Poverty & Human Resources, Vol. 5, No. 1. We would appreciate receiving any future publications that you might like to see abstracted. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Louis A. Ferman

Louis A. Ferman
Editor

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University.
P.O. Box 1567, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, (313) 764-9477.

0174

Bass, Jack, STRIKE AT CHARLESTON, *New South,* Vol. 24, No. 3, Summer 1969, pp. 35-44.

HOSPITALS. JOB DISCRIMINATION. STRIKES.

This article discusses the strike at the Medical College of South Carolina and the Charleston County Hospital that occurred in 1969. At this time, some hospital workers were receiving only 38 cents per hour. However, it was the firing of 12 nurse's aides that precipitated the strike. Hospital officials said the aides were dismissed because they left patients unattended to be present at a grievance meeting. The aides contended that the firing occurred because of their union activities. The firing was typical of the way the College handled the demands of black nonprofessional workers for job security, adequate grievance procedures, and an end to racial discrimination in pay, promotion policies, and job assignments. The International Longshoremen supported the strike, threatening to close the port of Charleston. Walter Reuther gave $10,000 and the AFL-CIO pledged $25,000. It soon became apparent to administrators that an easy end was not in sight. Another incident involving the firing of five practical nurses fanned the fire. Chief negotiator for the strikers was William Saunders. Another key figure was Rev. Henry Grant, an Episcopal clergyman. Both are black. Though public employees are permitted by state law to join unions, Governor McNair's interpretation of state policy prohibits collective bargaining and negotiating a contract. However, settlement was finally reached on the Medical College contract. The strike ended on July 18, 113 days after it began. It resulted in a minimum wage of $1.60, and promises of at least $1.70 for the following year. During the course of the strike there were 900 arrests. A curfew was in effect, and at one point there were more than 5,000 National Guardsmen in the city. Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. lent her support to the strike, thereby gaining national attention for the workers. A result of the strike is that formerly suppressed elements in the community have been able to upset the status quo.

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Sincerely yours,

Louis A. Ferman

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Editor

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University.
P. O. Box 1567, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, (313) 764-9477.

0105

Walls, Dwayne, FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE: TRAGEDY AND CONFRONTATION, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303, October 1969, 36 pages.

GROUP CONFLICT. PROTEST. RACE RELATIONS.

Seventy percent of the population of Fayette County, Tennessee, is black. The median income is $1,363, making it the third poorest county in the U.S. When school desegregation took place in the town of Somerville, it evoked intense hostility from the white community. The climax of this history of racial discrimination and conflict occurred when three Negro women were severely beaten by two white men. In retaliation, the black community decided to boycott all white-owned or white-controlled business establishments. The boycott was accompanied by picketing and demonstrations. The black community was organized for a sustained effort. After several weeks of conflict, both whites and blacks realized the necessity for negotiation. The sheriff made the first move by addressing a group of Negroes and admitting many of his errors. The members of the black civic organization then submitted the conditions which the white community must meet before negotiations could begin. The list included the following: (1) A public statement must be made by white leaders condemning the attack upon the three Negro women. (2) All Constitutional rights must be restored. (3) The citizen deputy force must be dissolved and replaced, when necessary, by federal marshalls. (4) All charges against blacks must be dropped. (5) A rebate of fines must be granted. (6) Reimbursements must be made to the black community for all funds spent in defending its rights. (7) Response to these demands must be made in writing. A written reply was received by the blacks and some of the conditions have been met. Two issues which will concern the blacks during negotiations are the reapportionment of the magisterial districts to eliminate racial imbalance and black representation on the board of education. The economic boycott is being continued. So far it has put two stores out of business. The local merchants depend on Negro business, since affluent whites shop in Memphis. On September 27, shots were fired at a white leader of the Negro move-

ment. Two whites were arrested, and charged with the crime; bond was set at $7,500 each.

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FROM

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Rec'd 1-8-70

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PRICE: $6.95 cloth
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PUBLICATION DATE: NOVEMBER 20, 196

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November 12, 1969

Dear Reviewer:

Through one of those regrettable mishaps that sometimes occur in the complicated process of bookmaking, the name of Gilbert Moses, one of the editors, was omitted from the cover of THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER BY THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER.

At every stage of putting together THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER, Gilbert Moses' contribution was both vital and critical.

Until this unfortunate error is corrected in the next printing, we would ask that in any mention you make of THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER BY THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER, you give credit to Gilbert Moses as well as to Thomas C. Dent and Richard Schechner, the three editors of this book.

Sincerely,

Maybelle D. Brown
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BLACK AWAKENING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA

Reid 10-28-69

Robert L. Allen

November 21, 1969

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Yours sincerely,

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI PRESS

Author: Hugh C. Bailey

Title: LIBERALISM IN THE NEW SOUTH: Southern Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement

No. of Pages: 294 pp., illustrated

Retail Price: Clothbound, $10.00

Publication Date: December 8, 1969

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RELEASE AT WILL

LIBERALISM IN THE NEW SOUTH: Southern Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement

By Hugh C. Bailey

(Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press
294 pp, illustrated. Clothbound, $10.00)

PUBLICATION DATE: DECEMBER 8, 1969

One of the most characteristic traits of the northerner has been his condescending attitude toward the "backward" South. Such thinking has fostered a belief that all southern progress has been imported.

Since World War II, southern historians have been attempting to establish a true perspective on the southern contribution to Progressivism and liberalism in the United States. In his new book Liberalism in the New South, just published by the University of Miami Press (Coral Gables, Fla.), Hugh C. Bailey provides the first synthesis of historical fact about southern social reformers and the Progressive Movement.

The author points out that progressive political leaders rose to power in the South at the end of the turbulent 1890's. As representatives generally of the substantial middle class, they sought to perfect "the American way of life" with its emphasis on free enterprise and individualism.

Drawing much of their support from editors, educators, businessmen, professional men, and affluent farmers, these politicians used the philosophy of the "New South" as a rationale for legislation needed to

(more)

restore the past's mythical equality of opportunity. They sought pragmatic solutions to major problems, in many cases anticipating comparable northern developments.

Primary elections, regulation of railways, abolishment of the convict lease system, reform of child labor laws, and other matters were attacked with ferocity. One of the most significant accomplishments was that for the first time since Reconstruction a system of universal education was begun.

Unfortunately, southern Progressivism flourished in an era when race repression was reaching its crest in the North as well as the South. In 1883 a Supreme Court decision denied the Negro equal access to public facilities. After 1886, following the decline of the Knights of Labor, Negroes were virtually excluded from the labor movement, and the most respected voices of northern learning pronounced their inferiority, using social Darwinistic arguments as a perfect explanation.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that southern reformers were not champions of Negro civil rights. But later generations, obsessed with the racial issue, have tended to use race as the single determinant of a reformer's existence and have failed to realize that, for their time and place, many southern social reformers were liberal in racial matters.

Bailey examines the ideals and accomplishments of the major southern reformers from post-Reconstruction days up to World War I. They include

(more)

George Washington Cable, a progressive born before the Progressive Era; Walter Hines Page, editor, publisher, and diplomat with roots deep in the South; Alexander J. McKelway, indefatigable foe of child labor and superb political strategist; Edgar Gardner Murphy, who called attention to a host of southern problems; and Booker T. Washington, the former slave whose policy of accommodation made him the most prominent Negro leader of his time.

These were men who contributed to the liberalization of the Democratic Party, softened the opposition to social reform in their respective regions, and added substantial potency to the force of American Progressivism.

Hugh C. Bailey is head of the department of history and chairman of the division of social sciences at Samford University, Birmingham, Ala. He is the author of Edgar Gardner Murphy: Gentle Progressive (University of Miami Press, 1968) and of two other books on southern history.

# # # # #

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Harold Stern

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January 13, 1970

Mr. Guy D. Spiesman
Coordinator
Community Resources Project
The Rehabilitation Center
The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

Dear Mr. Spiesman:

I am sorry for the delay in attending to your request.

If you still want the magazines and if they could be various issues, I think it could be worked out. Let me know if I've waited too long to be helpful.

I'm enclosing a recent special report which I think you might find worthwhile.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

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Encl. - The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation

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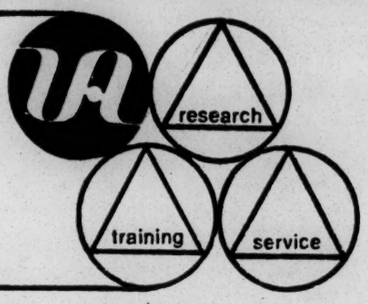

December 5, 1969

Rec'd 12/8/69

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed is a brief description of a class I will conduct in February, 1970.

I have read New South with much interest, and would like to know if it would be possible to get approximately 30 copies, gratis, as a way of introducing my perspective students to your publication.

I will look forward to hearing from you, and would appreciate any information you could send me concerning this matter.

Thank you.

Cordially,

Guy D. Spiesman
Coordinator
Community Resources Project

GDS:pmb
Enclosure

WORKSHOP 397A, Educ-Rehab. SECOND SEMESTER February 1970, Tue./Thur.2:40-4:00

THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED Lecturer: Guy D. Spiesman, Rehabilitation Center

This seminar will afford an opportunity to learn first hand how those who are poor look at the world around them.

- What, for example, do they think of the services they receive? Why is it that many in the community service sturcture "turn them off?" What prevents them from making use of the services which are available? What are their views on the so-called "Establishment?"

- There will be a comparison of the manner by which the poor, often the newly arrived immigrant, of the early 1900's viewed the American opportunity structure and how the ghetto-poor of today, a somewhat different population, view their future.

- Residents and neighborhood leadership in the Tucson Community Action Program (OEO Poverty Program) and Model Cities, areas will address the seminar on the above subjects and "tell it like it is."

- The Model Cities and OEO programs will be analyzed through the involvement of their staff in the seminar, as to how they are attempting to develop leadership among the poor and open up services to them and as to how effective the poor consider these programs to be.

- For those who are interested, an attempt will be made to permit them to live with a family in poverty for several days in the Tucson area. They will thus, be able to empathize with this subject from personal experience.

- Videotaping will be used to illustrate through interviews with representatives of the poor by the students, the communication problems which result when those from middle class backgrounds and professional training attempt to work with the poor.

- The question of indigenous leadership development will be explored: its history from the federal Juvenile Delinquency Program, through the Economic Opportunity Act to the Model Cities program of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The question will be directed at the typical person who lives in a ghetto neighborhood, "Who am I -- Do I really have a voice in the decisions which affect me? Do I want to have a voice? In what manner?"

This will be a "live in" seminar where interpretation of the needs and potential for self-realization of the poor will be the primary responsibility of the student. The poor will be present; those who attempt to serve them, often their adversaries, will be present. Otherwise there will be no intermediaries to "explain" to the student what it means to be poor. That will be up to you!

Book for Review

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Respectfully
Fletcher Knebel

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GROWING UP IN AMERICA

ROBERT A. ROSENBAUM

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Edited by C. Eric Lincoln

Publication: January 29, 1970

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Reprinted from the CONNECTICUT LAW REVIEW, Vol. 1, No. 2

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND POVERTY

*Martin Rein**
*S. M. Miller***

THIS paper examines the changing character of maximum feasible participation of the poor as it has evolved over the past several years, both prior to and since the inception of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Though participation of the poor can be justified on a variety of grounds, none is more compelling than the assumption that such participation contributes to the reduction of poverty. Indeed, much of the justification for the strategy of involvement grew out of a set of implicit assumptions about how poverty and participation are linked to one another. As these assumptions, both about the meaning of poverty and the contribution of participation to its reduction change, then the forms of participation change accordingly. This observation should not be taken to imply a causal argument that theory leads to action. It is perhaps more accurate to suggest that in the current history of citizen participation accident, discovery, error, and other forces contributed to the various forms of participation which have evolved.

Social policy tends not to develop in a tidy fashion. The forms of citizen participation evolve from a whole set of contradictory, conflicting, and accidental forces. There is no legislative history as to the meaning and intent of Congress in providing for maximum feasible involvement of the poor in the Economic Opportunity Act's definition of community action.[1] There is, however, an administrative history, i.e., a history based on experience.

The different forms of citizen participation embody conflicting values. No effort has been made to resolve these different perspectives. In characteristic fashion, we pursue contradictory programs, *choosing ambiguity as a way of maintaining political viability.* (Note the same reluctance to make key decisions in other OEO programs such as the Job Corps; it was never quite decided whether the program was designed primarily for those who are most deprived, those with the best potential, those who could not read, those who lacked motivation, or for those who are fully motivated but need vocational training.)

Citizen participation is largely a slogan. It has various meanings and

* Professor of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.
** Professor of Education and Sociology, New York University.

1. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 46 U.S.C. §§ 113(a)(6) (1964).

forms which co-exist and yet partially succeed each other. Its major forms are still being forged, for no resolution satisfied the diverse interest groups or the expectations invested in it. As the problems of one approach become evident, another model emerges to prominence.

In this paper then, we examine the various interpretations of citizen participation as socio-therapy, as social action, as employment, as rights, as involvement in policy making, as the redistribution of political power, and try to show how these are believed to be linked to the reduction of poverty.

Poverty as Powerlessness and Apathy

Poverty may be seen as caused by the spiritual emptiness of ghetto life and by the apathy of the poor who, alienated from the norms of society, retreat into a protective subculture characterized by social disengagement and indifference. This subculture is often referred to as the culture of poverty. Kenneth Clark has described the stagnation of the poor as their most striking characteristic. The poor have a pervasive sense of futility, which, according to Clark, is not even positive enough to be called cynical. It follows that it is hard to disillusion the poor, for they start with few illusions. Equally, it is hard to engage the poor, for they start with few hopes. It is this theme which explains why Haryou, the predecessor to the community action agency in Harlem, assigned crucial importance to the idea of culture building. The destruction of culture can be understood, as the sub-title of their planning report suggests, as "the consequence of powerlessness." The lack of power derives from the dependency of the Negro to control the events which shape his life. In a discussion of the Negro's crippling dependency on the white community for the solution of the problems of inadequate education of the children of the ghetto, the Haryou report redefines the traditional view of the problem:

> . . . and then the black man goes back home again and says, "I can't solve my problem unless I have a white person at my side; but I can't fight and make a change in this system unless I have a white person at my side; I can't be a man and not ask but take what is mine unless I have a white person at my side." And so he sees that he is in fact, less than a man. To reduce the demoralizing consequences of this form of welfare colonialism, the vitality, anger and energy of youth must be harnessed. Haryou must not attempt

> to teach the young person . . . but Haryou must be taught by the young person in Harlem.[2]

The confidence and self-respect of the Negro was to be achieved by his own involvement and participation in shaping and creating his own life; it was the young who would provide the source of leadership. Poverty is caused by powerlessness, and the means to overcome poverty is self-help and participation. The more the Negro himself operated the strategic institutions in ghetto life, the more he would be able to reject welfare colonialism and substitute a vitality of independence and self-respect; the more would poverty defined as powerlessness decline.

This point of view stresses that poverty is not so much a lack of material advantage, in the sense of insufficient economic resources, as it is a lack of power. It assumes that there was something wrong with the poor which left them unprepared to exploit the resources and opportunities available to them. Hence, what was needed was a program to prepare the poor so that they could more effectively use available community institutions and resources. To achieve this aim, the war on poverty created remediation, employability and citizen participation programs. All of these programs share a common rationale—the reduction of the dependency and the apathy of the poor, which would, in turn, give the poor opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American society. The hallmark of OEO programs is training—training for work habits, training for skill development, training for citizenship, training for participation.

But there is a mischievous quality about the term "opportunity." The theory of opening opportunity not only implies the chance to get ahead, but it also implies a strategy of promoting conformity without coercion. Even the opportunity to overcome powerlessness is seen within these terms of reference. The link between power and conformity is contained in the program ideal of trying to promote a competent community. Residents of a community should be able to solve their own problems and control their own destinies by being able to influence the institutions which service them. When resident groups lose the capacity to solve their own problems or the capacity to modify institutional performance in accordance with their needs, one frequent

2. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Youth in the Ghetto (1964) (report prepared for Presidents' Committee on Delinquency and Youth Crime).

result is a breakdown in the institution of authority. This weakness in turn leads to a breakdown in the mechanisms of social control. The grim product of the incompetent community is the collapse of its control system which leads to the expansion of crime, delinquency, and social deviancy.

This line of argument holds that poverty and delinquency are created by apathy, and by the incompetence of the residents to manage their own affairs and to encourage institutions to develop appropriate solutions to solve emergency problems. Thus, personal incompetence reinforces institutional incompetence. The apathy of the poor prevents them from demanding that the institutions which service them accommodate to their needs. The plight worsened and their capacity for effective action further weakened, a vicious cycle of poverty reinforces a vicious cycle of bureaucratic dysfunctions. To break the cycle, the vigor of local democracy must be restored, and this could best be accomplished by expanding the freedom and the competence of local residents to respond to their local problems. Citizen involvement in local decision-making, through competent local leaders, who understood how best to command the events and institutions which shape their lives, was a major ingredient of the strategy of building a competent community.

This interpretation of the dynamics which link personal and institutional incompetence was accepted by the federal panel which reviewed and passed on local projects requesting funds under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offences Control Act of 1961. There was latent disagreement on the panel between the views of Lloyd Ohlin who focused on the use of established power to change institutions and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., who felt that whenever you could restore the competence of a community of people to act in concert on a community problem "you would lower the rate of delinquency."[8] Community organization as a strategy to reduce delinquency and crime had a long history in sociological thought. The Chicago School stressed it, and many projects in the 1930's were inspired by this theory.

Neighborhood Organization for Social Therapy

While neighborhood groups can be organized as a means for reducing apathy and promoting conformity among the poor, they can also be organized to promote institutional change. The differences between social action for institutional change and neighborhood or-

8. P. Marris & M. Rein, Dilemmas of Social Reform 170 (1967).

ganization as a form of socio-therapy need to be clarified. To use the form of one to achieve the goal of another can pose a very awkward dilemma. The experience of Mobilization of Youth in New York highlights this problem. Mobilization's prospectus makes the following point:

> Most efforts to organize lower class people attract individuals on their way up the social ladder: persons who are relatively responsible about participation, articulate and successful at managing organizational "forms" are identified as a lower class status rather than those who actually reflect the values of lower-class groups.[4]

The Mobilization proposal was clearly critical of this state of affairs and tried to attract the truly indigenous leadership in the community. But this argument can have curious implications, as Daniel P. Moynihan caustically charged in an address at a conference on poverty in Berkeley.

> Note what is to be remedied: instead of getting hold of local people who are relatively responsible about participation, articulate and successful at managing organizational "forms," Mobilization for Youth is getting hold of a lower level, true and genuine leader who is what—inarticulate, irresponsible and relatively unsuccessful? . . . I am sorry but I am suspect of that proposition.[5]

But if the major task is to reduce poverty by reducing alienation, deviancy, and the personal sense of powerlessness which is caused chiefly by isolation and apathy, then the paradox disappears. For the argument then is that people change as they try to change their world. If institutions change so as to be more relevant to the poor, and if, in the process of altering the performance of institutions, the poor change through the process of social engagement and social confrontation, then much could be accomplished in reducing both the vicious cycle of poverty and bureaucracy. In this perspective, neighborhood organization is essentially a form of therapy and only secondarily a means of changing institutions. Moynihan's argument thus becomes irrelevant to this view; for who else should be involved in therapy other than the inarticulate, the irresponsible, and the unsuccessful?

It is crucial to separate out the two agendas of reform, that of changing people and that of changing institutions. Whether each approach

4. *Id.* at 167.

5. P. MARRIS & M. REIN, *supra* note 3, at 185-187 reviews this debate.

supports the other remains a question to be determined empirically. Philosophically, the distinction is crucial.

In a thoughtful paper on mental health programs in model cities, Dumont reaffirms Mobilization's position on the appropriate population to be involved.

> From a preventive aspect, the community organization efforts will be directed toward the development of neighborhood and community groups among the as yet unaffiliated and disorganized people in the area; welfare recipients, public housing residents, tenement dwellers, the hard core poor who have the most severe and the most extensive psychological and social pathology.[6]

The socio-therapeutic ideals which lie behind this assertion are clear. Dumont goes on to explain that community organization "is itself a major mental health service, an end in itself."[7]

More recently the effort to link participation and conformity has been loosely extended to apply not only to individual and collective deviancy (delinquency, crime, and gang fighting) but to urban racial riots as well. The competent and conforming community according to this formulation does not call for organizing the poor, as do Cottrell, Mobilization for Youth, and Dumont, but for the restoration of power and authority to the middle classes.

Nathan Glazer recently commented that one of the glaring omissions in the analysis of the Kerner Commission Report is its failure to adequately take account of the middle class Negro and the secure working class Negro in their interpretation of the causes of urban unrest. "This is the missing man in the present crisis. And yet he must be a key factor both in the analysis of the problem . . . and in the solution of the problem."[8]

Norton Long's paper on "Politics and Ghetto Perpetuation,"[9] provides an interpretation of the role of the missing man in today's urban social unrest and the policy implications which derive from the analysis. Long's paper is an attempt to formulate a theory about ghetto instability. Long's position can be briefly summarized as follows: In American society other ethnic enclaves have created a government and

6. M. Dumont, A Model Community Mental Health Program for a Model Cities Area, August, 1967 (mimeo, Center for Community Planners, H.E.W., Washington).

7. *Id.* at 3.

8. Glazer, *The Problem with American Cities*, NEW SOCIETY (1968).

9. Long, *Politics and Ghetto Perpetuation*, to appear in POLITICS AND THE GHETTO (R. Warren ed., forthcoming).

economy of their own and from this political and economic base a social structure has emerged which assures social stability. However, the pattern in the Negro community is significantly different. Here a truncated occupational structure has developed which is dominated by lower class Negroes, certainly a noticeable absence of commercial interests and with control largely residing in the white community.

> The Negro middle class until recently has been escapist (and) . . . where it cannot physically flee it has sought physical coexistence and spiritual isolation. . . . The outstanding fact is that middle class Negroes do not govern the Ghetto. They are afraid of it. We thus confront a community with a unique lower class culture made possible by a missing middle class and control by an alien race. The result of the failure of self-government has been a distrust of leaders and the emergence of the lower class as the only authentic and indigenous culture. The combination of these ingredients have produced political instability and an economy of the hustle, "cashing-in" and the welfare dole and a social incapacity to mobilize resources. The costs of a purely lower class culture of immediate consumption have been a failure to make use of the economic avenues of upward mobility.[10]

This, then, is an interpretation of the causes of social unrest. The solution lies in creating a black middle class. A transition of leadership is needed, not dissimilar to the colonial transition, when blacks were taught self-government by departing white rulers. "The key question is whether there exists or can rapidly be produced sufficient middle class cadres to govern the black governed city . . . the greatest fear is clearly that the middle class Negroes . . . cannot dominate the lower class culture of Ghetto life."[11] Presumably then the Negro middle class leadership can more effectively police its own lower class culture if it had both the authority and the capability of exercising that leadership.

In summary, the socio-therapeutic rationale for citizen participation, with its emphasis on both personal and collective controls, can lead to efforts to organize the poor or to organize the non-poor. The rhetoric of powerlessness and apathy apply to both approaches. These views share in common, however, the commitment to produce conformity through participation.

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10. POLITICS AND THE GHETTO (R. Warren ed., forthcoming).
11. Long, *Politics and Ghetto Perpetuation*, *supra* note 9.

The major emphasis of the socio-therapeutic approach places the burden of responsibility for change upon the individual, rather than upon socio-economic institutions. But the formulation is incomplete. While competent men make competent institutions, the converse is equally compelling, for the quality and capability of the institutions affect the competence of those serviced by them. Within these terms of reference, citizen participation as social action and protest against the incompetence of institutions emerged.

Social Action and Protest for Institutional Change

How can institutions in a democratic society change? The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime had hoped that a coalition of power (established institutions) and knowledge (research) would serve to change institutions so that they would provide increased opportunity for the poor. This was essentially an elitest approach. Like C. Wright Mills' criticism of the power elite, it argued that the wrong elite were in power, rather than that elitism was an inappropriate source of power.

This approach was a form of sophisticated naiveté; it assumed that a marginal increase in funds and the involvement of some established power groups would be sufficient to provoke change in long-established institutions. The idea of participation was crucial in this formulation, for it assumed that the institutions must be involved in their own reform. In order to prod the institutions into becoming involved in a process of self-examination, new funds were made available.

But this interpretation of how institutions change was incomplete. First, it assumed that bureaucratic rigidity, not the insufficiency of resources, was the root cause of institutional incompetence. Accordingly, the major agenda of reform sought to increase the flexibility of institutions so that they could more appropriately and creatively service the needs of the poor through small scale demonstration projects. More resources were needed to convert the demonstrations into a regular program, but these were not forthcoming. The difficulties of transforming Headstart from a summer to a year round program is a case in point for it raised problems of teacher availability and the cost of full year salaries and facilities when school buildings were in use.

Secondly, even when resources were at hand it proved difficult to get professionals to become client oriented. The hallmark of professionalism is responsiveness to the standards of colleagues, rather than to the preferences of clients. A quack, as Everett Hughes observed, is

someone who is respected by his clients but not his colleagues. To change professional performance required shifting the reward system and criteria by which professionals judge quality. This demanded not so much changing the attitude of individual teachers, it required, instead, changing the view of those who teach teachers and the criteria by which a given educational system allocated rewards—wages, promotion, recognition. Institutions resisted change. Experience in trying to change institutions affirm that we know more about the forces which inhibit change than those which help to bring it about.

As limitations of the elite approach (with its emphasis on experimentation and self-study by institutions) became evident, the strategies of pressure and protest developed. It was out of the frustration of trying to change institutions that the possibility of using consumer groups emerged. Social action to promote change came to rely increasingly on organizing the poor for conflict, confrontation, and protest. The tactics of public shame, made possible by widespread newspaper coverage, were used as a source of power to promote change. Rent strikes, picketing of the schools and other forms of militant social action were encouraged by many federally financed community action programs as a way of reducing poverty by changing service institutions. But the strategy of social action as social protest was vulnerable. The experience in San Francisco helps to illuminate its underlying dilemmas.

The San Francisco Community Action Agency put its faith in organizing power. It hoped to apply massive pressure to produce massive change in institutions. The city-wide agency delegated much of its power to neighborhood boards. "Resident boards in the poverty areas gained unprecedented power over program, personnel, and budgets."[12] The director of the citywide C.A.A. explained that this strategy sought "to mobilize resident power to be able to reshape the big money institutions like the schools, employment services, and welfare to be more responsive to the poor."[13] The Western Addition Neighborhood, an area of 300 blocks with 88,000 residents of whom 50% were white and 40% were poor, devoted all its energies to this approach. The area was sub-divided into 32 sub-areas, each sub-area had its own community council, block captains and representatives to be sent to an area board. All of this involvement was to be accom-

12. J. Cunningham, The Struggle of the American Urbidente for Freedom and Power, a report prepared for the Ford Foundation (1967).

13. *Id.*

plished by fifty full time and seventy part time organizations. All the organizers were black.

But the strategy collapsed. The institutions did not respond to pressure by offering massive services or fundamental changes in policy. Moreover, massive pressure could not be generated. The efforts to organize the 32 areas proved to be very difficult as internal tension between established ghetto power and black militants was created. The focus on acquiring power through community organizations yielded no tangible and visible services.[14]

The strategy failed because it could not mobilize the poor and deliver concrete services; in other communities, the strategy failed precisely because it did deliver services and it could concert the will of the poor. When protest secures a concrete service, the very success of the project sometimes leads to the reduction in discontent and membership interest which threatens the stability of the group. Often the victory is illusory because it represents only a gesture, a token response by institutions to win peace rather than to provide lasting reform. But where social action is effective and militancy produces institutional discomfort, then a power struggle ensues. Accommodation and bargaining by established power groups is superseded by direct assault. When established power was threatened, it often fought back by striking where the protest was most vulnerable—at the source of funds which paid for organizing the poor.[15]

As the tensions in the social action strategy developed, some of the other available interpretations about the meaning of citizen participation seemed more appealing. Although protest continued, other strategies became important. Employment of nonprofessionals represented an example of attempting to deliver service and work for ghetto residents. New sources of power were sought and the power of the law was employed as a base to promote institutional change and to protect consumer rights.

Indigenous Workers

Another of the ways that citizen participation became widely interpreted was in terms of the employment of the poor. The indigenous worker nonprofessional idea was a marvelous invention. It beautifully exploited the ambiguities in the philosophical choices

14. *Id.* at 57-69.

15. The experience in Syracuse illustrates these tensions. *See also* S. Lipsky, The Politics of Protest (1967, Institute of Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, mimeo).

concerning the causes of poverty. Why were indigenous personnel needed? One ready common sense answer was that the poor needed jobs. Training alone often led to blind alleys where there were insufficient job opportunities for the number of graduates of these programs.

From the time of the initial proposal for an Economic Opportunity Act, Secretary of Labor Wirtz consistently opposed the community action idea of helping young people develop their capabilities via a variety of new and immediate training, remediation, and participation programs. He saw poverty as a lack of money; money depended, in the end, primarily upon jobs. Community action, preoccupied with training, created no large numbers of new jobs. Jobs provided the opportunity for reducing poverty by providing the poor an independent source of income.

What was needed was a program of job expansion. Employment of indigenous personnél offered such an opportunity. But in order to avoid the charge of creating a large public works program, the same strategy of employing indigenous personnel could be used to satisfy the other goals of changing institutions and changing the poor. Some hoped that by introducing indigenous personnel into organizations, it would deossify rigid and irrelevant organizations. Moreover, agency workers drawn from the neighborhood were in an especially strategic position to encourage the poor to make use of existing institutions; and in the process of changing others, indigenous workers would change as well.

The program of indigenous personnel thus offered an excellent opportunity to draw together several different meanings of citizen participation. It stood simultaneously for jobs, for institutional change, and for personal therapy. This helps to account for the popularity of this form of citizen participation and its likely desirability as a form of involvement. A recent OEO report indicates that as of September 1966, approximately 132,000 nonprofessional positions have been authorized, including 25,000 positions which remained unfilled.[16]

The use of nonprofessionals, however, has raised a number of issues. There has been a great deal of creaming because many of the nonprofessional roles are being filled by people who are middle class, like housewives who have college degrees, rather than by poor people. There is a tendency to recruit those among the poor who are better off, rather than to try to recruit those who are the most disadvantaged of

16. New Careers Newsletter (August 1967).

the disadvantaged. We always have levels of disadvantage; most of our social policies skim cream off the top and neglect the bottom, with the result that the conditions of those left behind further deteriorate.

Some professionals have observed that nonprofessionals often render low quality service, and that training is essential to improve the quality. On the other hand, upgrading is limited; i.e., nonprofessionals lack opportunities to move either into the higher levels below the professional level, or to have a new route into professional life. While nonprofessional activities could become a new kind of credentialing activity, it is more often just a dead-end stage.

The nonprofessional role is frequently treated as the bottom of the status hierarchy within the social services rather than as a part of the fellowship of social service workers. Black people at the occupational bottom are labeled nonprofessionals and are looked upon as the peons of social services with a limited role and with little power within the agency. There is no active, urgent concern to change their situation, although the new organization of nonprofessionals may change this situation. Professional egality does not extend to the new kind of nonprofessional worker. Rather than the colleague principal, the principal of hierarchy is still insisted on in most agencies.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that much more hierarchy is exhibited in the organization of services and in social agencies than in most other organizations. A consequence is that the social service nonprofessional is usually confronted with a difficult task in winning respect and compensation for his achievements. In some agencies nonprofessionals are trying to reverse this pattern, but this is not the national practice.

A possible danger in the nonprofessional role today is that there may be developing a low paid black civil and nonprofit service supervised by white professionals receiving high pay and status. This race-occupational division may become more acute rather than less with time.

Participation as Legal Protection

Legal protection against administrative discretion merges with ideals of participatory democracy. Both are preoccupied with issues of the rights of marginal groups against dominant established interests. Appeal to law can serve as an instrument of reform and protest, challenging established procedures. Although militant social protest was vulnerable to challenges on the basis that its activities were inappro-

priate to its mission (federal funds should not be used to promote confrontation, boycotts, and protest), the law was neutral in relation to auspices, for "the law lends itself impartially to manipulation by militant radicals or repressive conservatives."[17]

When Mobilization for Youth came to recognize the limits of a co-operative strategy, it used these limits to justify a more aggressive approach of protest and confrontation. But it soon came to realize the limits of protest as well, when after the death of President Kennedy it lost its political support. The counter-attack by the schools, the police, and other institutions sorely threatened its survival. Cloward and Piven's experiences at Mobilization undoubtedly influenced their decision to turn to law as a source of support in redressing the grievances of the poor and promoting changes in institutional policy. Mobilization's neighborhood legal service came to specialize in welfare problems focusing on those administrative practices which rejected individuals who applied for welfare. They sought out test cases which could challenge the established principles by which exclusion was made possible. And so law was used as an instrument of reform.

Cloward developed another idea about how to combine law and protest. In an influential paper[18] he demonstrated that there was a high rate of under-utilization of welfare in New York, i.e., many individuals entitled to benefits were not receiving them. He argued that if non-users became users, the welfare system might collapse under the weight of the added costs. The Welfare Rights Movement was an attempt to organize the eligible non-recipients of welfare. Soon after it began, its strategy shifted from recruiting clients to getting benefits for those who were already clients. The vigorous and militant program of the Welfare Rights Movement in New York City was directed at the special grant allowance program, but supported the legal right to benefits. The protests were successful in raising the cost of the special grants for items such as household furniture, clothing, etc., from $3 million per month in 1967 to $13 million per month in 1968. These efforts did produce a change in policy from discretionary allowance, where some got more, to a flat rate where all families got $100 per year, an amount less than the average size of the special grant allowances. Organizing for entitlement did not collapse the welfare system, but it did pressure it to change. A policy change in support of flat grants was the product, but the victory was soon seen as defeat. While it reduced administrative

17. P. Marris & M. Rein, *supra* note 3, at 174.

18. Cloward & Piven, *A Strategy To End Poverty*, The Nation 510 (May 2, 1966).

discretion and promoted more equality of benefits, it also reduced the size of the benefits for those who had learned to make the system respond to their needs.

The pressure for legal protection against administrative discretion and the effort to use law as an instrument of reform found expression in other areas as well. Interest in grievance, access, and information about rights and services developed from the consumer's point of view. The need for forms of accountability became evident. Public discussion was opened about the need for new services for the aggrieved (*ombudsmen*), for the alienated (neighborhood service centers which facilitated access) and for the uninformed (information and referral schemes, which might provide not only information on what and where services were available, but the more radical program of assessing the quality of services such as private medical care, nursing homes, and public schools).

Participation as Policy Development

The idea that the poor should be involved in shaping policy was entirely consistent with the ideals of the revitalization of local democracy and the increase in the competence of local leaders in managing their own affairs. This view of participation represented a form of radical democracy in which both institutional representatives of established power and the consumers of the service (not in their role as clients, but as citizens) would shape policy. The involvement of the citizen in creating policy presented no conflict with the ideals of a competent program, for the poor were to be involved in making allocative decisions. Such decisions, by their nature, involved matters of judgment and preference; they involved such questions as the relative emphasis to be assigned to programs for young children, youths, and adults, and the relative weight to be given to health, recreation, legal, and training services.

But local and national priorities are not always smoothly aligned and mutually reinforcing. Indeed, more typically they are in conflict, as in the case where a community is eager to spend its funds on recreation, while OEO rejects this type of program on the ground that recreation contributes little to the reduction of poverty. OEO, on the other hand, may be interested in promoting legal services for the poor as part of a national decision to spend funds in this area, but legal services might have a low priority on a local agenda. Thus, there might be a conflict between national and local priority systems, and assignments may

conflict. To the extent that the national agenda intrudes into local decision-making, it undermines the ideal of developing the competent community. The more intrusive, insistent, and effective is the federal government, the more likely is this new form of cooperative federalism to increase the sense of local impotence.

This issue has not recieved the attention it deserves. Instead, the emphasis on involving the poor in policy-making has centered on the procedure for selecting the poor, rather than on the kinds of decisions which they are to make. Elections become the crucial battlegrounds of public policy with great debates about the most appropriate form for electing and selecting the poor on policy-making boards.

How to elect the representatives of the poor was indeed a troublesome issue. A variety of procedures were followed, including appointment by the mayor and elections. The low turn-out rate in many of the elections has been used as an argument to reaffirm the notion that the poor are apathetic and that stagnation is intense. Voting is regarded as inherently good; for many it was regarded as a form of socio-therapy on the assumption that voting strengthens the bonds of social cohesiveness.

Consistent with this assumption was the treatment of elections as only a symbolic gesture of engagement, rather than as a political act. The analysis of the low turn-out rates was strikingly apolitical, emphasizing psychological withdrawal. Had elections been accepted as political acts, the low turn out might have been interpreted quite differently. For example, it could have been pointed out that most elections were without constituencies, without issues, without rewards, and without trust since they were often held under OEO auspices, which in many communities represents the establishment.

As the debate continued, the meaningfulness of participation in formal city-wide Community Action Agencies came increasingly under question. A resilient system proved very creative in devising new administrative arrangements which devitalized the organizational structure in which the poor were advised to participate. Those who were strong advocates of participation were concerned that the procedure led to creaming off the most militant leadership in the ghetto, i.e., the leadership became co-opted, or to put it more harshly, they "sold out." Others cogently argued that they were not selling out, but simply buying into the system.

The same issues have remained alive in the implementation of the meaning of citizenship participation in model cities programs. The

shift in rhetoric from "maximum feasible participation" under OEO to "widespread participation" in model cities may be interpreted as a desire to abate the intensity of engagement. But once the ideals of citizen involvement were unleashed, they were hard to contain, even in a program which set out to do so. Administrative interpretation of guidelines depended on the political climate; and as demands in Negro communities became more radical, the concern for involvement in policy shifted to control of policy.

The demand for the transfer of power took two forms, aside from the more political approach of running candidates in an attempt to win political control over the city. One form is economic development through devices such as community corporations; the other is control of the social service system by the decentralization of authority and power.

The Transfer of Power

The theme of involvement in the policies of community action agencies soon spread to involvement in other programs as well. Requirements for citizen involvement can now be found in the amendments to the Social Security Act, in recent legislation concerning the treatment of delinquents, in local legislation, and in the voluntary sector (e.g., students demand a role in policy making in the university and clients want to influence the policies of social service agencies).

The transition from involvement in policy to control of policy was perhaps less awkward than was the early struggle to win a role for local residents in the decision machinery of social service bureaucracies. The concern with law and participation had focused on the failure to give due regard to the rights of individuals, to fully implement entitlement, and to assist the aggrieved individual who was hurt by the administrative service system. Thus the concern with law and participation was primarily directed at seeing that the rules were enforced or at changing the rules by court action. By contrast, the concern with the transfer of power was directed at the issue of who should set the rules, and especially the role of consumers as rule setters.

The emphasis on the transfer of power cannot altogether be understood without recognizing the difference between issues of race and class. While policies directed only at issues of class (poverty and low income) can assign priorites to programs which emphasized service (e.g., jobs or income), policies concerned with race must today give attention to the questions of integration and separatism. The separatists

black power advocates have been most preoccupied with the case for a transfer of power. The separatist hope is outlined by the following comment:

> [to achieve for their followers] group and even private political power, self-esteem and dignity, and a modicum of territory or turf over which proprietary control can be exercised . . . . This position says that if you get jobs and income without getting power, the political and economic power of the whites will be used to take the income away from you in taxes, rents, high prices . . . .[19]

The call for a transfer of power has taken two forms: community corporation and decentralization. We briefly review each.

Community Corporation

"A corporation is a means which permits the blending together into one self-contained entity multi-source capital in various forms with management obtained from nonowner sources."[20] The sources of capital and management can be blended together in various combinations from public, private, and corporate areas. These types of nonprofit organizations can be identified: those organized for a private purpose (social, paternal, civic, patriotic, etc.), those created for quasi-public purposes (but outside the usual governmental machinery in order to exploit the flexibility and managerial techniques of private enterprise and also "to make possible greater citizen participation"), and finally the government corporation or public benefit corporation (e.g., T.V.A. or the proposal to change the federal postal system into a public corporation).

In a thoughtful analysis of the quasi-public, nonprofit corporation, Leshner notes that since 1932, new social legislation brought government into the position where "it not only invested the capital but took over the management in toto."[21] During this period in fields such as public assistance and child welfare, progressive reforms called for a transfer in administration from the voluntary to the public sector. The mood of the 1960's seems to have reversed the trend because "problems have developed . . . in the area of administration. The increased size of

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19. J. Dyckman, The Organization of Metropolitan Social Planning 9 (September 1968, mimeo, National League of Cities and H.E.W., Chicago).

20. Leshner, The Non-profit Corporation—A Neglected Step Child Comes of Age, 22 Bus. Lawyer 951, 957 (1967).

21. *Id.* at 966.

government makes more difficult citizen participation and citizen communication."[22]

Without accepting the thesis that administrative problems are chiefly problems of size, it is evident that in the past several years, a great deal of interest and some experimentation with the idea of a community corporation has emerged. In 1964, OEO granted $185,000 to the East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO) in Columbus, Ohio, to cover the organizational and administrative expenses in developing a community corporation. The corporation is controlled by the residents of the community and it is organized to provide services to the community, such as job training, day care, recreation, and housing rehabilitation.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy developed the Renewal and Rehabilitation Corporation in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York. But the original corporation, dominated by established social welfare agencies and civic groups, did not permit control by grass roots organizations. As a result of pressure, a new corporation was created. But according to one review it remains "doubtful that it will give a significant measure of control to the poor in the community."[23]

These local experiments, reinforced by pressure from black separatists, have contributed to the newly proposed Community Self-Determination Act of 1968. The Act is supported by a curious coalition of black militant leaders at CORE, intellectuals at the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University, and by lawyers and businessmen. The legislation is inspired by the ideals of corporate capitalism and the Israeli kibbutz. "Both—through loans, technical assistance and profit making . . . [hope to] achieve self-sustaining growth."[24] Yet even a cursory examination of the legislation suggests how strongly the conservative creed for urban America influences the basic principles on which the legislation rests.

The legislation calls for the development of Community Development Corporation (C.D.C.) to manage and to own business enterprises. A network of Community Development Banks would provide the necessary investment funds. Federal tax incentives would encourage private business to enter into turnkey agreements with the C.D.C. to

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22. *Id.*

23. *Antipoverty, Community Corporations* 3 COLUM. JOURNAL OF LAW AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS 94, 98 (1967).

24. Tobier, Cooperative Communities North and South: A Response to Poverty, 114 CONG. REC. S. 971 (daily ed. July 24, 1968).

turn over the business to the C.D.C. as a subsidiary. This complex structure of national boards, banks, and local corporations would hopefully generate profits to be used to finance community social services wanted at the local level.

A review of the supporting rationale set out in Section 2 of the Community Self-Determation Act[25] helps to make understandable why what might appear as a radical argument for black capital has so much appeal to conservative thought. Following are some selected quotes to illustrate this thesis:

> Programs and policies which tax some to support others offer no hope and no opportunity to those who have the capacity to become productive. . . .
>
> Such a program should be designed to permit the people of a community to utilize a share of the profits of community-sponsored enterprises to provide needed social services, thereby reducing the burden of taxation upon the rest of society . . .
>
> . . . order, stability, and progress can be achieved only when the people of a community actively participate in and are responsible for their own affairs in such areas as education . . . economic development. . . .
>
> As that goal is approached, government incentives should be correspondingly phased out and government investment repaid, leaving the once dependent people to make their way as independent, unsubsidized participants in our national life.[26]

The aims which inspire a conservative coalition in support of black power and black capital are clear. Conservatism views taxation to pay for the benefits to the poor as a burden, hence the poor should pay for their own services out of the profits of community corporations. Federal financing of these corporations is a temporary expedient; the ideal is self-liquidation as success fosters pragmatic extinction. Finally, the goal is to promote order, stability, and progress. The assumption is that these goals reinforce each other. Yet a compelling case could be made that token programs promote frustration and thus create the instability they are designed to overcome. Note as well the impressive lists of economic limitations imposed on Community Development Boards. They "would not be authorized to issue or deal in securities, engage in acceptable

25. *See* S. 3875, S. 3876, H.R. 18709, H.R. 18715, H.R. 18976, H.R. 19201, H.R. 19205, 90th Cong., 2d Sess (1968); 114 CONG. REC. S. 9274 (daily ed. July 24, 1968).

26. 114 CONG. REC. S. 9274 (daily ed. July 24, 1968).

financing, sell insurance, offer credit cards or make credit guarantees."[27] It would appear that the effect of these limitations seems to be directed at keeping the corporations away from the high profit sectors of business.

DECENTRALIZATION

The use of profits of community corporations to purchase social services and thereby transfer decision power from the public supplier bureaucracy to the user-bureaucracy appears to be limited to the class of services which the English call personal social services. In reviewing the functions of the Community Development Corporation, the Community Self-Determination bill lists the following services: "basic education, child welfare, day care, pre-school training, health, consumer education, home ownership counseling, college placement assistance, job finding, recreation, legal aid, etc."[28] The common theme which binds together what might appear as a random classification of services is the emphasis on activities which facilitate access to, or better prepare individuals to make use of, other institutional services. Although health is listed as a service, it is likely that what was intended was only medical diagnostic and referral services, rather than high-cost hospital, surgical or other direct physician services. The services then are directed at the low-cost sections of social welfare. The profits of local economic development could not, after all, realistically cover the expenses of such high cost services as education, medical care, and income maintenance.

In the high cost section of social services it is the decentralization of authority rather than the ownership of services that is being sought. To avoid a highly regressive pattern of taxation in financing these services it is necessary to regionalize or federalize the sources of funds, while localizing decisions. Education and medical care are examples.

In the area of medical care for the aged and for the medically indigent, American social policy is based on a voucher system in which the patient selects the service of his choice and the vendor is paid directly by government for the service so purchased. Alan Gartner, the associate director of the New Careers Development Center of New York University, proposed that this policy could be used to win "Community Control of the Human Resources."[29] If the users would elect to purchase their care from selected vendors, and if a group of doctors would agree to limit their practices to this clientele, then a type of

27. S. 3875, 90th Cong., 2d Sess., Title II (1968).
28. S. 3875, 90th Cong., 2d Sess., Title I (1968).
29. Social Policy Notes 2 (July 1968, New York University, mimeo.).

closed corporation could be formed. That doctors would agree in the present high demand, low supply market to an arrangement whereby a guaranteed patient load is exchanged for medical accountability to consumers, seems unlikely. However, in many communities where a limited number of physicians are already providing medical care for a large indigent population of medical care recipients concentrated in a limited geographic area, these clients could be organized to seek more control over the practice which is already dependent upon the purchase of the services. Where the public agencies already render the services directly, as they do in community health services, then the poor can serve on the boards of these agencies. But here we have only another example of participation in policy-making.

It is in the field of education, however, that a shift from participation in power to the transfer of power is being attempted. The outcome of the experiment is uncertain as illustrated by the clash in New York City between teachers seeking to protect their working conditions and neighborhood boards eager to have the freedom to select teachers of their own choosing.

In summary then, the argument for a transfer of power, whether by purchasing services from the profits of local corporations or by decentralizing authority, rests on the belief that the present principles of bureaucratic and professional accountability no longer are able to safeguard individual rights.

> . . . [I]n principle an administrator is responsible to government, and government to the people. The aggrieved citizen can protest through his representative against any intrusion on his rights. But a citizen grievance against bureaucracy cannot be simply and quickly dealt with . . . the bureaucracy . . . becomes increasingly autonomous. It is the judge of its own integrity; it controls the information by which its competence could be challenged; and it outlasts the politicians who depend upon it to execute their policies. It begins to seem an insidious threat to the whole concept of a democratic society.[30]

A professional's behavior, even in principle, is accountable not to clients but to professional colleagues who license and review the practice of other professionals. But while we cannot hope to dismantle bureaucracy or alter the essence of professional discretions, new mechanisms of accountability are being sought. Decentralization and the

30. P. Marris, A Report on the Scandinavian Ombudsman and the British Citizen. Advice Bureau 2 (1966, mimeo, Ford Foundation).

transfer of power to consumers represents an example of this trend. The issues of accountability have converged with the charge of welfare colonialism in the social services, and with the rise of black separatism.

CONCLUSIONS

The principle of citizen participation in public policy is not new in American political democracy. What is new, however, is the interpretation which says that citizens should be involved in the process. We are now preoccupied with finding ways of including the excluded citizens, especially the poor and the blacks. This trend must be reckoned as a significant move toward democracy in decision making, responsiveness of bureaucracies to consumer preferences, expansion of the concepts of rights and entitlement of public largess, and experimentation with new forms of protection against professional and administrative discretion. But at the same time this important step forward has generated much conflict, and it has substituted, at least in the short run, a struggle for power for the rendering of quality service. Moreover, it has in practice reduced democracy, as in the case where small cliques take over policy making without representing the interest of the majority of the residents in low income areas. Finally it has inhibited the use of professional wisdom and experience as citizens learn afresh the errors of past histories.

This brief history of citizen participation in the 1960's has reviewed the many different and simultaneously held interpretations about the form which such participation should take. Even in this short period, public policy has shifted its emphasis from one interpretation to another without abandoning or repudiating any view. Fadism has emerged as the conflicts and dilemmas of each approach have become evident, when vague ideals wrestle with practical implementation.

Our recital of difficulties and tensions in the unfolding of citizenship participation in the sixties could lead to the conclusion that it should be abandoned. That would be a grievous error. The idea of participation will be tremendously important in humanizing and democratizing institutions. It already reverberates in many fields—both students and welfare recipients assert that they have rights; legislation in many fields stipulates the involvement of the poor or the service recipient; the service bureaucracy is now viewed from the position of the user rather than the professional. Thus, the spillover effects have spread much beyond the community action programs which have been the focus of this article.

The theme of participation has fed the black revolution and, in turn, has been shaped by it. The course of race change is still uncertain; issues are still unsettled; ambiguity about goals and low faith in available means lead to stormy confrontations; the legitimacy of old and new Negro representatives and spokesmen is under challenge. These circumstances lead to the untidy situation of shifting focuses in citizenship participation. Since participation is not only a response to the issues of the past, but is constantly being assailed by the rapid cacophony of the unsettled struggle that is race relations today, it cannot be settled form.

While we see the shifting and refocusing as inevitable and recognize that experimentation is desirable, we fear that the end result is that no approach gets sufficient funding and support to have penetrating impact. Constantly changing gears may give the illusion of motion. In the next several years participation should shake down into a limited number of major models if it is to be powerful.

The other general concern we have about participation is the stress of many on its socio-therapeutic significance, which appears in many guises. It is our conclusion that the stress on socio-therapy leads to control rather than change, to spending small funds rather than large, and to presumed opportunity rather than to real opportunity.

Sometimes, groups seeking widely sweeping changes combine with more conservatively-minded groups emphasizing socio-therapy. This seems to be the case of the proposed community corporations legislation. Although strange bedfellows are sometimes the parents of effective new policies, often the end product may not be what one of the partners imagined. The partner with the broader agenda may hope to subtly influence the group with the narrow socio-therapeutic intent or to use it while yielding little of its own agenda. Our feeling is that more conservative public agendas win more than they lose to the more radical, and that if a socio-therapeutic orientation is not guarded against, it insidiously gains ascendancy. The black struggle of today may change this picture and reduce the likelihood of socio-therapy suppressing the drive for social change. But there is no assurance that protean socio-therapy will not dominate.

While the road is not easy or smooth, public policy cannot retreat from the course of expanding participation. "Maximum feasible participation" has ushered in a new era—stormy and hopeful—in the life of bureaucracy, professionalism and democracy.

Bulletin from

RELEASE AT WILL

PORTER SARGENT PUBLISHER 11 BEACON STREET BOSTON 8, MASS

U. S. DOMESTIC TURMOIL LINKED WITH FOREIGN CRISES

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE by Dr. Ralph T. Templin, published by Porter Sargent July 6, comes at a crucial time for Americans because it strikes at the roots of a double dilemma immediately confronting us all and demanding solution.

Through the astute eye of the experienced social historian, Dr. Templin perceives a faltering America gripped in an ever-tightening vise of foreign and domestic crises.

His provocative critique fuses widespread indignation and revulsion caused by United States policy abroad with the consuming spirit of freedom that now ignites the struggle for human decency in our own South.

Accordingly, DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE provides a fresh perspective for viewing current American crises in Vietnam and Santo Domingo, Selma and Montgomery.

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE analyzes and evaluates the contemporary international system of mutual hostility that inevitably generates and perpetuates violence. The author attempts to determine why modern, civilized nations are disposed to react toward each other in stereotyped terms of armed threat and counterthreat.

In examining the prevailing international "war system," Dr. Templin offers a cogent and impassioned justification for nonviolence as a technique of social change. The author discusses methods of protest: mass demonstration, nonviolent civil disobedience, noncooperation, boycott, conscientious objection, tax refusal.

To illuminate the efficacy of nonviolence, Dr. Templin draws on his personal experience with Mahatma Gandhi in the movement for Indian independence and upon his pioneer activities in the American civil rights and pacifist movements.

(more)

In analyzing domestic aspects of the current crisis, Dr. Templin seeks to recapture the essential spirit and structure of "first principle" American democracy -- maximum popular participation by Americans in their community, government, and total society.

A key to the author's concept of a better society is decentralization, to make possible smaller social and economic units. This, it is hoped, would give individuals a greater measure of control of their society.

James Farmer, National Director of CORE, and A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have written the Introduction and the Foreword, respectively, for DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE.

####

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE
336 pages, cloth, $4.00
Publication date: July 6, 1965

Contact F. Porter Sargent
Tel. 617-523-1670
Review copies on request

LIST OF BOOKS FOR POSSIBLE REVIEW

1. * Democracy & Non-Violence - Ralph T. Templin
2. * Alcohol and the Negro -- Explosive Issues - John R. Larkins
3. Look Away from Dixie - Smith
4. The Politics of Reconstruction - Donald ✓
5. Jim Crow's Defense - Newby ✓
6. Manchild in the Promised Land -

* Enclosed press releases might help with info for statement on book, etc.

Esther Lumpkin,

Pls add the above to your list. We have the books. She could be already included on your list, so check first.

SA

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BLKARTSOUTH

FREE SOUTHERN THEATER
1716 N. MIRO
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70119

BLKARTSOUTH

Dear Friends:

The ~~second~~ third issue of Nkombo is enclosed, published by the Free Southern Theater Community acting-writing workshop in New Orleans. We now plan for Nkombo to be a quarterly, with ~~two~~ one more issue~~s~~ forthcoming during 1969.

We also plan this summer to publish a collection of short one-act plays written in the workshop and several collections of poetry by individual poets in the group.

You can help us by subscribing to Nkombo, at $4 per year. You can also help us by sending us news of, and subscription forms to your publications, as we would like to receive every publication in the black movement.

If you wish to subscribe, please send check or money order to:

Free Southern Theater (Nkombo)
Box 51536
New Orleans, La.

Yours truly,

Thomas C. Dent (g.v.g.)

Thomas C. Dent
Associate Director

I wish to subscribe to Nkombo
four issues-$4 per subscription

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, zip _____

2-10 Rulings

November 4, 1953

Mr. A. B. Carlton
Box 66
Florala, Ala.

Dear Mr. Carlton:

I have sent a packet of articles and mimeographed materials under separate cover which I believe will be helpful in preparing your paper on "The Changing Mores of the South."

The bibliography enclosed with the other materials is old and outdated as far as recent developments in race relations; I suggest that you write to the Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tenn. for a more recent listing of books and periodicals.

If you have access to the 1952 Negro Yearbook published by Tuskegee Institute, Alabama (sells for $4.00), there is a bibliography of publications by and about Negroes in the U. S. The Yearbook also contains a great deal of information on all phases of Negro life--population, income, employment, health, housing, etc. with summaries of recent developments in race relations in the South and recent court decisions extending the civil rights of Negroes.

One of the articles mailed separately contained a review of professional associations in the South open to Negroes in 1950. To bring this up to date: (1) medical associations--Negroes may be full members in Florida, Kentucky, South Carolina and Alabama; "scientific" or "associate" members in Georgia and Texas ("scientific" membership enables the Negro doctor to attend scientific meetings and join AMA, but usually denies him voting and insurance privileges); (2) nurses associations--Negro nurses admitted to full membership in all Southern states but Georgia and South Carolina; (3) dental associations--all "scientific" membership in Alabama, Georgia is considering admission of Negroes.

We do not have any printed material giving an up-to-date list of Negroes appointed or elected to public office in the South. Negroes have recently been elected to the city council or city board of aldermen in the following Southern towns: Chapel Hill, N. C., Durham, N. C., Gastonia, N. C.,

Oak Ridge Tenn

Greensboro, N. C., Hopkinsville, Ky., Nashville, Tenn., Sikeston, Mo., Wilson, N. C. and Winston-Salem, N. C. Each year the number of Negroes filing for public offices increases and each year the number winning increases a little.

Negroes have been elected to the school board in Atlanta and Augusta, Ga. this year. The following towns--where board members are appointed--have Negroes serving on the school boards: Richmond, Va., Darlington, S. C., Lynchburg, Va., Nashville, Tenn., Newport News, Va., Roanoke, Va. The state boards of education in Maryland, Kentucky and North Carolina now have Negro members.

If we can answer any particular questions or supply further general information we will be glad to do so.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Charge for material sent

8 pamphlets @.10	.80
Postage	.23
	$1.03

Stamps acceptable

Dec

December third, 1953

Colonel Campbell C Johnson
Assistant to the Director
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
Washington, D C

Dear Colonel Johnson:

Your Monograph No 10, which you so kindly sent, is the topmost item on my list of things to read with care and interest and I will get to it in a day or two.

Meanwhile I am most grateful to you for sending it and I am glad we had even the small chat in Washington the other day. You were kindness and helpfulness itself to me in all our veterans' business years ago.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
WASHINGTON

ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR

November 16, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 18
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Boulevard
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Knowing of your interest in matters pertaining to the racial minorities of this country, I am having sent to you under separate cover a copy of Selective Service System Monograph No. 10, subject, Special Groups.

I would appreciate any evaluation or comment you might have regarding this publication.

Sincerely yours,

CAMPBELL C. JOHNSON
Colonel, Infantry

Info - Ed

January 18, 1954

Mrs. Norwood M. Phelps
Director Civic Departments,
Woman's Club of Jacksonville
Jacksonville 7, Florida

Dear Mrs. Phelps:

We are very proud indeed of the report made by Ruth Upson on the comparison of white and negro education in Duval County, Florida. It is just such local work which will be the price all over the South of friendly agreement on all these matters of schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Info on publications

Guilford College, N.C.
February 11, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Educational Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am a senior at Guilford College and candidate for a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology in June.

For my senior thesis, I have chosen the topic, "A Study in the Attitudes of College Students of Minority Groups Toward Majority Groups." I would like for you to send me any information concerning the subject or refer me to other sources where I might obtain information.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
Bobbye James

Chas Johnson
The Negro College Graduate
Otto Klineberg
Race Prejudice
Race Psychology
Arnold Rose
Race Rel. & Minorities
Brewell Gallagher
Amer. Caste & the Negro College

Info

February 12, 1954

Mr. Chester Bowles
c/o The New York Times Magazine
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bowles:

We greatly admired your article, "The Negro -- Progress and Challenge," in the February 7th issue of The New York Times Magazine. It was both a perceptive statement of this country's obligations in the area of race relations and a wise analysis of how we should seek accelerated progress.

We were particularly struck by your recommendations for community action. Since its inception in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has worked in precisely the spirit you suggest. It is made up of members of both races -- religious, professional, labor, and business people in thirteen Southern states -- who are active in the civic life of their communities. Through its membership, the press, and friendly public officials, it has stimulated employment of Negro policemen and firemen, Negro representation on boards and commissions, fairer handling of racial news by the press, impartial standards of police behavior, and equal penalties in the courts. Presently the Council is addressing itself to building an informed and reasonable body of opinion in the region in anticipation of the impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation.

One of the main techniques which we have used is the community self-survey, carried out in full partnership by white and Negro citizens. Our experience richly supports your view of the effectiveness of this approach.

Believing that you will find the work of the council of special interest, I am taking the liberty of sending separately a few of our publications which have had wide use in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

enc.
"The South of the Future"

March 3, 1954

Dr. R. B. Atwood, President
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Dr. Atwood:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to search for material you might use in a panel on "The Gospel and Social Legislation."

I am sorry to report very little success in locating anything directly bearing on the churches and social legislation. The following books and articles related to Protestant and Catholic social policy and programs might be helpful in terms of general background:

Cronin, J. F., CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION. Bruce, 1948. Also CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES by Cronin, published in 1951 or 1952.

Landis, J. T., "Social Action in American Protestant Churches," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, v. 52 (May, 1947), 517-522

Marciniak, E. A., "Catholics and Social Reform," COMMONWEAL, V. 58 (Sept. 11, 1953), 557-560

May, H. F., PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIAL AMERICA. Harper, 1949

Pope, Liston, "Religion as a Social Force in America," SOCIAL ACTION (May, 1953), 2-15

"Protestant Social Policy." Series of three articles in the NATION, 1953. First by F. E. Johnson, v. 177 (July 25, 1953), 66-68; second by Victor Obenhaus, v. 177 (August 1, 1953), 91-93; third by Malcolm Evans, v. 177 (August 8, 1953),

Ryan, Stephen P., "Church and the New South," CATHOLIC WORLD, v. 177 (Sept., 1953), 416-422 (Describing origin and functions of Catholic Committee of the South)

If you have not already done so, I suggest that you write to both the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. and theNational Catholic Welfare Conference, located

at 1312 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington 5, D. C.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Route 1, Black Mountain, N. C. (Howard Kester, Executive Secretary) might have something in print, also the Catholic Committee of the South, Box 895, Rock Hill, S. C.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

RECEIVED
FEB 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

February 22, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have accepted participation on a panel to be held soon at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, on the topic "The Gospel & Social Legislation". Some of the questions to be answered are:

Is the gospel affecting social legislation?
To what extent?
Is the church influencing social legislation?
Is the church opposing it or going along with it?

Please send me any available articles from which I might draw some help.

Your assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Atwood

R. B. Atwood
President

RBA:wts

August 28, 1954

Mrs. Pauline H. Barge
915 Philipet Avenue
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Barge:

It is a pleasure to send you a copy of a booklet we have, called Answers for Action: Schools in the South. It compresses the main findings of the big Ashmore report, called The Negro and the Schools; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the important footnotes; has a useful map on population ratio by counties; and, most importantly, tells thing for people in local communities to do.

Really, whatever wisdom we have on the subject is in this little book. I can only emphasize that the best course of action is a form of quite small local discussion groups. Say four, five, or six white leaders and two, three, or four Negro leaders. Maybe in a church or in some school building -- or in someone's home. They would first make friends on the issue; go on to find the facts about the local schools -- how many, what condition, what expense, what children and where, how many teachers, etc. -- and then use the facts from which must emerge the germ of a plan. And the plan will become known to other people interested in the schools and the beginning of a solution will be there.

The only other thing I can send you is oldish now but still useful. It is called America's Tenth Man and, though it needs revision, it would be helpful in enabling the white persons to swing around to respect for the Negro position.

We will be strengthening pretty soon our Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, and I hope you will be in touch with them. The Reverend Dan Whitsett, First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, is Chairman of the Alabama Division. We have a number of members in Selma. I think particularly of Mr. B. V. Jemison on Lapsley Street.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

P.S. If you can use more copies of Answers for Action they are sold in quantity at a rate of $15.00 a hundred, or $7.50 for fifty.

GSM/eab

915 Philpot Avenue
Selma, Alabama
August 26, 1954

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am the President of the Parent Teachers Association, at Payne School, an, elementary school in our city public school system, 1st. through 7th. grades.

I am interesting in obtaining all the information I can on intergration, and any other informantion that would be helpful to me in maintaining a successful P.T.A.

Hoping to hear from you real soon, as, I would like to have this information before our first meeting for this school year, which is September 15, 1954.

Thanking you for any information, and suggestions that you may give me.

Resptfully yours,
Pauline H. Barge
(Mrs.) Pauline H. Barge

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1954
Southern Regional Council

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
DREW UNIVERSITY
MADISON, NEW JERSEY

Department of The Rural Church
RALPH A. FELTON

Ordered "A New Gospel of the Soil" 11/8/54

RECEIVED
11/6/54
Southern Regional Council

Info - publication

October25, 1954

Dear Friend,

I have just returned from teaching ten weeks in Summer Schools for Pastors. In both the North and the South I have found the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on segregation to be the one topic that causes the most discussion. One school gave three one-hour periods to discuss this subject in a seminar.

The purpose of this letter is to tell you of three studies my graduate students and I have made dealing with Negro churches and Negro life.

These My Brethren is an interdenominational survey of actual conditions of Negro churches and homes in 17 counties. It gives only facts rather than opinions and should be of help to your church as you try to give a Christian answer to the many questions raised by the Supreme Court's decision.

Go Down Moses gives the stories of 21 successful or outstanding Negro pastors. It points the way to a future pattern for Negro churches.

The Ministry of the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church is a 61-page survey of the 1776 Negro pastoral charges in the Methodist denomination. It has recently come from the press and reveals some startling facts which should be of interest to every pastor and layman.

In trying to get these bulletins used by our churches during this critical period we have arranged to send them out as long as they last at just half the printing cost.

Please use the enclosed mimeographed Special Order Blank in case you can use some of these bulletins.

Awaiting your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ralph A Felton

Ralph A. Felton

Special Order Blank

Ralph A. Felton
Drew Seminary
Madison, New Jersey

Enclosed find $_____ for which please send me the bulletins on Negro Churches which I have checked below:

( ) Four copies of "These My Brethren" for $1.00

( ) Four copies of "Go Down Moses" for $1.00

or

( ) Two copies of each bulletin (four in all) for $1.00

and

( ) One copy of "The Ministry of the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church", free with one of the above orders.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Info - general -

November 19, 1954

Mrs. Annette P. Haselden
Counseling and Guidance Center
University of Georgia
Athens, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Haselden:

I am sending separately the only two pamphlets among our publications which are concerned with Negro fiction or biography.

Since there are few suggestions for further reading in either — and both are old publications — I am forwarding your letter to Mrs. Mozell Hill of the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Ga. I am sure Mrs. Hill will be able to steer you to helpful, current publications.

For information regarding attitude tests adaptable for the junior high level, I suggest that you write Dr. John W. Thibaut, Dept. of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. or Dr. L. L. Thurstone, c/o Dept. of Psychology, University of North Carolina.

For your information, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was disolved in 1944 and the Southern Regional Council was established as successor to the Commission. I am enclosing a leaflet which describes the Council and its work.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl
cc: Mrs. Mozell Hill

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
ATHENS, GEORGIA

Nov. 9, 1954

RECEIVED
11/15/54
Southern Regional Council

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am interested in information regarding the Negro as a minority group in the U. S. in connection with a thesis I am working on at the University of Georgia.

If you have any pamphlet material on books of fiction or biography for the junior high age group which present the Negro in a favorable and realistic light, I would appreciate copies of the free material and a price list of the material which is for sale. I would also like to know of any recent tests on the junior high level designed to measure attitude toward the Negro.

Sincerely yours,

Annette P. Haselden

(Mrs.) Annette P. Haselden
Counseling and Guidance Clinic

November 30, 1954

Miss Cora Kasius
Editor
Social Casework
192 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Kasius:

Our good friend, Miss Florence Sytes, from the School of Social Work at Tulane University, wrote us November 19th and said we ought to sen you certain named publications, which she thoug you might consider for a listing in Social Casework.

Miss Sytes listed the issues of New South which I enclose. I send, independently, our latest pamphlet which is really a honey. We ha sold 20,000 and are well into a second printing

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: July, 1950 New South
October, 1954 New South

Answers for Action sent separately.

RECEIVED
12/20/54
Southern Regional Council

SMITH COLLEGE
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

December 15,1954

George S. Mitchell, Esq.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

So very many thanks for sending me some S.R.C. publications on the South. I have been reading them with great interest against that admirable and delightful background with which you provided me that Saturday night. It meant a lot.

With all best wishes for your work and the hope that we may meet again some day.

Yours very sincerely,
Gwendolen M. Carter
Gwendolen M. Carter
Professor of Government

In lieu of chat about S. Af. I'll send you my FPA Headline Bk. when it appears

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: GTH

FROM: GSM Miss Gwendolyn M

The Smith College professor lady, Mrs. Carter, who will be lecturing, she supposes, in thy presence on this coming Thursday, expressed the hope that you would be kind enough to bring to her then some SRC pamphlets. She means New Souths appropriate for educating her. If you find opportunity to fulfill her hopes, so much the better.

Dept. & gov.

GSM

Anna Hoedes
Info

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

December 21, 1954

RECEIVED
12/22/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the most generous lists of helps available for use in my course in the Church and Minority Groups. The materials which you list and describe (much beyond the call of duty!) will be most helpful; I shall try to put them to good use and refer others to them.

I shall try to stop by your office soon and pick up the back issues of New South.

Best wishes for the Christmas Season.

Sincerely yours,
E Clinton Gardner

Publications

Info - ~~Christianity~~ and
~~Minority Groups~~

December 14, 1954

Mr. E. Clinton Gardner
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gardner:

Here are some good magazines that would help you:

Christian Century, which carries regular news coverage of events and trends in race relations in the various churches;

Interracial News Service. Published bi-monthly by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. $2.00 for two years. Digests news in race relations; emphasis on news from churches affiliated with the National Council;

Interracial Review. Published monthly by the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York. $1.00 per year. Articles of general interest, news of Catholic Interracial Councils; emphasis on Catholic programs and progress;

Journal of Negro Education. Published quarterly by Howard University, Washington 1, D. C. $4.00 per year. Covers various aspects of Negro education, problems of desegregation; yearly subscription covers summer Yearbook which concentrates on a specific area of Negro education or Negro problems;

NAIRO Reporter. Published monthly except August and September by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, P. O. Box 163, Cathederal Station, New York 25, New York. $3.00 per year. Summaries and news-notes of events and trends in intergroup relations, notices of publications.

New South. Published monthly by the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Articles reporting developments in race relations in the South, particular emphasis on school situation. $2.00 per year.

Southern School News. Published monthly by the Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee. Copies available on request to individuals and organizations. State-by-state summaries of developments arising from the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

Outfits:

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Southeast Regional Office
Kemper Building
Atlanta, Georgia
Executive Secretary, Arthur Levin

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Acting Director, Robert Thompson

Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina
Reverend Maurice Shean, C. O.

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Reverend George E. Clary, Chairman

Georgia State C.I.O. Industrial Union Council
95 Merritts Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Executive Secretary, David S. Burgess

Division of Christian Relations
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church of the U. S.
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Executive Secretary, Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun

Division of Christian Social Relations
North Georgia Conference, Methodist Church
Secretary, Mrs. Durand Miller, Chipley, Georgia

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Black Mountain, North Carolina
Executive Secretary, Howard Kester

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Atlanta Branch
204 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
President, C. L. Harper

Georgia State NAACP
William M. Boyd, President
604 Beckwith Street
Atlanta, Georgia

United Church Women of Georgia
Mrs. R. L. MacDougall, President
4141 Club Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Young Men's Christian Associations
Southern Area Student Council
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Associate Area Secretary, Samuel N. Slie

Young Women's Christian Association
National Student Council, Southern Regional Office
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Student Secretary, Miss Doris Wilson

Books:
Christianity and Minority Groups

Culver, Dwight W. Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

Gallagher, Buell G. Color and Conscience. The Irrepressible Conflict. New York: Harper, 1946. Statement of the Christian integrationist position.

Gallagher, Buell G. Portrait of a Pilgrim: A Search for the Christian Way in Race Relations. New York: Friendship Press, 1946.

Loescher, Frank S. Protestant Church and the Negro. New York: Association Press, 1948. Brief Survey of Protestant teaching and practice with regard to Negro and segregation.

LaFarge, John. No Postponement: United States Moral Leadership and Problems of Racial Minorities. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951. Role of church, account of work of Catholic organizations in fighting racial prejudice

LaFarge, John. The Race Question and the Negro. New York: Longmans, Green, 1943. Catholic doctrine on interracial justice.

Soper, Edmund D. Racism: A World Issue. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947. Survey of racism in Christian religion around the world.

Periodicals & Pamphlet References:
Christianity and Minority Groups

Alexander, Will W. "Racial Segregation in the American Protestant Church." New York: Friendship Press, 1946. 15 pp. (pamphlet)

"Better Human Relations through Religious Education." Special issue International Journal of Religious Education, February, 1954. Single copies $.30. Available from Department of Publications, National Council of Churches, 79 East Adams Street, Chicago 3, Illinois.

Cantwell, Daniel M. "Catholics Speak on Race Relations." New York: Fides Publishers Association, 21 West Superior, Chicago 10, Illinois. $.10 (pamphlet)

Catchings, L. Maynard. "A Report on the Participation of Racial and National Minority Peoples in Congregational Christian Churches." New York: Department of Race Relations, AMA Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian churches, 1946. 19 pp. Mimeo (pamphlet)

"Churches Speak" [on school segregation], New South, Vol. 9, No. 8 (August, 1954), 1-11.

Congar, Yves, O. P. "The Catholic Church and the Race Question." UNESCO, 1953. Available from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, New York. $.40.

"Denominational Statements with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship," Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. $.10. (pamphlet).

Division of Christian Relations, Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. "Two Major Issues. Report of the Council of Christian Relations Submitted to and Approved by the 1954 General Assembly for Church-Wide Use." Available from the Division, 341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 5, Georgia.

Hooft, W. V. Visser't. "The Ecumenical Movement: The Churches and the Race Question." UNESCO, 1953. Available from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, New York. $.40.

Knox, John. "The Christian Church and Race." New York: Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1945. 24 pp. (Pamphlet)

Lee, J. O. "Racial Inclusion in Church-Related Colleges in the South." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 22 (No. 1, 1953), 16-25.

Mays, Benjamin E. "Seeking to be a Christian in Race Relations." New York: Friendship Press, 1946. 48 pp. (pamphlet)

Moseley, J. Edward (ed.) "The Church and Minority Groups" Available from United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana. (Pamphlet)

Oniki, S. Garry. "Interracial Churches in American Protestantism," Social Action, Vol. 16 (January, 1950), 4-22.

Pope, Liston. "Caste in the Church: The Protestant Experience." Survey Graphic, Vol. 36 (January, 1947), 59 pp.

"Religious Reaction to School Segregation Ruling: A Survey of Statements and Actions," NAIRO Reporter, Vol. 5, No. 1 (October, 1954). Available from NAIRO, Box 163, Cathedral Station, New York 25, New York

Reissig, Herman. "Christian Faith and World Upheaval." Social Action, (March, 1952), 1-48.

"Statements Adopted by Religious Groups re Segregation in the Public Schools," Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. $.10. (Pamphlet)

"Southern Baptists Open Seminaries to Negroes," Christian Century Vol. 68 (April 11, 1951), 452.

"Southern Presbyterians Take Racial Lead," Christian Century, Vol 67 (July 12, 1950), 836.

Weatherspoon, J. B. "Southern Baptists and Race Relations." 1949. Available from Social Service Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky. (Pamphlet)

Weaver, Galen. "A Denominational Emphasis on Race Relations," Social Action, Vol. 13 (January, 1947), 26-39.

Weaver, Robert G. "Community Action Against Segregation." Social Action, Vol. 13 (January, 1947), 4-24.

If you will come by here at some early date, you can pick up back issues of New South. A good many of them will doubtless be helpful to you.

I trust that Answers for Action was duly sent you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

AH - For rough of a reply GSM

See attached

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

November 20, 1954

RECEIVED 11/22/54 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Since hearing you address the Hazen Conference at Sevannanoa, North Carolina, in August, 1953, I have moved from North Carolina State College to Emory University, where I am teaching Christian and Social Ethics in the School of Theology.

Next term I plan to offer a course in "Christianity and Minority Groups," and I am especially anxious to get this phase of our offerings started on as sound and responsible basis as possible. I would greatly appreciate any suggestions you may be able to give me concerning (1) publications which would be useful to myself and my classes and (2) the names of various groups and agencies in this area which are active in dealing with the problem of race relations. Also, if you have found a few books (especially recent ones-since, say, 1945) to be particularly good and helpful, I would appreciate your suggestions in this regard.

Thanks very much for any help you may be able to give me.

Sincerely yours,

E. Clinton Gardner

E. Clinton Gardner
Assistant Professor of
Christian Social Ethics

P. S. Please send me one (1) copy of "Answers For Action," for which I am enclosing $0.20.

RHA (?) Did a Send?

Sent 11/22/54 rha

February 8, 1955

Mr. Alfred Copeland
4458 So. First Place
Arlington, Va.

Dear Mr. Copeland:

I am sending a copy of "A Checklist for your Local Schools" under separate cover. It is the only recent SRC publication besides the "Schools in the South" which I think would be directly useful to you in your thesis.

If you have not already consulted Wagner D. Jackson's "Implementing Desegregation" in the January, 1955 CRISIS, I think you would find it useful. It explains NAACP's suggested plan of action for school desegregation and contains many suggestions that would be applicable to any situation.

I would also suggest consulting recent issues of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, particularly the summer yearbook for 1954 "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education and the current Winter, 1955 issue which reports on the status quo in desegregation in Baltimore and the District of Columbia.

Fisk University's bibliography "Desegregation: A Bibliography of Recent Materials," November, 1954, available from the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. cites most of the recent references in the area.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

Charge for material sent:

Pamphlet	$.10
Postage	.02
	$.12

ALFRED COPELAND
CERTIFIED LAND SURVEYOR
4458 So. First Place
Arlington, Virginia

JAckson 8-3572
JEfferson 4-4313

Jan. 27, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JAN 31 1955

Gentlemen,

I am writing as a thesis fo a masters degree in education at American University, Washington, D.C., "A Plan for the Racial Integration of the Public School System in Arlington County, Virginia.

Will you please send me whatever pertinent material you have available, and bill me for same ?

I already have "Schools in the South"

Yours truly,

Alfred Copeland

March 9, 1955

Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 1183 University Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

Let me add one more to your file of non-protesting Southern letters.

I liked the Saturday Evening Post article very much and was, of course, particularly glad to see it in a widely-read national magazine like the Post. I am inclined to share Dr. Kenneth Clark's view on optimistic prophesy--I believe that the facts justify optimism, but even if they didn't, it would still be helpful.

We are getting reprints of the article for distribution.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

March 25, 1955

Miss Madelyn Payne Dunham
1434 W. Olive
El Dorado, Kansas

Dear Miss Dunham:

Your one best source is The Negro and the Schools by Harry S. Ashmore, published last year by the University of North Carolina Press. It deals concisely with the history, problems, and recent developments in school segregation. Also pertinent is Schools in Transition by Williams and Ryan, also published by the University of North Carolina; this book describes the experience of some 25 communities that have recently desegregated their schools.

I am sending you separately a copy of the Southern Regional Council's pamphlet Answers for Action: Schools in the South and a descriptive leaflet about another SRC publication.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director for Information

1434 N. Olive
El Dorado, Kansas
March 22, 1955

Harold C. Fleming, Information Director
Southern Regional Counsel
63 Auburn Ave. Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Malcolm B. Higgins, Executive Secretary, Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Would you please recommend possible books or other source material for a term paper on the history and present problems of segregation in our nation's schools. Any material you have available would also be greatly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for any consideration you can give to this request.

Sincerely,
Madelyn Payne Dunham

February 24, 1955

Miss Estell Clemmons
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clemmons:

In response to your telephone call of several days ago, I am enclosing a copy of Dr. Mays' "Why An Atlanta School Suit?"

I have checked through all back issues of our publication NEW SOUTH and there are no other articles available which would be suitable for your bibliography.

Other items you m ght wi sh to include are listed below. I have not included any of the Atlanta Urban League's reports, since you planned to contact them.

Georgia Tech Planning Studies. South Prior Road. Atlanta, Ga.: Georgia Tech, Winter, 1950

Metropolitan Planning Commission. Metropolitan Atlanta. A Factual Inventory. Atlanta, Ga.: The Commission, October, 1950

_____. Up Ahead. A Regional Land Use Plan for Metropolitan Atlanta. Atlanta, Ga.: The Commission, February, 1950

Pierce, Joseph A. The Atlanta Negro. A Collection of Data on the Negro Population of Atlanta, Georgia. Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education in Cooperation with the National Youth Administration for Georgia, June, 1940

Social Planning Council, Atlanta, Ga. "Some Characteristics of Nine Neighborhoods of Atlanta, Georgia, 1940." Unpublished study of the Social Planning Council, April, 1945.

_____. A Report on Health and Welfare in DeKalb and Fulton Counties. Atlanta, Ga.: Social Planning Council, February, 1943

If we can be of further assistance, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

encl

February 9, 1955

Miss Betty Sue Fredericks
5333 Colfax Ave. So.
Minneapolis 19, Minn.

Dear Miss Fredericks:

I am sending a selection of material on school segregation and factors influencing desegregation under separate cover.

I suggest that you examine all the recent issues of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, as well as the material listed in the bibliography of our pamphlet "Answers for Action." The Summer, 1954 JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, a special yearbook "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education" would be particularly helpful. Fisk University's Social Science Department, Nashville, Tenn. has a bibliography on "Desegregation" available upon request.

You are being billed separately for the material.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

FEB 4 1955

February 2, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

To Whom It May Concern:

What are some of the arguments for and against racial segregation in the public schools? This is a question about which we, a committee studying the problem of minority groups in an education class at the University of Minnesota, are trying to gain a more thorough understanding. We aim to relate any knowledge we receive to the effect this situation has on the schools and us, as future teachers.

I am writing as a representative of the committee, and hope that you may have available pamphlets, or any type of literature that may be of help to us. Even some pertinent resource information would be greatly appreciated.

Your issue of The Schools and the Courts, January, 1954, is already in our possession, and is the cause of this request for any other publications.

If you find you can answer this plea without going to any great expense, please send the material C.O.D. to the address below, or any other arrangement you decide upon.

Thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

Betty Sue Fredericks

Betty Sue Fredericks
5333 Colfax Ave. So.
Minneapolis 19
Minnesota

RA

Bill Kentucky Council

6 Changing Patterns @ .50

6 Now is the Time @ .20

RNF
3/29/55

March 29, 1955

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, Dir.
Public Affairs Programming
WHAS, Inc.
Louisville 2, Ky.

Dear Miss Ruthenburg:

Thank you for your letter of March 14th.

We are sending you today, with the compliments of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, additional materials which we think will be useful to you in preparation for the WHAS radio panel, THE MORAL SIDE OF THE NEWS. I am sorry I had not understood that you would need six of each of the pamphlets and booklets and am sending you the added number of copies you will need. We are also including in the packet two new sources.

It is a pleasure to be able to assist you in preparing your panel show.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for
Program

GTH:rnf

Under separate cover:

Changing Patterns (SRC)
Now is the Time (Lillian Smith)
Toward the Southe of the Future, (SRC)
Christian Conscience (M.E. Tilly)
School Integration (NCCW)
It Can Be Done (NAACP)
St. Louis Integrates its Schools (LWV)
Build Democracy in the Classroom (CIO)
New South, Feb. 55 (SRC)
The Churches Speak (SRC)
NCWC News Service
Memo on School Integration (NCLCH)
Reprint - Ex. Com. Statement [illegible]

Reprint from Bus. Wk. - Income

BARRY BINGHAM
President

MARK F. ETHRIDGE
Vice-President

LISLE BAKER, JR.
Vice-President and Treasurer

WHAS INC.

LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY
TEL. WABASH 2211

VICTOR A. SHOLIS
Vice-President and Director

March 14, 1955

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for Program
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. H amilton:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, and for the materials you are sending.

While THE MORAL SIDE OF THE NEWS is made up of clergymen from four faiths (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Unitarian) it usually discusses public affairs from an ethical rather than a church viewpoint.

They have agreed to take up the moral side of desegregation in several panels devoted to:

1. over-all ethical aspects
2. children
3. teachers
4. parents
5. churches
6. community

I'm in the process of making up background kits for the panel members covering these various phases, many of which I'm sure are included in the material you're sending. If you have additional sources you feel would be helpful, we shall be most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Dorcas Ruthenburg

Dorcas Ruthenburg
Director
Public Affairs
Programming

DR:rt

The Student Christian Associations
The University of Texas
Y.W.C.A. *Austin* Y.M.C.A.

March 31, 1955

Miss Anna Holden
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Anna,

It was good to hear from you concerning the material we requested for our conference on inter-group relations last Friday. We feel the conference accomplished what we had planned and we hope that several groups will follow up on the ideas suggested in the sessions.

You will be interested to know that the SRC pamphlets appeared among materials from nearly every organization from whom we ordered materials.

I hope all goes well in the Regional Council. Remember me to the staff.

Sincerely,

Rosalie

Rosalie Oakes

March 21, 1955

Miss Rosalie Oakes
YWCA Executive Director
University of Texas
Austin, Tex.

Dear Rosalie:

We are sending an assortment of material for your conference under separate cover--special handling, special delivery, so it should get there in time.

Our SRC publications list is exhausted, but I did send 10 promotion pamphlets for "Changing Patterns," (January NEW SOUTH, special issue), 10 general promotion pamphlets on SRC and a sample of the past year's issues of NEW SOUTH. SRC has no bibliography of human relations materials generally available, but I am sending 10 copies each of the ADL general catalogue and their special program resource bibliography on school desegregation. Also stuck in one each of a few other recent things you might or might not have seen--a League of Women Voters pamphlet on school integration in St. Louis, an NAACP summary of desegregation in the border states, a BUSINESS WEEK article on Negro income, etc.

Why don't you come to Atlanta for a visit? The Fellowship of S. Churchmen has sort of died on its feet this year with so many of the old regulars gone--only one meeting so far which I didn't attend on account of something else already planned.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

The Student Christian Associations
The University of Texas
Y.W.C.A. *Austin* Y.M.C.A.

CY 1618

MAR 21 1955

March 18, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me ten (10) copies of your latest bibliographies, catalogs of films, books and pamphlets on inter-group relations, race relations or human relations. If sample copies are available, please send one copy of each. These materials will be used for display during a conference on inter-group relations March 25.

Thank you very much for your prompt reply.

Rosalie Oakes
Rosalie Oakes
YWCA Executive Director

Mr. Stanley!
(R.O.)

April 21, 1955

Master Locke McLean
St. Paul's School
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Locke:

You have got a good subject. I send you up some things that ought to be helpful. They cost about $1.00 with postage, and if you can scare up a dollar, you ought to send it back to the Council. When I was in school, the only way I could get a dollar was to cash in the postage stamp my mother sent me. And if you are that hard up, skip the dollar!

In some of the things you will find lists of other good things in print.

You can get mighty nearly the whole business out of that one with the blue stripe on it called Answers for Action, particularly if you will puzzle twenty-five minutes over the map at the back of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Answers for Action
Changing Patterns
Southern School News, Jan., Feb., Apr., 1955
New South, Feb., Mar., 1955

April 16th

APR 21 1955

SAINT PAUL'S SCHOOL

Dear Mr. Mitchell

For my report this spring term I have selected the subject of the racial problem in education and Mr. Matthew Warren referred me to you as a possible source of information. What I would like primarily is a recommendation for books , magazine articles , or reports on this subject which you think might be beneficial to my report.

I am hoping to hear from you in the near future and I trust this will not cause you to much of an inconvience.

Thankfully yours,

Locke McLean

Locke McLean
St. Paul's School
Concord , N.H.

April 26, 1955

Mr. Jay Murphy
School of Law
University of Alabama
University, Ala.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Thank you so much for your prompt answer to my inquiry about reprints of your article, "Can Public Schools by Private?"

Since it was quoted so extensively in the April SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, which we planned to distribute in the May 3 meeting I wrote you about, we have decided to postpone reppoducing it for the present. We are, however, excerpting some of the Boutwell Committee's recommendations, and all of the proposed constitutional amendments for the May 3 meeting.

We do indeed know Bob Hughes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations--the Alabama Council is our state affilate and operates on a subsidy grant from this office. I am checking with him now to see what, if any, afrangements he has made to reproduce your article.

I spent several days last week checking through current analyses of the legal implications of the May 17 school decision in the law journals and found your article the clearest and most comprehensive of any dealing with proposed devices to circumvent the decision.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF LAW

April 21, 1955

Miss Anna Holden
Information Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Your letter to the University of Alabama Press concerning a price listing on one hundred reprints of the article "Can Public Schools be Private" was turned over to the law school for answering.

Unfortunately, only 200 reprints were printed in all, and there are only about thirty remaining to fill requests which are coming in. We checked with the printer who prints the law review in Birmingha, but he had destroyed the plates so it would be just as cheap or cheaper foryou to have these printed in Atlanta, if you decided to do so, than for us to have it done in Birmingham.

You have our full permission to make copies of this article, print it, mimeograph it or do whatsoever you wish with it. Actually the article itself is only sixteen pages (16) long if one omits the full reprint of the legislative committee report which appears at the end of the article. The only reason this committee report was printed in the article was in order to preclude the reaction that I misquoted or otherwise dealt inaccurately with the committee's report.

I have just written a letter to Mr. Robert E. Hughes, State Director, Alabama Council On Human Relations, Room 206 Moore Building, South Court Street, Montgomery, Alabama sending him three copies of the article. Mr. Hughes indicated that he might be planning to have some reprints made of the article for fuller distribution in the state. I do not know Mr. Hughes, but I am sure he would not mind being called by you to inquire if he would have extra copies made - in the event he does make some copies.

May I again express my pleasure to you concerning your interest in this atticle? And if I may be of further help please call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Jay Murphy

Jay Murphy
Professor of Law

June 8, 1955

Mrs. O. K. Armstrong
5104 Brookview Drive
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Armstrong:

I send you separately a packet of materials that we think would be useful for the Summer Assembly at Ridgecrest on the subject of human rights.

They comprise: Changing Patterns in the New South; "Desegregation in Education: Toward Democracy in the Classroom," (a bibliography) - SRC; Publications list - SRC; How to Influence Public Policy by Elizabeth Wickenden, published by the American Association of Social Workers, One Park Avenue, New York 16, New York, 25¢. Excellent publication with brief chapters on the how and why of social action and on interaction between lawmaking and public opinion, and between public opinion and the administrative processes; Answers for Action: Schools in the South - SRC.

The items published by SRC can be supplied at the price listed in the SRC publications list. The bibliography can be supplied free.

I know of the wide outreach of the Ridgecrest gatherings, and we are hopeful that various of these items can be supplied for this Summer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Note: How to Influence Public Policy is not included in the packet of materials sent you because we only have one copy on hand.

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

June 6, 1955

GSM: For Your Information.

GTH suggests the following:

Now is the Time

Changing Patterns (SRC)

School Integration (NCCW)

It Can Be Done (NAACP)

The Right of Every Child (AFSC)

The St. Louis Story

Bibliography (SRC)

Program Service (A DL)

A Memo on School Integration (NCLCH)

How to Influence Public Policy -- A Short
Manual on Social Action -- by Elizabeth Wickendon

GTH suggests that "How to Influence Public Policy" would be particularly useful.

O. K. ARMSTRONG
6TH DISTRICT, MISSOURI

HOME ADDRESS:
SPRINGFIELD, MO.

Member of the 82nd

Congress of the United States (1951-53)

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

JUN 6 1955

5104 Brookview Drive
Washington 16, D. C.
June 2, 1955

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Again I come to you for materials to use in a workshop for young women at the Baptist Summer Assembly, Ridgecrest, N. C., on the subject of human rights.

May I have your latest publications list, and samples of materials most suitable for new voters, to stimulate their enthusiasm for self-government.

Yours sincerely,

Marjorie Moore Armstrong
Mrs. O. K. Armstrong

June 21, 1955.

Miss Dorothy Mitchell
Administrative Assistant
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Dorothy:

Thanks for the report on desegregation in the Baltimore Schools, which I was anxious to see. As a matter of fact, at John Scanlon's suggestion, I wrote the other day to Mr. Kraushaar about the possibility of our getting a quantity of copies. At that time, I had not seen the report. But now that I have, I am even more interested.

We would be delighted if we could get 3,000 copies. We would distribute some of them through our state organizations and others by direct mail.

I suppose I will hear from Kraushaar shortly. But if it is appropriate for you to speed up the process by transmitting our request, I will appreciate it much.

Never you mind about the telephone call. John S. called me to day and I more than evened things up by keeping him on the phone endlessly.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

June 27, 1955

Mr. M. C. Eulette, Attorney at Law
5529 South Halsted Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eulette:

Your letter of June 16, 1955, regarding "Singers in the Dawn" has been referred to me. I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the latest printing of the publication.

Also, I am enclosing a copy of the publications list of the Southern Regional Council. Please let us know if any of the publications are of interest to you.

Price on "Singers in the Dawn" is ten cents (10¢).

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.

ans. 6/27/55 I-Yc

TELEPHONE WEntworth 6-0008
M. C. EULETTE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
5529 SO. HALSTED STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS

June 16, 1955

Conference on Education and Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Back in 1934 you published your first edition of a volume entitled "Singers in the Dawn", a brief anthology of American Negro poetry, compiled by Robert B. Eleazer. I procured and still have a copy of the third edition published in 1936. Do you have a more recent edition than that? If so, where may it be procured and for what price? If not, do you still have any of the 1936 editions available and how may they be procured and at what price?

The back page of that edition carried a description of certain other bulletins on race relations. Are these still available? Do you have any other similar leaflets in that connection? If so, where may they be obtained and for what price?

A stamped return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Yours very truly,

M. C. EULETTE

MCE:DD

July 11, 1955

Mrs. Margaret L. Washington
2367 East Myrtle Street
Stockton, California

Dear Mrs. Washington:

Thank you for your letter of July 8, 1955. I trust that you have received the material sent earlier.

I do not believe that a copy of the New South of June was mailed to you so I am enclosing a copy in this letter. You have sent remittance for the copy. I shall keep your letter on my desk for a few days as we anticipate a possible additio to the positive reaction to the Supreme Court ruli If so, I shall mail you a copy as soon as the arti is off the press.

You also may be interested in a pamphlet "Answers for Action," which I am mailing you under separate cover.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.

JUL 11 1955

2367 E. Myrtle St.
Stockton, Calif.
July 8, 1955

Mr. John Constable
Editorial Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

35¢ Stamps
rba

Dear Mr. Constable

I thank you for your letter of June 30 explaining materials that your organization have to offer. I have not received the materials you sent, but feel sure I will get them in a few days.

I am enclosing fifteen cents (15¢) for "Questions and Answers" and twenty cents (20¢) for a copy of the "New South." Since I am revising an article that I wrote on desegregation some time ago, I will appreciate any material that you have and deem helpful; and will be glad to make prompt remittance for same.

Very sincerely yours,
Margaret D. Washington

July 12, 1955

M. C. Eulette
5529 South Halsted Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eulette:

Thank you for your letter of July 11, 1955, and your generous order. The materials are being mailed to you under separate cover.

I did enjoy your remarks very much and am encouraged to know that good work and deeds are being effected by individuals such as you. I wonder if you know of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations with offices there in Chicago. If not, perhaps you may be interested in contacting them. The address is 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Miss Helen E. Amerman is the informational representative and you may reach her by telephone at FInancial 6-2000.

Also, you may be interested in a recent book, "Forbidden Neighbors," by Charles Abrams. It deals with the race question in housing.

We at the Council are especially pleased to receive your subscription to New South. Enclosed is your receipt. Please let us know your reaction to the publication from time to time.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.

REAL ESTATE
RENTING - INSURANCE

CONSTRUCTION LOANS
FIRST MORTGAGES

M·C·EULETTE

5529 S. HALSTED STREET • CHICAGO 21 • WEntworth 6-0008

Air Mail
7/11/55

JUL 12 1955

Dear Mr. Constable – Thank you so much for your 6/27 letter & the copy of "Singing in the Dawn" which arrived later. I am very much interested in the publications listed. Chicago, as you know, has a problem similar to your own on the racial issue. In my real estate business (in this block since 1892) – and in my legal practice – I have great need of fortification of my own views

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5529 S. HALSTED STREET • CHICAGO 21 • WEntworth 6-0008

strongly in favor of integration. For some 20 years I have made great use of Countee Cullen's "One Riding in old Baltimore"...

We are American Baptists – my Mother being very active on the National level – Vice President of Board of Education and Publication, on the Board of the National Council of American Baptist Women – and on the Board of our Green Lake,

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Wisconsin American Baptist Assembly. Among other things - she spoke to the point at Green Lake yesterday & wanted to use the Cullen poem.

In our personal realm - Negroes moved next door to our home 2 years ago and our home never had better neighbors. Our own Church has failed to cope with this issue in a changing neighborhood,

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5529 S. HALSTED STREET • CHICAGO 21 • WEntworth 6-0008

has "merged" with an all-white church 4 miles away - walked away from the finest opportunity it will ever have - and we have asked for our letters & transfer to the church which will occupy the old edifice - which we sincerely trust will become a non-racial church.

Interested in your publications? Decidedly!

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M·C·EULETTE

5529 S. HALSTED STREET • CHICAGO 21 • WEntworth 6-0008

-5-

After that digression - will you please forward:

24	copies of "Singers in the Dawn"	2.40
	(Herewith, for copy already received)	.10
10	copies of "America's tenth Man"	1.00
1	New South - Feb. 1954 (Unnecessarily Expected)	.10
1	Negro in our Economy - Hughes	.10
1	Race & Law Enforcement	.15
1	your Community Looks at Itself	.50
1	New South October 1951 (Housing)	.10
1	subscription to New South for 1 year	2.00
	Enclosed	$6.45

H & H
check

June 28, 1955.

Mr. Gordon F. Vars
1311 Clifton Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Vars:

Thank you for your inquiry about possible material for your summer school class on desegregation. Enclosed is a publications list and another descriptive leaflet.

I thought you might like to see copies of "Schools in the South" and "Changing Patterns", so I am sending a copy of each of them to you separately.

I shall look forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Encs.

JUN 27 1955

1311 Clifton Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
25 June 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am teaching a summer-school class in civics at the Peabody Demonstration School, and we have elected to study the desegregation problem. Would you please send me a list of any publications of your organization which might help us with this study?

Sincerely yours,

Gordon F. Vars

Gordon F. Vars

July 15, 1955.

Mr. Peters
75 Alma Rd.
Bristol 8 England

Dear Mr. Peters:

Thank you for your letter and your kind words about our literature.

I suggest that, for information about the other aspects of southern life in which you are interested, you address your inquiries to the agencies listed below. I believe their specialties are self evident in their titles.

Southern Association of Science and Industry
5009 Peachtree Rd. N.E. Atlanta, Gerogia

Council of state governments
1313 E. 60th St. Chicago 37, Ill.

Regional Office U.S. Department of Commerce
Georgia Savings Bank Atlanta, Georgia

Department of Architecture
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia

Sincerely,

Harold,C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

75 Alma Rd.,
Bristol 8.

27 June 55.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Please accept my apologies for not replying to your kind letter of April 19. Many thanks also for the copy of Changing Patterns in the New Soth, a book which I have read avidly. It is quite obvious from this one book alone that the position of the Negro in the South is changing at a remarkable speed, particularly when compared with the pace of development in earlier decades. I fancy the book would also open the eyes of the large number of Europeans who still fondly imagine that the days of Uncle Tom's Cabin are still here.

I did not appreciate that your council was exclusively concerned with race relations, thinking that it dealt with economic and commercial aspects of the South. I would certainly be grateful if you could let me know any sources of information on Southern industrial expansion, architectural developments, railroads and public works such as highways and bridges.

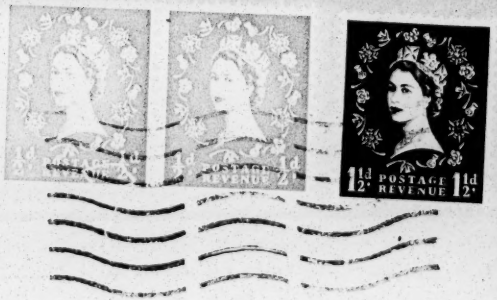
Best wishes,

Roy Peters

ROY PETERS.

Harold C. Fleming Esq.,
Atlanta.

75 Alma Rd.,
Bristol 8,
England.



Harold C.Fleming Esq.,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. NE,
ATLANTA 3, Ga.,
USA.

July 22, 1955

Mr. Charles Glatt
224½ Columbia, S.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Mr. Glatt:

Thank you for your letter of July 14, 1955. However, we do not have publications such as you describe in your letter. I am sending you a copy of our publications list.

New South is the monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council. Current copies sell for twenty cents (20¢) or a year's subscription rate is two dollars ($2.00).

Also, I am enclosing a descriptive bulletin of the Council's publication, "Changing Patterns in the New South."

If you are interested in any of this material, please let me know.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.

Albuquerque, N. M.
July 14, 1955

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

JUL 22 1955

Dear Sir:

I am currently engaged in a study of prejudice and discrimination at the University of New Mexico. Would you please send me the two pamphlets "New South" and "Schools in the South" plus any other available material that you have? Thank you.

Sincerely,
Charles Glass
224 ½ Columbia SE
Albuquerque

July 21, 1955

Mr. F. M. Phillips
2066 Palifox Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Philips:

Thank you for your telephone call requesting information about the Council. We do appreciate your interest.

Enclosed are two pamphlets about the Council and a publications list.

If you are in our neighborhood, drop by and see us.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.

July 22, 1955

The Rev. Daniel G. Cox
1634 Freedomway North
Baltimore 13, Maryland

Dear Rev. Cox:

Thank you for your letter of July 21. I am sending you two pamphlets which may be of use to you. Charge for the pamphlets is twenty cents (20¢) payable in coin or stamps.

Also, I am enclosing the Council's publication list and a descriptive folder on "Changing Patterns in the New South." The latter publication is now undergoing revision to include an article on the May 31, 1955, ruling of the Supreme Court.

If you are interested in any other material listed in the folder, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encl.
New South, August, 1954
Christian Conscience
Changing Patterns bulletin
Publications List

Reverend Daniel G. Cox
1634 Freedomway North
Baltimore 13, Maryland

JUL 22 1955

July 21

Gentlemen:

I have been referred to you by Bishop Joseph E. Kearney of Charleston, S.C.

If you have any material on the race question, especially as it affects the Church, I would be happy to hear from you.

I have been asked to submit a paper dealing

with that subject in a Race Relations course at Johns Hopkins University.

Thank you for your kindness.

Yours truly,

Daniel G. Cox

July 29, 1955

Elizabeth Compton
Merchandise Assistant
The Methodist Publishing House
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Miss Comptom:

Thank you for your letter of July 28, 1955.

The publication "Singers in the Dawn" is still available, and the current retail price is ten cents (10¢) per copy.

I am enclosing a list of our publications for your file. Attached to the list is information concerning publications released since the list was printed.

Again, thank you for your interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encls.

LOVICK PIERCE AND J. EDGAR WASHABAUGH, *Publishing Agents*

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Merchandise Department
GERALD N. BATTLE, *Manager*

W. L. SEAMAN
Director of Sales

JUL 29 1955

July 28, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The following title appears on a list I am checking for our General Board of Education:

SINGERS IN THE DAWN, Robert S. Eleazer

Is this title available from your office, and, if so, please give me the current retail price.

If you have issued a complete listing of your publications for 1955, I should like two copies for my files.

A prompt reply, addressed to the writer, will be very much appreciated.

Yours very sincerely,

MERCHANDISE DEPARTMENT

Elizabeth Compton

Elizabeth Compton
Merchandise Assistant

sp

August 2, 1955

Dr. Ambrose Caliver
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Dr. Caliver:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence, I am answering your letter to him requesting the list of key people on our committees in the various Southern states in order that you might inform them of the availability of the packet and kit on intergroup education.

The list is made up of SRC board members, our staff people and officers of state organizations boards across the South. If you would desire a more extensive list, we could provide you with the names of all of the board members of the state organizations.

As a former professor of Human Relations at the University of Miami, I am deeply interested in the type of service your office is offering to communities who seek to meet their responsibilities at this time of social transition. You may not recall it but I met you back about 1950 when I was a doctoral student at New York University Center for Human Relations studies.

Cordially yours,

Frederick S. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc
Enss.

HCF
for reply
CM

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 25, 1955

JUL 27 1955

Ans by FBR

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am writing in reference to our materials on intergroup education which have been developed jointly by the National Education Association and the Office of Education. You remember that you were kind enough to supply some of your own publications to be included in these packets. In case you have mislaid them, I am enclosing two folders which describe these materials in some detail.

Inasmuch as the effective implementation of the Supreme Court decision and decrees will depend largely on education, we believe that the materials which we have assembled will be very useful during this period. I am asking, therefore, if you would be good enough to send us the names of key people on your committees in the various States and communities in order that we might inform them of the availability of the packet and kit on intergroup education which, as you may recall, are on a loan basis.

Let me take this opportunity to again express to you my appreciation for the very fine service which you and your organization are doing in the whole field of improving human relations in the South.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section

Enclosures (2)

Dudelson

AUG 8 1955

ROBERT McC. FIGG, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
206-208 PEOPLES OFFICE BUILDING
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 6, 1955.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of the publication "Equality by Statute", by Morroe Berger.

I appreciate very much your sending it to me, and I shall read it with much interest.

Sincerely yours,

Robert McC. Figg, Jr.

Robert McC. Figg, Jr.

RF-1

August 29, 1955

Mr. R. Hustead
U. S. History
Estacada High School
Estacada, Oregon

Dear Mr. Hustead:

Your card requesting information has been referred to me.

It is difficult to select suitable materials without more specific details. I am, however, sending you some descriptive material which may help you in selecting material.

Enclosed are two descriptive folders concerning the Southern Regional Council, the Council's publications list, and a folder concerning the booklet, "Changing Patterns in the New South." The latter publication contains articles selected from the Council's magazine New South. It should contain material of interest to you.

Please let me know if we can be of help to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encls.
The South of the Future
Publications List
Toward the South of the Future
Changing Patterns in the New South (descriptive folder)

Please send me information regarding the Negro

problem from a southern point of view.

R Hustead

R Hustead
~~Social Problems~~ Teacher
US History
Estacada HS
Estacada, Oregon

September 21, 1955

Dr. Elinor Pancoast
Chairman of the Economics Department
Coucher College
Towson, Baltimore 4, Maryland

Dear Dr. Pancoast:

We have received the generous supply of "Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools," for which we are deeply grateful.

We are giving the pamphlet very careful distribution through the state councils on Human Relations affiliated with us in twelve southern states. In this way, we believe we can put them into the hands of interested and influential people who might not otherwise be reached.

Our sincere thanks to you and to the sponsoring agencies for this excellent program material.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/ys

Info - Integration

July 5, 1955.

Dr. Elinor Pancoast
Chairman of the Economics Department
Goucher College
Towson, Baltimore 4, Maryland

Dear Dr. Pancoast:

Mr. Richard S. Carroll wrote me a short time ago that you would have under consideration our request for copies of the report on desegregation in the Baltimore schools.

Unfortunately, I have no way of knowing how much our mailing list may overlap with that of the Southern School News. However, we have in each of 12 southern states an affiliated organization with full time staff, and our plan would be to make copies available to them for strategic distribution in their states.

I quite understand your problem of allocating most effectively a limited supply of the report. We shall be most grateful for any that you may be able to spare between 1 and 3,000.

Please accept our congratulations for the outstanding contribution to the information available in this field.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HDF/vc

GOUCHER COLLEGE · TOWSON, BALTIMORE 4, MARYLAND

Wrote DM & sent copy 6-28

Office of Public Relations

June 25, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

President Kraushaar has asked me to reply to your request for copies of the pamphlet on integration in the Baltimore schools, since our office has been seeing it through its production stages.

We would be glad to furnish you copies of the report, but are as yet unable to determine how the supply will have to be allocated. Although it is not for general publication we hope to use the Southern School News mailing list. I expect that this will consume most of the 30,000 copies being printed and we are hoping also to make a fairly sizable local distribution. Until we can see how far these two lists will overlap, it is difficult to estimate the number available for further distribution.

For that matter I am wondering whether you yourself may know how many of your possible addressees would already be included on the Southern School News list. Since I am leaving Goucher June 29th for five weeks, I am turning your letter over to Dr. Elinor Pancoast, Chairman of our Economics Department, who headed the survey and will therefore be working with its distribution. If you can furnish her more specific information on the quantities you may require I am sure she will try to accommodate you.

Sincerely yours,

Richard S. Carroll

Richard S. Carroll
Assistant to the President

RSC/j

Reply to Publications

October 10, 1955

Miss Marjorie Bailey
Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Bailey:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to reply to your letter of October 6 concerning materials for your new school integration kit.

Aside from the Baltimore report, we know of only one recent piece of material -- a mimeographed summary report by the AFSC on their four-year program on school integration in Washington. Although we haven't yet seen a copy, it sounds like a very useful document. I understand that a copy is to go to George Guernsey, so you will be able to judge whether it should be included in your kit.

I assume you receive our monthly publication, New South. If a given issue should strike you as particularly useful, additional copies would probably be available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

Congress of Industrial Organizations

716 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

OFFICE OF
STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG
DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Cable Address "CIOLABOR"

EXECUTIVE 3-5581

Oct. 4, 1955

OCT 6 1955

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

We are beginning to put together a new School Integration kit, since the supply of the old one is about exhausted, and I thought you might have some suggestions about new material to go in it. We have the new pamphlet on the Baltimore experience, and we're planning to include the recent issue of New South, and I wondered whether you have seen anything else that has come out in the last two or three months that we might have missed.

I have gone over the Bibliography you put out and checked it, and am now concerned about more recent pamphlet materials.

It was nice to see you again at the school, and I hope you'll drop in the next time you hit Washington.

Fraternally yours,

Marjorie

Marjorie Bailey
CIO Department of Education and Research

James P. Williams
1117 Lanchmont Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your letter of October 10, 1955, concerning information has been referred to me.

Enclosed is a pamphlet on school integration which contains a list of organizations working in this field. Also, the Southern School News, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, has a monthly publication devoted to the subject of school desegregation.

Included in the enclosed material is the Council's publication list. Perhaps you may be interested in some of the material included.

The Kentucky affiliate of the Council is located in your city. Perhaps you would like to contact Mr. Hugh Brimm, the executive director. His address is 1319 Heyburn Building, Louisville.

If we can be of any additional aid to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

encls.

OCT 13 1955

1117 Lanchmont Ave.
Louisville, Ky.
October 10, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auboun Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I am doing research in the racial question for the sociology department of the University of Louisville, and am chairman of a committee concerned with the subject. I would therefore like to obtain a list of names and addresses of various organizations concerned with integration so I could contact them personally. If such a list is not available, any information on how to obtain one or any literature available on the subject would be greatly appreciated.

I would be more than glad to accept any COD charges necessary to obtain the literature. Thank you for your trouble and hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Sincerely yours,

James P. William

James P. William

JPW/sz

FILE COPY

October 20, 1955

Reverend Carleton Pilsecker
Fairlawn Circle
Maryville, Tennessee

Dear Reverend Pilsecker:

Your letter of October 18, 1955, requesting information on desegregation aids has been referred to me.

I am sending you some general information which we distribute free of charge. Also, I am sending you a copy of the Council's publication list. If there is anything in the list which might interest you, please let us know. The publication list does not include our last two issues of New South.

Our Tennessee affiliate, with office in Chattanooga, would be a great help to you I am sure. You may contact the office manager, Clarence Hughes at Room 420, Jackson Building, Cherry and Seventh Streets, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Please feel free to call on us or Mr. Hughes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

JC/ys
Enclosures

St. Paul Lutheran Church
ELLIS AVE. AT COLLEGE
MARYVILLE, TENN.

October 18, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

OCT 19 1955

Dear Sir,

Next month the Ministerial Association of Blount County, Tennessee, plans to have a panel discussion on what ministers can do to aid desegregation particularly in regards to the schools. I have a copy of your booklet: Schools in the South. If you have other information available which would be pertinent to our discussion I would greatly appreciate your sending it to me:

Rev. Carleton Pilsecker
Fairlawn Circle
Maryville, Tenn.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Carleton Pilsecker

THREE BASIC BOOKS ON SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD
by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology, City College of New York, research director of the Northside Center for Child Development, New York.

FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD
by Alfred McClung Lee, author of *Race Riots Aren't Necessary*, *How to Understand Propaganda*, etc., chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Brooklyn College.

CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DE-SEGREGATION
by Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, NAACP and Jack Greenberg, assistant counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

These three books have been written to increase understanding of problems and progress in inter-racial relations through factual, objective, documented information.

Three basic books on segregation in the United States

PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark.

Dr. Clark presents the findings of psychologists on the development of prejudice and discrimination in children, of both minority and majority groups. He discusses the effects of racial attitudes on *both*. The discussion includes a section on "A Program for Action" and suggests answers to "What Can Schools Do?" "What Can Parents Do?" The research upon which this book is based was done by Dr. Clark for the White House Conference on Children and Youth, and was cited in the 1954 United States Supreme Court desegregation decision.

CHILD STUDY: "*The awesome impact of racial prejudices upon American children is only now being assessed. In the volume* PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD, *Dr. Clark has written in clear, hard-hitting language, a book which should be examined with care by American parents. . . . The important contribution of the book is that it begins to raise for the majority group the question as to what prejudice does to its own children.*"

LIBRARY JOURNAL: "*A probing, thorough-going consideration of a pressing problem in America today, this book should be read by all adults included in the various groups mentioned (schools, churches, social agencies, parents).*"

FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD: A Study of Prejudice on the American Campus. Alfred McClung Lee.

A man who knows fraternities as a social researcher and as an active member of one of the "Greeks," Dr. Lee is concerned with the familiar inconsistency of the *words* of brotherhood and the *practice* of discrimination found in the social centers of American universities and colleges. Dr. Lee traces the growth of racial prejudice in America in his history of fraternity membership laws. His case studies of local fraternities which have thrown out segregation and come to a parting of the ways from their "nationals" or alumni groups for pledging a Negro or Jewish student show that a pattern of democratic rebellion has been growing since the last war. However there is still enough "Aryanism" represented in fraternities to make this discrimination a burr for institutions which try to prepare their students for democratic living. Chapters discuss alumni domination, the end of campus discrimination in some fraternities, the psychological role of the fraternity in a student's life and ways to build fraternities *with* brotherhood.

CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION. Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg.

The authors have given to the American citizen, North or South, a comprehensive record of the legal status of the Negro in the United States from the reconstruction period to the 1955 implementation decree of the Supreme Court; the crucial cases in the area of minority rights and the interpretations of the Constitution, especially of the Fourteenth Amendment, in the last 75 years; and a detailed analysis of the arguments before the Supreme Court preceding its May 17, 1954 decision. A section of questions and answers entitled: "What Do the Decisions Mean?" and "What Can Citizens Do?" contains specific suggestions for community groups and individuals who wish to help in the work of desegregating. An appendix contains the texts of the United States Supreme Court decisions and list of the pertinent legal cases for reference. *Says* ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND, *professor of constitutional law at Harvard Law School:* "*I am impressed by the balance and fairness of this book, and I think it will be of great use.*"

BEACON PRESS, INC.
25 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Mass.

PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD
By Dr. Kenneth B. Clark @ $2.50 .....
No. of copies

FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD
By Dr. Alfred McClung Lee @ $1.95 .....
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CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION
By Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg
@ $1. (paper) .....
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Name .....

Street .....

City .....State .....

Write to Beacon Press for the discount rates for buying in quantity for use among civic study groups, P-TA chapters, teachers' associations, labor unions, etc.

—PRINTED IN U.S.A.—

Information Publications

NOV 8 1955

BEACON PRESS, INC.

25 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

October 26, 1955

Dear Friend:

The Beacon Press, as a public service, is issuing three books on problems of desegregation and race relations designed to be useful among citizen groups--P-T A's, civic discussion groups, teachers' and principals'associations, church school classes , union affiliates and others. These three books, described in the enclosed leaflet are: CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION, written by Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association of Colored People; and Jack Greenberg, assistant counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD by Kenneth Clark, associate professor of psychology, New York City College; and FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD by Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at Brooklyn College.

The Press will be happy to cooperate with you in this public service program and in any distribution plan you may wish to adopt. The order blank at the back of the leaflet is for your convenience if you would like to order personal copies or books in quantity to be sent to citizens' groups, public or school libraries or other organizations. You may designate where copies are to go, or the Beacon Press will select groups in the category you request and notify you as to their disposition.

Whether the transition from segregation to integration is to be orderly, peaceful and cooperative will depend in large part upon the willingness of individual citizens to take responsibility for leadership in their own communities.

Yours sincerely,

Edward Darling
THE BEACON PRESS,

TELEPHONE: CAPITOL 7-3660 • CABLE ADDRESS: BEAPRESS, BOSTON

October 27, 1955

Mrs. Donald R. Fessler
111 Monte Vista Drive
Blacksburg, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Fessler:

The pamphlets which you requested in your letter of October 21st have been mailed to you. However, you may find the report of desegregated institutions on page seven of the enclosed issue of NEW SOUTH helpful. An article by Dr. Guy Johnson entitled "New Ways on the Campus" is also in this issue. The cost of the publication is twenty cents which you may remit to us in coin or stamps. Inaddition I am sending you a bibliography prepared in our office which includes a section on "Desegregation in Higher Education."

Very truly yours,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

111 Monte Vista Drive
Blacksburg, Virginia
October 21, 1955.

OCT 24 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Kindly send me the following pamphlets, which have been recommended as sources of information for an area workshop on the problems of integration, to be held by the American Association of University Women on November 5. I enclose a check for $0.70.

Answers for Action	20¢
Changing Patterns in the New South	50¢
	70¢

OK pha

I am particularly interested in material dealing with integration in higher education. If you have any fairly recent reports giving facts and figures on Negro enrollment in colleges and universities, and the policies governing their admission to previously segregated schools in the south, I would greatly appreciate it if you could send these to me and bill me for the publications and postage, as the time is short.

Thanking you for your attention, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Mary R. Fessler
Mrs. Donald R. Fessler

Sent
10/24/55
RH.

October 27, 1955

Miss Myrna Lee Kirk
Drain Union High School
Drain, Oregon

Dear Miss Kirk:

I am sending you, under separate cover, several of our publications* to assist your class in its study of racial problems and intolerance. The cost of these is seventy cents which you may remit to us in coin or stamps. In addition, other free materials are included. Please note that some of these materials refer to sources from which you may secure other useful information. Also, you might request the bibliography entitled "The Negro and Race Relations" from the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

A copy of our publications list is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

Enclosure

* Sept. NEW SOUTH
America's Tenth Man
The Negro In Our Economy
The Condition of Our Rights
Answers For Action

DALE SKEWIS, PRINCIPAL
VERN THOMAS, CLERK

DRAIN UNION HIGH SCHOOL

DRAIN, OREGON

DIRECTORS:
HARRY COOL SR., CHAIRMAN
ROY JOHNSON
JIM WHIPPLE
FRED NUTT
JOHN RENTZ

OCT 24 1955

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen;

At the present our class in social problems is studying racial problems and racial intolerence. We find our library is inadiquate in covering the subject. We would appreciate any pamphlets or information you have covering the subject of America's race problem. We are especially interested in the extent of this problem in the South, and your ways of combating it.

We thank you for your help and co-operation.

Myrna Lee Kirk
Class Representative

October 27, 1955

Mr. Harold Nelson
325 New Street
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Nelson:

I would like to suggest some sources of information which may help you in your study of "Negro Business from 1860 to the Present".

Negro Business and Business Education by Joseph A. Pierce, published in 1947 by Harper and Brothers, contains historical information and detailed bibliographies. The Bureau of the Census published a Census of Business for 1929, 1939, 1947 and 1954 and information on white and non-white operation is included. From 1941 through 1952 the U. S. Department of Commerce sponsored an annual conference on the "Negro in Business" under the direction of Mr. Emmer Lancaster who was then Special Advisor on Negro Affairs. Perhaps reports of these conferences are available. In addition, the Business Information Service of the U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington can provide much helpful material on Negro owned businesses.

I am enclosing copies of our publication list and the contents to Changing Patterns In The New South.

Very truly yours,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

Mr. Harold Nelson
325 New Street
Newark, New Jersey

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

OCT 24 1955

Dear Sir:

It is my utmost desire to obtain any information from you, pertaining to the advancement of the Negro business from the year 1860 to the year 1955.

The purpose of obtaining this information is for research data, I am compiling as a student project in Economic History at Rutgers University.

If there is any charge, please forward the information C.O.D.

Thank you for your imediate attention in this matter.

Yours truly
Harold Nelson

October 27, 1955

Mr. Kenneth H. Ford
Walter Colton Junior High School
Monterey Public Schools
Monterey, California

Dear Mr. Ford:

I am enclosing the September issue of NEW SOUTH, our publications list, the contents of CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, and other materials which may be of value in the teaching of your unit on "Democracy." The cost of NEW SOUTH is twenty cents which you may remit to us in coin or stamps.

Very truly yours,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

MONTEREY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MONTEREY CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT
P.O. Box 1031, Monterey, California
Monterey, Seaside, Fort Ord
California

October 18. 1955

FREMONT SCHOOL
Kimball and Wheeler
Seaside, California
Telephone 5-6571

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OCT 24 1955

Gentlemen:

Will you please send any available information that might be useful in teaching our new school unit, "The Story of Democracy in the United States." Sections of the unit include such things as:

1. History of the Labor Movement in America
2. Questions dealing with racial and/or ethnic difference
3. Aspects of change (i.e. as it affects community life, ideas, social mores)
4. Questions affecting our schools
5. Questions of religious freedom.

Those listed above are specific questions; the larger structure of the unit has been conceived as a progression from the school and neighborhood (small democratic unit) to the concepts underlying the United Nations (larger, world view), stressing the importance of the individual, the function of democracy, the basic fallacy behind ideas of racial superiority and ethnic stereotypes, and religious freedom seen as a bi-product of community organization.

Any literature you may have would be greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Kenneth H. Ford

Kenneth H. Ford
Walter Colton Junior High School
Monterey Public Schools
Monterey, California

October 28, 1955

Mr. J. P. Lewis, Principal
Bridgeforth School
Pulaski, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In accordance with your request we are sending you a copy of Greenville's Big Idea and the more recent report, Greenville's Big Idea Grows .

A copy of our publications list and other materials are enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

Enclosures

BRIDGEFORTH SCHOOL

J. P. Lewis, Principal

Pulaski, Tennessee

October 24, 1955

OCT 26 1955

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you be kind enough to forward any information on the Greenfield Experiement or Study, and any other material relating to this subject.

An immediate reply to this matter will be greatly appreciated, as this is needed for I am in the process of writing a Thesis.

Sincerely yours,

J P Lewis

J. P. Lewis, Principal

JPL:jes

October 31, 1955

Mr. Michael Farrell
1003 Elizabeth Street
Midland, Michigan

Dear Mr. Farrell:

Ralph McGill asked us to send you some things helpful for your Conference. I hasten to send off various of our own publications. You ought to send us about a dollar to pay for them.

Sincerely,

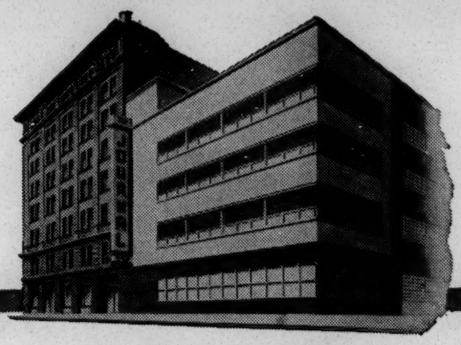
George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:
Answers for Action
New South, March-September, 1955
SRC publications list
SRC promotion leaflet

cc: RA

The Atlanta Journal
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
PUBLISHED BY
ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS, INC.
BOX 4689



RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

October 28, 1955

OCT 31 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Will you, or someone in your office, mail this person some material?

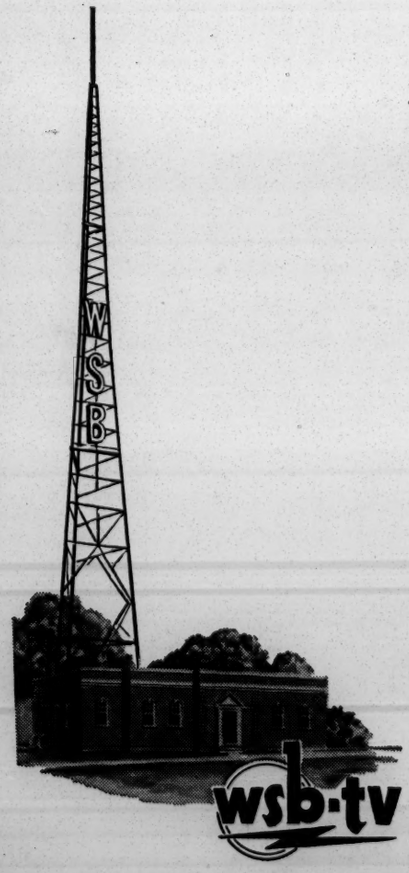
Cordially,

Ralph McGill

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

Enc.



October 19, 1955

Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Speech Class in Discussion of Central Michigan College of Mt. Pleasant, Michigan is presently preparing material to be used at a State wide college speech conference on January 17, at Ypsilanti, Michigan. The Question for Discussion will be "How Can We Best Imolement the Decision fo the Supreme Court for the Racial Integration in the Public Schools."

I would appreciate receiving from your any information, material, and viewpoints that your newspaper or organization may have on this matter.

A reply at your earliest convenience would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Michael Farrell
1003 Elizabeth Street
Midland, Michigan

bp

November 21, 1955

The President's Committee on
Government Contracts
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of the proceedings of the October 25th National Equal Economic Opportunity Conference if these reports are available for distribution.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys

November 22, 1955

Mr. William Duffy
New York POST
85 West Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Duffy:

I enjoyed our conversation last Wednesday. Enclosed are several items on the Hearst press's attack on SRC board members. I hope it may add up to something in the Post.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc. Norfolk Virgininian-Pilot Ad
Mynders Column
Afro-American editorial

December 13, 1955

Reverend Roland Smith
First Baptist Church
613 West 7th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Reverend Smith:

Your letter to Dr. Ivey of the Southern Regional Education Board was referred to us. There is enclosed a list of the communities reportedly having interracial committees to advise local Boards of Education on integration within the schools. Newspaper reports have indicated that members of the committees were selected by the Board of Education in the majority of cases.

I am sending you several reports on school integration in various areas. A fairly comprehensive roundup of desegregation in public schools can be found in the October issue of Southern School News, which is included. I believe that you would also find subsequent issues of this publication informative.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys
Enclosures

December 13, 1955

Miss Louise K. Aycock
Rock Hill Public Schools
McConnells, South Carolina

Dear Miss Aycock:

Perhaps you can determine from the enclosed publications list if any of our publications will meet your needs. I am also sending you a bibliography prepared in our office which cites references on educational matters. You will find that the September 1955 issue of Survey of Current Business contains comprehensive and recent statistics on per capita wealth and economic standing of the Southern states.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys
Enclosure

December 13, 1955

Mr. George W. Baskin
Sales Department
Methodist Publishing House
1910 Main Street
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Baskin:

I am enclosing a list which itemizes selected publications of ours in the area of race relations. In addition I am sending you a statement of our objectives, the contents of Changing Patterns in the New South, and a recent issue of our monthly bulletin, New South. The latter provides current information on many aspects of race relations. It is sent regularly to members of the Council's state affiliates or may be obtained by non-member subscribers for $2.00 per year.

You would probably be interested in knowing that the Council's affiliate in Texas is the Texas Commission on Race Relations, 309 W. 21st Street, Austin, Texas.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys
Enclosure